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ABSTRACT

This workbook is divided into 17 topical sections containing student readings and classroom activities designed to supplement standard textbook presentations and to bring China "alive" for students. The organization of the materials and the background notes for teachers stress central themes that are distinctive and recurrent in Chinese history and culture. The workbook's 17 sections include: (1) Introduction; (2) Geography and Population; (3) Language; (4) Philosophy and Religion; (5) Traditional History; (6) Modern History; (7) Society; (8) What It Means to be Chinese; (9) Government and Politics; (10) Economics; (11) Taiwan and Hong Kong; (12) Art; (13) Culture; (14) Literature; (15) Foreign Policy; (16) Chinese Americans; and (17) Overseas Chinese. Section 18 contains three readings: "A Film Guide to 'The Heart of the Dragon'"; "China's Gifts to the West"; and "Chinese Ideas in the West." (DB)

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# CHINA

## A TEACHING WORKBOOK

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**China: A Teaching Workbook** incorporates many sections of *CENTRAL THEMES FOR A UNIT ON CHINA* (Columbia University, 1989), edited by Roberta Martin.

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EAST ASIAN CURRICULUM PROJECT (EACP)-- COLUMBIA UNIVERSITY

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The issue of maintaining the essence of Chinese civilization, while adopting certain Western measures for development, has been at the core of China's history in the modern period. This section traces the fascinating debate on the issue from the 1860s to the present, and can be used in conjunction with many of the other sections in this volume.

*Section IX* GOVERNMENT AND POLITICS

Focusing on the post-1949 period, this section provides background for teachers on Chinese politics and includes units on: the Chinese political system; the Chinese Communist Party and the qualifications for Party membership; Chinese leaders; the Chinese view of political life in China; Chinese democratic theory and the Tiananmen Square massacre of 1989.

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This brief section provides background on China's economy, an overview of the commune system, and resources for study of the economic reforms in China.

*Section XI* TAIWAN AND HONG KONG

Units on Taiwan and Hong Kong are included here for teacher reference and options for further study are suggested.

*Section XII* ART

This section contains a variety of options for including art in a unit on China, especially as an approach to history, philosophy, and religion.

*Section XIII* CULTURE

This section provides a sampling of the various aspects of Chinese culture, with introductory student readings on Chinese Opera and the Lunar New Year.

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China's literary tradition is introduced through units on: the poetic tradition of the scholar-official; Lu Xun, China's greatest modern writer; literature of the Cultural Revolution (1960s); contemporary literature. A teaching guide to Pearl Buck's *The Good Earth* is also included in this section.

*Section XV* FOREIGN POLICY

This very brief section provides background for the teacher, a short reading on the history of US-China trade, and an introduction to the issue of Taiwan in US-China relations.

*Section XVI* CHINESE AMERICANS

A useful way to link China and the US in history, this overview of Chinese American history suggests approaches and resouces for the teacher.

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Chinese immigrants are an important historical phenomenon all over the world. This short section provides background for teacher and student.

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*China's Gifts to the West*, *Chinese Ideas in the West*, and the viewer's guide to *Heart of the Dragon*, produced by the Public Broadcasting System, are reproduced here for classroom reference.

# A NOTE ON THE TRANSLITERATION OF CHINESE WORDS

Several different systems of romanization have been developed over the years for rendering the sounds of Chinese characters with the Roman alphabet. Until the establishment of the People's Republic of China (PRC) in 1949, the **Wade-Giles** system was the preferred system; it is still used as the official romanization system on Taiwan. In its attempt to simplify the Chinese language, the PRC leadership developed a new system, known as the **pinyin** system, that was formally adopted by the State Council as the official system of romanization in China in 1979. The **pinyin** system was adopted thereafter by U.S. newspapers, the U.S. Department of State, and most book publishers.

The standard romanization system used in *China: A Teaching Workbook* is the **pinyin** system. Since students and teachers are liable to encounter the **Wade-Giles** system of romanization in other books on China, however, we have provided the **Wade-Giles** spelling in parentheses ( ) following the **pinyin** version of Chinese place names and proper names.

In certain units *so noted in the text*, where the original translations of primary source texts use the **Wade-Giles** system, we have maintained the **Wade-Giles** spellings in deference to the originals.

We apologize to readers for the unavoidable inconsistency that results from the use of two romanization systems.

# SUPPLEMENTARY RESOURCE LISTS

Supplementary resources for all units in a given section are listed together at the conclusion of each section. Teachers are encouraged to consult these lists **for references to library books with excellent visual resources.**

## *Section I*
# INTRODUCTION

CHINA: A TEACHING WORKBOOK is divided into 17 topical sections containing sudent readings and classroom activities designed to supplement standard textbook presentations and to bring China "alive" for students. Teachers may choose among the lessons those that best fit their curriculum and their students' interests.

The organization of the material and the background notes for teachers stress central themes that are distinctive and recurrent in Chinese history and culture. Teachers are encouraged to use the thematic approach in teaching about China in order to leave students with an image of one or two enduring patterns in Chinese civilization, amidst what otherwise appears as a confusing continuum of social change, political campaigns, and revolutions.

Themes developed in the workbook are summarized on the following page. Also in the introduction are descriptions of three highly recommended teaching resources that can enrich any unit on China.

## INTRODUCTION TO THEMES

### 1. National identity and China's cultural tradition

China is one of the oldest, continuous civilizations in history and the dominant cultural center of East Asia; with flourishing philosophical, political, economic, artistic and scientific traditions, China developed a strong cultural identity as a universalistic civilization. China has struggled for the last century with the challenge of forging a new identity in a world of nation-states and of redefining its cultural values in a modern world.

### 2. Agriculture and Population: The Agrarian Dilemma in China's Modernization

China's economy depended traditionally on wet rice agriculture, a labor-intensive method of cultivation with uneven demands for labor input. Chinese farmers solved this problem by using their families as their labor forces. Traditional agricultural technology and population growth thus became closely related: the best chance a Chinese peasant had to improve his life was to have a large family, intensify the family effort to cultivate rice in the traditional way, then use whatever extra income they were able to produce to buy more land until he owned just as much land as the whole family, working together, could farm at maximum productivity -- or even more, which could be rented out. This was a highly sophisticated system; it, however, provided neither incentive for modernization nor surplus for the state. Collectivized agriculture was introduced in the 1950s as a means of generating agricultural surplus to support urban and industrial development, but it proved not to be a satisfactory solution. Under agricultural reforms of the 1980s, farming has once again been contracted to individual peasant families. While successful in raising output, the return to family farming is working against the other essential policy of population control.

### 3. Family and State: The Importance of Hierarchy and Paternalism in the Ordering of Society

Government and society in China were traditionally grounded in the Confucian philosophy, which held that the correct ordering of relationships within the family was key to the ordering of society in general; emphasis was on hierarchical relationships and the paternal line, with the eldest male holding supreme authority and responsibility for the family unit. The state claimed it was modeled on the family, with the emperor serving as the father of the people. Government in China was characterized by rule of man not law, rule by moral example, and rule by personal rather than official authority. These cultural patterns and assumptions continue to influence the Chinese political system and shape popular expectations of the role of government in China today. They are also reflected in the structure of work unit relationships in Chinese factories, schools, and institutions.

### 4. The Perfectibility of Man and the Moral Role of Government

The dominant strain of Confucian thought stressed the perfectibility of man, through self-cultivation, education, and the practice of ritual. One of the government's main functions in the Confucian state is to educate and transform the people, by moral example of the emperor and his officials. The belief that the state is the moral guardian of the people and that men are perfectible is reflected in a number of institutions, historically in the merit bureaucracy, or civil service, in which all officials are supposed to be selected for their moral qualities, and more recently under Mao Tse-tung (Mao Zedong), in the style of Communist party leadership, the treatment of deviance, and the revolutionary role assigned to the peasantry in China.

### 5. The Chinese Understanding of the Relationship Between the Individual and Society

The relationship between the individual and the state in China is understood not in adversarial terms, as is characteristically the case in the modern West, but in consensual terms. China did not, therefore, develop an elaborate system of civil law; instead, mediation between aggrieved parties is stressed, with local leaders emphasizing negotiation, compromise, and change through education rather than assignment of blame and punishment. Neo-Confucian ideals also held that it was the responsibility of the educated individual to serve the state and the society.

### 6. Commercial Development in Place of Industrial Development

The geographical and political unity of China provided an environment in which the Chinese developed an intricate market network extending deep into the countryside in the form of periodic, rural markets that are in turn linked to regional markets. China differed from Europe, where the existence of many small countries led to trade barriers and local shortages that forced technological improvements within individual countries. In the Chinese situation, the absence of trade barriers and the existence of a huge and varied geography and population with much regional diversity meant China never was under pressure to develop labor-saving devices or to engage in expansionist or colonizing activities to the extent of those undertaken by the West and Japan in the modern period. The corresponding lack of industrial development put China in a disadvantageous military and economic position when faced with foreign encroachment in the 1800s, and industrial development has been a priority since that time. The re-emergence of the traditional Chinese market system in contemporary China has greatly facilitated economic growth under the reforms of the 1980s.

*FEATURED RESOURCE*

# Echoes of China

Now produced in one volume, ECHOES OF CHINA is a wonderful compilation of self-contained teaching units for grades five and up. Units include:

- * Jia: Chinese American Families
- * China and Her Land
- * Travels with Marco-Polo: Life in 13th Century China
- * Fina and Folk Arts of China
- * Chinese Celabrations
- * Chinese Architecture
- * Chinese Games

Available From:

The Museum Shop
The Children's Museum
300 Congress Street
Boston, MA 02210-1034
617-426-6500 ext. 204

Price: $30.00 plus shipping and handling.

*FEATURED RESOURCE*

# CHINESE LIVES

**An Oral History of Contemporary China**
**Zhang XinXin and Sang Ye**

This book is an excellent library resource. It is composed of over 60 vignettes of individual's stories about life in post-1949 China. They present a personal, immediate portrait of the Chinese people to the classroom, and are accessible to the high school student.

From the Inside Cover:

Here, in a rare and original book, is China seen through the eyes of its own people.

Over sixty startling voices—voices of ordinary people, talking about the ordinary and extraordinary events in their lives—make up this remarkable book, the first of its kind ever to come from China. A sixty-four-year-old woman, a former prostitute sold to a brothel in Shanghai at fourteen, tells of the thousands of men she has slept with. A thirteen-year-old boy chats as he sells popcorn on the sidewalk. A prison guard talks of his work, followed by the prisoner he's guarding—convicted for raping and murdering his sister. An elderly hairdresser recounts how he could always tell when trouble was coming because "all the educated people stopped having their hair done right away!" A bookseller describes regularly pulping his stock as political fashions in literature change.

A hitchhiking hippie, an enterprising restaurateur, a pop singer, a bus conductor these are the people Zhang Xinxin and Sang Ye, two Chinese journalists, encountered as they traveled the breadth of their country. Their interviews take us into worlds Westerners could never penetrate, and offer the sorts of frank, informal conversations you'd hear on a train, in a waiting room, on a bus, or while shopping. The Cultural Revolution, the Great Leap Forward, student activism, purges, and economic upheaval—all the expected "events" of recent Chinese history are there, but witnessed through the lens of everyday life.

Like Studs Terkel, Zhang Xinxin and Sang Ye have caught an enormous range of people's unexpected revelations about their experiences, and have created from them a rich and complex portrait of a nation. It is an immensely moving story, and once you've read it, you will never think of China in the same way again

Zhang Xinxin was born in Nanking in 1953. She was in the People's Liberation Army for two years, and was a nurse and a factory worker before entering college. She is now on the staff of the Beijing People's Art Theater and has produced several television shows based on her own journalism.

Sang Ye, born in Beijing in 1955, was trained as an electrician. He is now a working journalist and a researcher in modern Chinese history.

Available From:

Random House Inc.
400 Hahn Rd
Westminster, MD 21157
1-800-733-3000

Price: $18.95 hardcover, $11.95 paperback

*FEATURED RESOURCE*

## Heart of the Dragon

This Public Broadcasting Service (PBS) series of twelve programs, narrated by Robert McNeil and Jim Lehrer, provides excellent material from which teachers can select segments on all aspects of life in China today, explained within the context of China's enduring social and cultural values. **This series is available for loan from many public libraries (over 2000 nationally) through the generosity of the John D. and Catherine T. MacArthur Foundation Library Video Classic Project.** See viewer's guide attached in the appendix.

## The Chinese: Adapting the Past, Building the Future

This book, with an accompanying teachers' guide, was developed by the Center for Chinese Studies at the University of Michigan, and was produced to complement THE HEART OF THE DRAGON series. It is suitable for advanced students, but teachers may also find it useful as a reference. Chapters include History and Geography, Politics, Society, Economy, Culture, and The Future.

Available from:
Center For Chinese Studies
The University of Michigan
104 Lane Hall (Publications)
Ann Arbor, MI 48109

Price: Paperback book and study guide $20.00

*FEATURED RESOURCE*

# Opposing Viewpoints: China

This excellent series from Greenhaven Press offers an informative and lively way for students to address important issues concerning China. Presented in a debate format, each topic is addressed from a number of opposing positions. Produced as a book and as individual pamphlets the questions addressed for China are as follows:

* The Historical Debate: How Should China Modernize?

* Are China's Economic Reforms Significant?

* Does China Guarantee Human Rights?

* What Should US Policy Be Toward China?

* Is China A World Power?

Available From:

Greenhaven Press
P.O. Box 289009
San Diego, CA 92198-0009
1-800-231-5163

Price: Paperback book $8.95, or individual pamphlets $2.95 each.

Population Density

## Section II

# Geography and Population

### Teacher's Note:

The issues of geography and population are intertwined throughout this section, with a specific unit devoted to population. There are a number of student readings on geography and population to highlight the themes. Questions can be used for class discussion or as homework assignments. For another approach to the population issue, see the introductory reading to the **Society** section. That article discusses how Chinese citizens and government try to cope with such a huge population. It uses this important issue in China as an introduction to themes in Chinese society.

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- Teacher's guide to overhead projection discussion.
- Three Student Readings to accompany unit:
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    - "*Consumption of Non-Pork Protein-Rich Food Urged*"
    - "*Arteries of the Empire*"
- Student Reference: 25 Most Populated Countries

Unit 2: ***Food and Geography***
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- Exercises

Unit 3: ***China's Population***

- Population Chart and Exercises
- Two Student Readings:
  - "*Countering the Population Surge*"
  - "*Population Problems*"
- Questions for Discussion

Resource Lists:

- Maps
- Atlases
- Books

**MAPS TO BE USED WITH OVERHEAD LESSON, AND MAPS OF CHINA'S NATIONAL MINORITIES ARE ATTACHED AT THE END OF THE SECTION.**

## *Unit 1*

# Introduction to China's Geography

### Teacher's Guide to Overhead Projection Discussion on Geography and Population

**Material:**

**Outline maps are attached at the end of the section.** The maps are designed as overlays; plastic overlay masters can be made from the copies indicated below. Xerox or ditto reproductions can also be made for student use. The fourteen maps are:

- China (an outline)
- Surrounding Nations
- Major Rivers
- Mountains and Deserts
- Political Divisions
- Population Density
- Agricultural Regions and Crops
- Course Changes of the Yellow River
- Historical Borders of China in Four Periods
- The Great Wall and the Grand Canal
- United States/China Superimposed
- United States' Agricultural Regions & Crops
- United States Population Density
- China and the World

**I. Rivers, Borders and Civilization**

Start with the outline map of China, and then begin the overlay process, the map to be used is underlined in the text.

A. China's two Major Rivers, the Huang He (Yellow River), and the Chang Jiang (Yangtze) as well as the Pearl River delta system marked by the Xi (West River) have provided the framework for agricultural development and population growth throughout China's history.

The fourth major river in the north, Heilong Jiang (Amur River) is important as it forms China's border with the Soviet Union and has been the site of confrontation between these two powers today.

B. The course of the Yellow River (overlay of Course Changes of the Yellow River) has changed several times in China's history, notably in 1194 AD and again in 1853, wreaking untold disasters. Water control is one of the major challenges in China today, to prevent both flooding and drought - two natural occurrences that have plagued the Chinese people throughout history.

C. Looking at the map of Historical Borders and the map showing the Mmajor Rivers will highlight the important fact that the earliest civilizations developed along river alleys. The cradle of Chinese civilization, Pan Po, was located along the Huang He in the North China Plain. The first dynasty of the Shang (c. 1600-1027 BC) was also situated around the Yellow River, and eventually spread southward to the Chang Jiang (Yangtze) and Xi rivers.

D. The Chinese of this early period had to correct deficiencies in the physical geography to defend themselves and further unify the country.

The Great Wall (overlay of The Great Wall and the Grand Canal) was first completed during the Qin (Ch'in) dynasty (221-206 BC) when segments of the wall existing from earlier periods were connected. Since the Chinese, who settled around the Yellow River, had no mountains to their north, it was the direction from which they were invaded. The Great Wall served as a defensive purpose against invading "barbarians."

The Grand Canal was first constructed around 605 AD to connect the Yellow River in the north (at Luoyang) and the Yangtze River in the south. Since these two great river arteries run east-west, there is no natural communication north-south except by way of the ocean. The Chinese constructed the Grand Canal to have a safe, inland water route between the two major rivers. (Eventually the canal was extended north to Beijing (Peking.)

E. The west of China is comprised of Mountains and Deserts, as well as plateaus, and does not provide much arable land for agriculture. Historically therefore, the civilization that grew up in the east of China was not surrounded in ancient history by other major civilizations. To this extent the Chinese were "isolated" from competing civilizations. This geographical fact is important to remember when discussing the Western encroachment on China.

The mountains and deserts of the West limited contact between China and other major centers of civilization in the Middle East and South Asia. The culture of China thus combined with other Asian countries creating a cultural sphere known as East Asia.

F. Looking at the map of Surrounding Nations it is possible to identify China's neighbors. Historically, China's cultural and political influence over Korea, Japan, Vietnam, and to a lesser extent, Laos, Thailand, and Burma, was great.

Use the maps of China's Mountains and Deserts, and of China's Population Density to demonstrate why contact with these countries was greater than contact with the Indian subcontinent or China's neighbors to the west.

The large number of countries with which China shares a border makes Chinese foreign policy especially complex (unlike the U.S., for example).

G. Like many other countries, the Historical Borders of China have not always been the same.

Under the Han dynasty (202 BC - 220 AD), China's great historical empire, these early boundaries were significantly expanded.

The extent of China's territory was greatest under the last dynasty of the Qing (Ch'ing) or Manchus, 1644-1912. China's territory was more extensive under the Qing empire than it is today.

## II. Agriculture, Population and Geography

A. Looking at the map of China's Agricultural Regions and Crops, you will see that China's arable land is primarily along the east coast, and China's vast population of one billion people is concentrated in the same area. The west of China is relatively uninhabited. The population pressure on this precious agricultural land is acute and makes China's struggle to increase its agricultural output to feed its population all the more difficult.

China feeds approximately one-quarter (25%) of the world's population with only approximately 7% of the world's arable land.

In comparison with the United States (use U.S. and China maps superimposed), China has a slightly larger land area: U.S.: 3.6 million square miles; China: 3.7 million square miles. However, while approximately 25% of the U.S. land is arable, only 11% of China's land is arable.

Moreover, with a population of roughly 240 million, we in the U.S. would have an average of 62 people per square mile. The Chinese, with a population of one billion, would have roughly 270 people per square mile if the population was fairly evenly distributed. It is not, however; the major concentration of population is still in the east.

Despite the high population density, reflected on the map, China is not an urban society. Eighty per cent (80%) of China's population is still rural and engaged primarily in agriculture.

B. Wet rice agriculture-- found most particularly in southern and central China, where the climate, heavy monsoon rains that provide large amounts of water in a small amount of time, and rich soil support two and sometimes three growing cycles a year-- demonstrates the relationship between geography, agriculture and population. Briefly explained, wet rice agriculture involves the planting, harvesting and replanting of rice during the monsoon season. It requires many people to work all at once. See also the student reading on wet rice agriculture.

Point out the area called "Sichuan rice" and note that, not surprisingly, Sichuan is one of the most densely populated provinces, in China today. Compare the U.S. Population and U.S. Agriculture maps to those of China and point out the difficulty China faces because of the land/population ratio, compared to the U.S. where, like China, our population is concentrated in the east, while, unlike China, our arable land is not.

C. Producing enough grain to feed China's huge population on very little land remains a problem today. Reprinted for the class is an article published in 1988 which addresses the desire of the Chinese to raise the intake of protein which is important for a healthy diet, while trying to limit the amount of grain needed to provide the source of protein.

## III. Geography and Regionalism

The cross-hatching nature of the mountain ranges in China and the position of the rivers make for a number of distinct geographical regions. Note the problems these pose for political and economic unity on the overlays of Mountains and Rivers.

A. A benefit of China's varied geography is that a shortage of resources in one part of China can be overcome by trade with another part. In this way China was able to develop ***internally*** by promoting ***interregional trade***, as opposed to going outside the country as many smaller European countries had to do. Instead of industrializing to overcome shortages, China traded within its ***own borders***, thus promoting commercial development.

Similarly, a shortage in labor in one area could be filled by migration or by shifting manufacture to another area. Geographic factors that facilitated this internal trade were the Chang Jiang (Yangtze River), the complex network of rivers in the south, and China's long coastline. China thus never felt pressure to develop labor-saving technologies or to engage in extensive expansionist or colonizing activities, in contrast to the West and Japan. (*This contrasts markedly with the political and economic history of Europe, where the existence of many small countries led to trade barriers and local shortages, prompting individual countries to make technological advances and wage costly wars that contributed to the rise of large financial empires, and engage in imperialism.*)

B. A recurrent problem, however, is that some regions in China will develop more quickly than others because of their geographical location. For example, the coastline of China with its ports and fertile soil has developed more rapidly than western China with its deserts and mountains. Western China is more isolated from the standard trading routes, and thus lags behind the coastal regions.

Again, compare the U.S. and China to highlight the importance of geography to economic development.

## IV. Political Divisions

A. China has 30 Political Divisions (31 if Taiwan is included).

· 21 of the 30 units are ***provinces***.

· 3 of the 30 units – Beijing, Shanghai, Tianjin – are ***municipalities***, which because of their size, are given provincial level status and report directly to the central government.

· 5 of the 30 units are ***autonomous regions***. This title indicates that the majority of the population in the region is composed of minority nationality peoples whose language, culture, and particular social traits are distinct from the Han culture, and thus for the sake of political unity are given special consideration by Beijing in policy formulation. The regions are otherwise not "autonomous".

55 in all. The crucial factor is that these minority nationalities occupy 50-60% of Chinese territory – most notably Xinjiang (where China's nuclear installations are located), Mongolia, and Tibet. These facts are useful in highlighting the difficulties entailed in ruling such a vast country. (*See the sheet on China's minority nationalities in the front of this section*).

## *Student Reading*

### WET RICE AGRICULTURE

In wet rice agriculture, seeds are sown in small seedbeds; the seedlings are then transplanted one by one to prepared paddy fields. While the plants are maturing, they must be kept irrigated, but as the rice ripens the fields are drained. The rice is then harvested and threshed by hand. Wet rice agriculture is labor-intensive, meaning that many people are required to do the job (as in the cultivation of silk worms and tea). Labor is particularly important when the fields are prepared, seedlings transplanted, and again when the rice is harvested. At these times, increasing the number of people working can significantly increase the amount each field can produce. In some areas a farmer can increase productivity by double or triple cropping (2 or 3 crops of rice) each year, a technique that requires even greater concentrations of labor because the harvesting of one crop and the transplanting of the next crop occur virtually simultaneously. At other times during the winter or while the rice is maturing, the demand for labor is greatly diminished. Traditionally, Chinese farmers, with their families as their labor force, put everyone to work in the field when labor was needed. During slack periods women and younger children could do other work for the family, including handicraft production.

Traditional agricultural methods and population growth are thus closely related. As the amount produced increased, population increased. As population increased, the added labor led to increased production. The more workers available to help in the field the more rice one field could produce, so it was to a family's advantage to have many sons (since daughters married out of the family, they generally were not considered assets). High infant mortality and the reliance of aged parents on their children for support reinforced the ideal of the large family. At the same time, the larger the family, the more rice the farm had to produce in order to feed them. Consequently, the best chance a Chinese peasant had to improve his life was to have a large family, intensify the family effort to cultivate rice, then use whatever extra income they were able to produce to buy more land until he owned just as much land as the whole family, working together, could farm at maximum productivity. In some cases, even more land might be purchased for rental to tenants.

Vocabulary

threshed
infant mortality
transplant
labor-intensive

# *Student Reading*

### Consumption of Non-Pork Protein-Rich Food Urged

Beijing, May 4 (XINHUA) -- Chinese should end their traditional reliance on pork for meat and eat more chicken, rabbit and fish, which are rich in protein and require less consumption of grain in production, the *Economic Daily* said today.

The people should also be encouraged to eat more protein-rich bean products, especially soybeans.

The paper said Chinese have relied too heavily on pork. Last year the average Chinese ate 16.9 kg of meat, of which 14 kg were pork. But, the paper noted, there is less protein in pork than in many other meats such as chicken, duck, fish and rabbit.

In addition pig raising consumes more grain than other animals.

China's grain production of 400 kg per capita can't meet current demand and the situation isn't expected to improve even by the turn of the century.

Therefore, a change in food production and eating habits has become important for the country, the paper said.

The article urged expansion in production of chicken, duck, rabbit, sheep, oxen, aquatic products, and soybeans.

Meanwhile, production of spirits and beer should be controlled since they require high volumes of grain.

*From: Foreign Broadcast Information Service (FBIS), May 1988.*

Question: Why does the Chinese government want the Chinese people to eat less pork? See if you can find two reasons: one is related to nutrition, the other to economics.

## *Student Reading*

### Arteries of the Empire

The Great Yu, the semi-mythical founder of the Xia Dynasty in the 21-20th century BC, was the father of China's early water control system. Through the succeeding millennia, his descendants were among the earliest developers of hydraulic engineering in the world – a system of immense scale and technical sophistication, whose legacy survives and is still in use today.

While escaping the wrath of periodic floods remained a primary emphasis, these works were also the key to China's agricultural productivity and the basis of an extensive inland water-borne transport system. Sima Qian, the 2nd-century BC historian, discusses 11 major canal projects built before his own time, most of which were consciously designed to provide both transportation and irrigation.

One of these, near present-day Chengdu in Sichuan, is the Capital River Weir. Built in about 240 BC, it "made, and still makes today, the Chengdu plain the most fertile area in all of China," according to Lyman Van Slyke, a Stanford University sinologist. The designer, Li Bing, cut through the shoulder of a hill to open a new channel off the Min River. And to ensure a constant flow in the channel, he built an artificial island buttressed with stone weirs dividing the waters upstream. The deep, narrow (30 m wide) cut in the hill limits the amount of water that can pass through, forcing excess water back across the island to the main stream through a spillway when the river is high. The system is still in use today, supplying water to Chengdu city and nearby areas containing more than 5 million people.

The major rivers in China run west-to-east, dividing the country into distinct north-south regions. Canal transport was crucial to the unification of China as a continental empire. Near present-day Guilin in Guangxi province, the 30-km "Magic Canal" connects the north-flowing Xiang River, a tributary of the Yangtze, to the Li River, which joins the Gui River to flow south to the West River and then to Canton. Built at about the same time as the Capital River Weir, it is the first contour transport canal ever built in the world, and it is the reason why southeast China is part of China. This canal provided direct water-borne transport from north China to as far south as Canton.

The "Magic Canal" is unusual in that it was built exclusively for military purposes. Sima Qian records that the Qin Emperor sent fighting men on "boats with deck-castles to conquer the tribes of southeast China.

Lu's scheme uses a diversion head and a series of spillways similar to that of the Capital River Weir to precisely control the amount of water flowing in the canal in all seasons. A separate 2.5-km lateral canal cuts across a bend in the Xiang River to moderate its flow near the canal intake. The banks of the canal are lined with stone. In the 12th century it could accommodate barges and other vessels of up to 35 tonnes capacity.

Untold numbers of war barges, soldiers and supplies crossed the divide from present-day Hunan on this canal during the Han Dynasty to complete the conquest of southeast China.

The Grand Canal is the most well-known example of pre-modern Chinese hydraulic engineering. The main course of the original Grand Canal, completed in 605 by connecting several pre-existing canal sections, facilitated shipment of grain from the productive lower Yangtze valley to the Sui capital near Loyang.

South of the Yangtze, the canal continued through the rich delta region as far as Hangzhou, forming the main trunk of a dense network of canals with connections to every town and important village. A sophisticated culture developed in this highly productive region, focused on wealthy canal cities such as Suzhou, Changzhou, Hangzhou and Shaoxing. A new canal section extended north of the Yellow River to near present-day Peking, forming a Y-shaped system totalling about 2,500 km.

A new canal was constructed after the Mongol invasion in the 13th century to ship Yangtze Valley grain direct to the new Yuan capital at Peking. This modern Grand Canal has continued in uninterrupted use to the present day, though there has been no through traffic since 1855, when a drastic change in the course of the Yellow River made part of the mid-section of the canal impassable.

This was not just a big ditch. North of the Yangtze, the canal must ascend a gradual slope to a summit more than 40 m higher than its starting point, requiring a complex system of locks, feeder lakes and lateral canals to maintain the appropriate water level in different sections of the canal as boats were slowly raised up the hill.

During Ming times (1355-1644), the Grand Canal carried from as much as 350-400,000 tonnes of grain every year, the lifeblood of the empire. The Ming eventually followed the Yuan Dynasty precedent by relocating its capital in Peking to direct the large garrisons in the north to counter the threat of renewed Mongol invasion from beyond the Great Wall.

■ **Robert Delfs**

Reprinted with permission from the *Far Eastern Economic Review* 15 March 1990, pp. 28-29.

*Student Reference*

# Population Statistics

**Top 25 Countries, based on 1987 U.N. Estimate**

| | | (in millions) |
|---|---|---|
| **1** | **China** | **1,088.570** |
| **2** | **India** | **781.374** |
| 3 | Soviet Union[1] | 283.100 |
| 4 | United States | 243.934 |
| **5** | **Indonesia** | **170.179** |
| 6 | Brazil | 141.452 |
| **7** | **Japan** | **122.091** |
| **8** | **Pakistan** | **102.238** |
| **9** | **Bangladesh** | **102.563** |
| 10 | Nigeria | 101.907 |
| 11 | Mexico | 81.163 |
| **12** | **Vietnam** | **62.808** |
| 13 | West Germany | 61.171 |
| **14** | **Philippines** | **57.356** |
| 15 | Italy | 57.355 |
| 16 | United Kingdom | 56.930 |
| 17 | France | 55.632 |
| **18** | **Thailand** | **53.605** |
| 19 | Turkey | 51.350 |
| 20 | Egypt | 51.262 |
| 21 | Iran | 51.253 |
| 22 | Ethiopia | 46.184 |
| **23** | **South Korea[2]** | **41.575** |
| **24** | **Burma** | **39.141** |
| 25 | Spain | 38.832 |

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**Bolded countries** are in East or South Asia.

1. Approximately 70 million people live in Soviet Asia.

2. When the populations of North and South Korea are added together, Korea becomes the 12th largest nation, with a combined figure of 63.471.

*Taken from "Population and Vital Statistics Report: Data available as of 1 April 1989," Statistical Papers, Series A, vol. XLI, no. 2 (New York: United Nations Department of International Economic and Social Affairs, Statistical Office, 1989).*

## *Unit 2*

# Food and Geography

### *Teacher's Note:*

The kind of food produced and the cooking practices of different areas in China depend on the nature of the geography of each particular region.

For example, regions with hot climates often eat very spicy foods. Why? Because such foods raise the body temperature and cause one to perspire. This has the overall effect of cooling the body so that extreme temperatures can become more bearable. Obviously, one would not eat hot and spicy foods in the north where people strive to keep warm.

As a class activity, have students compare the foods of different countries. For example:

Spicy Mexican beans and rice vs. English meat pies and soups.

Spicy Indian curries vs. German wienerschnitzel.

In China, regions renowned for their hot climates such as Sichuan and Hunan (point these provinces out on the map) are also well known for their hot, spicy dishes. Northern China, on the other hand, is known for its noodles, since the primary agricultural product of this region is wheat.

Give the students the following essay to read; it should further highlight the relationship between geography and food in China. The questions may be used as a basis for discussion or as a written assignment.

## *Student Reading*

### Food and Cooking in China

In some parts of China the ground is frozen 8 months of the year and it rains only about 2 inches a year. In other parts of the country, it is very warm and it may rain as much as 75 inches a year. China is also very mountainous with 60% of the land higher that 6500 feet. At least 50% of the country is very dry with the rainfall decreasing as one goes from east to west.

Wheat is grown in the northern quarter of China in the area north of the Yangtze River and south of Inner Mongolia. It is made into noodles, pancakes and dumplings. (Bread is currently being introduced.) However, since the major food is rice, China can support a much larger population than most nations which concentrate on growing wheat, because 2 to 3 times as much rice as wheat can be grown in a single acre.

Vegetables add to the diet and the available meat is largely pork and chicken which can be raised on very little space. Fish, which is caught in the rivers or coastal waters as well as being raised in fish ponds, is also a source of food. It does not make economic sense to use valuable farmland as grassland for raising beef.

The lack of pasture land for grazing means that there are less milk and dairy products in the Chinese diet. Therefore, they use the soy bean to provide protein and calcium. It is made into *doufu* or bean curd. Soy beans have the added advantage of building up the nitrogen content of the soil in which they are grown - an important factor in a country which does not rely completely on chemical fertilizers. The soy bean also provides the Chinese with a number of popular seasonings - soy sauce, sweet, brown and hot bean paste, sweet and spicy **hoisin** sauce, and salty fermented black beans.

The Chinese also use fresh ginger root, garlic, scallions, and rice wine or vinegar to enhance the flavor of the vegetables and the *doufu*.

Another geographic fact which has affected food patterns over the centuries is the scarcity of fuel available for fires. Cooking needs to be done quickly. Dicing, slicing, shredding or cubing food into small pieces before cooking prepares it for quick stir frying or steaming and braising in hot liquid off the fire. And, with small pieces of meat or vegetables, there is always a little bit to go with every bit of rice or noodles.

Stir frying, one of the common Chinese cooking techniques, serves the dual purpose of cooking food quickly using little fuel and preserving the flavor and texture of the food. In addition, stir frying uses little oil compared to Western frying techniques.

The Chinese are well aware of the importance of maintaining the fertility of the soil. Composting is a way of life as the Chinese save all organic matter to use as natural fertilizer or as animal fodder. In many instances a village farmer is assigned the task of gathering up deposits of manure from stray village animals and placing them in the communal compost bin. Through such care the Chinese have kept up the fertility of their soil which would otherwise have been depleted long ago by such intensive use.

**Questions:**

A.

1. List 3 ways geography affects the Chinese diet. Explain your choices.
2. Why aren't there a lot of beef cattle in China?
3. List 3 ways the soy bean is used.
4. Do you think the Chinese are energy conscious? Why or why not?
5. What does triple cropping mean?
6. List 5 items in the Chinese diet.
7. What is composting?
8. What 2 new Chinese words did you learn?

B. Take a blank outline map of China. Then, place the following on the map:

Shanghai
Turfan Basin
Chongqing
Huang He (Yellow River)
Great Wall
Red Basin of Sichuan
Xi Jiang (West River)
Yellow Sea
Kunlun Shan (Mountains)
Manchurian Plain
South China Sea
Tian Shan (Mountains)
Guangzhou (Canton)
Beijing
Tibetan Plateau
Great Khingan Shan (Mountains)
Chang Jiang (Yangtze River)
Gobi Desert
Takla Makan
North China Plain
East China Sea
Qinling Shan (Mountains)
Tarim Basin
Ordos Desert

C. Refer to a map of China and the reading. Then, speculate on what kinds of food might be eaten in Shanghai, Beijing, Guangzhou (Canton) and Chongqing. These are the major cities of the four regional cooking schools in China:

Beijing (Northern School)
Extensive use of noodles
  and wheat products
More lamb and beef
Duck is popular
More use of wine & oil

Shanghai (Eastern School)
Fish and seafood
Famous soups
Many vegetables
Rice
More Sweets

Chongqing in Sichuan
(Western School)
Many vegetables
Pork and chicken
Rice
Hot spices

Guangzhou (Southern School)

Sub-tropical fruits
Fish
Rice
Great diversity of foods
Tea

Note: The foods mentioned in the above schools are by no means exclusive to those areas. They are simply obvious examples of each school.

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From "*Food and Cooking,*" *an adapted reprint from* China Update *(vol. IV, no. 2, January 1981). Reprinted with permission.*

## Unit 3

# China's Population

### *Teacher's Note:*

This unit is designed to give students a feel for the huge population of China, and the serious problem of population. Some large cities in China are given municipal status and are comparable to provinces. (See page 6 of this section for more details.) The following chart on population statistics can be used to highlight the size of China. Have the students find out the population of the following places:

- your town, city or county
- your state
- New York City
- Utah, Nevada, Montana, North Dakota or Wyoming

and have students compare them with similar geographic areas in China. A map may be useful to locate population density. For example:

- North Dakota or Utah and Gansu or Xinjiang
- New York City and Shanghai or Beijing
- your county or state and a province of comparable size if there is one.

The multiple birth rate per hundred means that out of every one hundred women in Guizhou, for example, 28.30 of them will have more than one child. Note the difference in the rate between the cities (Beijing, Shanghai, and Tianjin) and the rural areas, especially Hainan, Yunnan, Xinjiang, and Fujian provinces. This highlights a point found in a number of the student readings, namely, that controlling the rural population is where the real difficulty lies, since more sons means more help on the farm and hence greater levels of production. (Recall the reading "Wet Rice Agriculture" and the need for more "hands on the farm.")

## *Student Reference*

### China's National Population Statistics

| Region | Yearend Total Population 10.000 people | Natural Growth Rate per thousand | Planned Birth Rate per hundred | Multiple Birth Rate per hundred |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| Beijing | 1081 | 8.86 | 85.68 | 1.79 |
| Tianjin | 843 | 10.27 | 80.98 | 2.59 |
| Hebei | 5795 | 14.82 | 50.25 | 9.33 |
| Shanxi | 2755 | 13.86 | 50.23 | 17.10 |
| InnerMongolia | 2094 | 14.25 | 63.02 | 12.64 |
| Liaoning | 3820 | 10.71 | 94.51 | 1.41 |
| Jilin | 2373 | 12.72 | 87.41 | 2.41 |
| Heilongjiang | 3466 | 12.71 | 71.78 | 6.83 |
| Shanghai | 1262 | 6.40 | 97.77 | 1.12 |
| Jiangsu | 6438 | 10.14 | 70.74 | 6.11 |
| Zhejiang | 4170 | 9.19 | 79.85 | 2.64 |
| Anhui | 5377 | 15.20 | 53.04 | 14.17 |
| Fujian | 2845 | 14.71 | 36.93 | 17.84 |
| Jiangxi | 3609 | 13.99 | 32.01 | 21.49 |
| Shandong | 8061 | 11.50 | 63.98 | 12.87 |
| Henan | 8094 | 15.59 | 53.46 | 17.01 |
| Hubei | 5185 | 12.64 | 56.40 | 16.98 |
| Hunan | 5890 | 16.50 | 40.32 | 13.44 |
| Guangdong | 5928 | 15.83 | 42.21 | 24.08 |
| Guangxi | 4088 | 15.82 | 69.29 | 29.97 |
| Hainan | 628 | 15.37 | 42.97 | 33.73 |
| Sichuan | 10576 | 11.70 | 78.06 | 6.35 |
| Guizhou | 3127 | 17.80 | 44.09 | 28.30 |
| Yunnan | 3594 | 16.88 | 65.30 | 22.53 |
| Tibet | 212 | 17.18 | | |
| Shaanxi | 3135 | 14.93 | 46.36 | 23.78 |
| Gansu | 2136 | 15.35 | 46.25 | 21.69 |
| Qinghai | 434 | 14.59 | 57.54 | 25.63 |
| Ningxia | 445 | 19.55 | 76.95 | 28.40 |
| Xinjiang | 1426 | 13.73 | 14.33 | 45.43 |

Note: The figures on total population. natural population growth rate of the various localities of the country are derived from a sample survey of population changes conducted by the State Statistics Bureau in 1988 and those of Shanghai. Jiangsu. Zhejiang. Anhui. Guangxi. Tibet. Ningxia. and Xinjiang are obtained from their household registration statistics. The figures on planned birth rate and multiple birth rate of the various localities are statistics of a sample survey of the nation's population growth and birth control in the first half of 1988 supplied by the State Family Planning Commission.

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5 June 1989

## Student Reading

# Countering the Surge in Population

by Yang Xiaobing

During the first quarter of 1989, China faces the grim prospect of its population hitting 1.1 billion. In response, a new family planning publicity campaign is being launched across the country.

Since China first introduced its family planning programme in the early 1970s, an estimated 200 million births have been prevented—a major contribution towards curbing the rapidly increasing population of Asia and the world.

But the future now looks none too optimistic. Since 1986, China's birth rate has been rising. Last year, a sample survey put the figure at 23.26 per thousand for 1987, and 20.78 per thousand for 1988. Annually, the population has been growing by around 15 million people.

Originally China had planned to keep its population *below* 1.2 billion by the year 2000. Subsequently this was amended to *around* 1.2 billion. But even meeting this target will be no easy task, given the population growth of recent years.

China is now experiencing its third baby boom since 1949. The principal reason for the rise in the birth rate is that 11-13 million women are reaching child-bearing age annually. This peak will not decline until 1995.

In addition, the implementation of family planning policies across China has been uneven. In many places, particularly culturally and economically backward rural areas, deep-rooted traditional ideas remain stubbornly entrenched—especially the notion that "the more sons, the more blessings." Some local authorities have also failed to take their family planning responsibilities sufficiently seriously, and others have even adopted a "laissez-faire" attitude.

Furthermore, since China began invigorating its economy, the floating population has risen to around 50 million. And with the difficulties of monitoring this group and effectively implementing family planning, they have produced a large number of over-large familes.

A recent study revealed that some 3 million babies born in 1987 were unauthorized third or fourth children and around 2.5 million people married below the legal age, putting them in the position to give birth earlier than they should.

Although China's gross national product (GNP) has doubled over the past decade, with its vast population, its per-capita GNP lags far behind the world average. Its grain production is also high at 400 billion kg a year, but divided among the population, this leaves just 370 kg per head. Similarly, the per-capita share of China's huge natural resources is small, and the per-capita area of cultivated land, forest, grasslands and water resources is not only beneath the world average but is continuing to drop.

Under these circumstances, unless population growth is curbed, China's increase in wealth will be offset by the ever-larger number of people who have to share it. Simultaneously, as the contradiction between population and resources grows, environmental deterioration will follow. If this happens, it will prove impossible to increase national strength and difficult to raise living standards.

To curb the rise in the birth rate, the state has reaffirmed its current family planning policies: marriage and birth at a mature age, the one child family, and with fewer births, better healthcare. Rural families facing genuine difficulties (including households with a single girl) are permitted to have a second child after an interval of several years. But in no circumstances will a third be allowed. Family planning is also being encouraged among national minorities, but with greater latitude and after paying due attention to local conditions and customs.

The government has stressed that the relevant departments must strengthen their publicity and educational work, and that campaigns should be conducted patiently, painstakingly and continually, especially in rural areas.

To control births among the floating population, the State Family Planning Commission, the State Administration for Industry and Commerce, and the Self-Employed Workers' Association have joined forces to draw up a series of measures which are now being tested in several localities.

Civil affairs departments are now starting to check up on illegal marriages across the country, punishing people who have married and given birth under age.

Medical and health departments are expanding technical guidance on birth control into a wider area, as well as looking for simpler, safer, more effective and cheaper means of contraception. ▫

*BEIJING REVIEW, MARCH 13-19, 1989*

Questions for a discussion on "*Countering the Surge in Population*"

1. What is the reason for the 3rd baby boom since 1949?

2. This article specifically discusses the problems the floating population causes for birth control planning. A "floating population" means those persons who are not officially attached to a work unit. In other words, there is no government agency watching over them, or influencing their behavior. Why is the floating population a problem for the government?

# Population Problems And Countermeasures

***The family planning policy China adopted in the 1970s resulted in a reduced population growth by more than 200 million people. However, although family planning is the order of the day, the population problem is still serious and appropriate countermeasures have to be taken.***

by Peng Peiyun

It is well known that the population problem has a direct bearing on socio-economic development. It is thus a major problem of common concern in the world. Since the Bucharest meeting on the world's population in 1974, many countries, the developing countries in particular, have been successful in checking the excessive growth of their population in the light of the principle and target set in the world population action plan. Given the formidable base figure and an annual growth rate of 1.7 percent, however, the world's total population topped 5.2 billion in early 1989. The population is still growing and economic development lags far behind demand for a better life, especially in developing countries. Although the world's grain production registered a big growth due to advances in agricultural technology, the per-capita increase has been quite limited. What is more worrisome is that the excessive population growth has led to a sharp decrease in the per-capita share of farmland. The excessive harvesting of trees, the overgrazing of grasslands, over-development of resources and environmental pollution have exerted extremely heavy pressure on natural resources and on the whole ecological system. How to properly deal with the population problem in the remaining years of this century is thus of vital importance to the quality of life of the people in the coming century.

Since China is the world's most populous country, any change in its population will affect the population situation of the whole world. The following is a brief account of the progress China has made over the past 20 years in controlling the size of its population and the development trend of its population.

### Excessive Growth Checked

Since the 1970s, China has been implementing a family planning programme, the object of which is to control the size and improve the quality of its population. As a result, the natural growth rate of its population dropped by a big margin, from 2.6 percent in 1970 to 1.4 percent in 1988.

With advances in the economy and society, and with the implementation of the family planning programme, there is a gratifying change in the people's attitude towards marriage and birth. This new trend is characterized by family planning, late marriage and late birth, and giving birth to fewer but healthier children. Of all children born in 1970, 20 percent were the family's only child and 60 percent were the family's second or third child. In 1988, the one-child rate increased to more than 50 percent and the more-than-one-child rate dropped to 15 percent. Of all the couples of the child-bearing age, 150 million couples or 70 percent used contraceptive measures; of these, 34 million couples voluntarily applied for Only Child Certificate, representing a 100 percent increase over seven years ago.

### Stark Reality

In mid-April 1989, China's mainland population passed the 1.1 billion mark. Beginning in 1986, China experienced another baby boom period when the 300-plus million people who were born in the 1960s and early 1970s entered the child-bearing age. The new round of increased births will continue until the mid-1990s, with the net increase of 15 million births each year. For a developing country like ours, with weak economic foundation and relative shortage of resources, the pressure created by such developments is heavy.

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• The author is minister in charge of the State Family Planning Commission.

Despite the success of family planning, birth control work has developed extremely unevenly in China. The 30 provinces, municipalities and autonomous regions of the mainland can largely be divided into four types, categorized by their capacity to control the birth rate. Eight provinces and municipalities which contain 22 percent of the nation's population have good population programmes, strictly implement the state policy regarding birth control and have managed to keep the child-bearing rate to the zero growth level; four other provinces with 22 percent of the national population have fairly good programmes, relatively successfully carry out the state policy, and have a low and decreasing birth rate; ten provinces with 43 percent of the national population do a lack-luster job of family planning work, implement the state policy poorly, and have a high birth rate; eight provinces and autonomous regions with 13 percent of the national population have poor birth control programmes and high birth rates. The last two types are mostly places which are economically and culturally backward, some being remote frontier regions or minority nationality areas (the state permits a comparatively loose birth control policy in minority areas). In these areas, there are enormous obstacles to the successful implementation of the state family planning policy. Such serious difficulties shortcomings will not be resolved in a short period of time.

It is possible that China will face a number of serious problems in population growth in the next century.

First of all, the total population will continue to increase. Even if the natural growth rate of China's population can be lowered to 1 percent in the early years of the next century, the annual net increase of population will still be more than 12 million. Under the impact of the momentum of the population growth, China's population will continue to increase in the next 50 or so years. Even if we are able to do a good job of family planning, China's population will not stabilize until it reaches 1.5 billion by the mid-21st century.

Second, strenuous efforts must be made to improve the quality of the population. By the end of this century, China will popularize middle-school education and provide medical care to all the people in most urban and rural areas.

Third, the problem of potential surplus labour in rural areas will appear as a result of the development of the rural economy and the higher rate of birth. There will be large numbers of surplus rural labour who will need to transfer from the agricultural to a non-agricultural field. This will eventually speed urbanization of the population in the next century and create bigger pressure on cities and towns.

Fourth, persons 65 years old or older made up 5.5 percent of China's total population in 1987 and will represent some 7 percent at the end of this century. In the 21st century, China's population will continue this ageing trend, with those 65 years old or older numbering 250 million by the year 2040. This rapidly ageing population will bring about a variety of problems.

All in all, such a large, culturally backward, rapidly ageing population, plus the increasing migration of rural populations into urban areas, will create a series of difficulties in providing food, housing, medical care, education, employment, social security and environmental protection.

## Countermeasures

Faced with such a serious population problem, the Chinese government is working on counter-measures based on the world's population action programme, the proposals put foreward by the Mexico population conference and China's own reality. In formulating these countermeasures, the general approach is to incorporate the requirements brought about by the growing population into China's overall socio-economic development strategy.

There are three steps to China's socio-economic development strategy. The first step is to double China's 1980 GNP and provide sufficient food and clothing for all the Chinese. This task has been basically fulfilled. The second step is to quadruple the 1980 GNP and provide a decent standard of living by the end of this century. The third step is to modernize China, to raise the per-capita GNP to the level of a moderately developed country and enable the Chinese to lead a well-to-do life by the middle of the 21st century.

To realize this strategic goal, what matters most is the strict control of the growth of the population and the improvement of the quality of the nation's citizens. For a long time to come, birth control will be a basic state policy.

Since the remaining 11 years of the century is an extremely crucial time in the effort to control the growth of the population, China must do its utmost to keep the lid on the coming baby boom so as to make family planning in the next century easier.

To carry out its family planning programme, China has to continue and improve on what has already proved successful. First, publicity on family planning should be intensive and extensive in order to raise the public awareness about the population problem. The public should be alerted to the difficulties brought about by the rapid population growth and thus the need for birth control.

In the future, the focus of family planning publicity will be in the countryside.

Second, young couples should be provided with detailed information on contraceptive practices and family planning combined with care for the mother and baby.

Third, the work of family planning should be combined with efforts to develop the economy, popularize education, improve medical care, social welfare and social security and raise the social position of women. Chinese women have come to realize that family planning is not only necessary to the state but also to themselves. We will continue to strive to raise the political and economic position of Chinese women, and offer them better education so as to enable them to decide their own destiny.

The steady growth of agriculture, especially of grain production, is the foundation for development of the national economy as a whole. While energetically developing agriculture, we will continue to encourage and guide the development of township enterprises, develop small and medium-sized cities and towns, and further readjust the nation's industrial makeup so as to utilize the rural labour surplus, create conditions suitable for urbanization and minimize the social drawbacks which might occur when a large number of farmers flow into the cities.

To care for the elderly, we will establish a uniquely Chinese old age security system. On the one hand, as the economy grows, we will energetically develop social security programmes and community welfare facilities for the elderly. On the other hand, we will continue to carry forward our nation's time-honoured tradition of the young caring for the old, and ensure that the elderly are properly provided for through the concerted efforts by the state, community and family.

The above is a brief account of the future population situation and government's countermeasures now in the making. China's population has become a problem over a long historical period. In this Oriental country saddled with a backward and unevenly developed economy and culture, solutions to the problem will inevitably be accompanied by many difficulties. We have the resolve and confidence, however, to solve the problem through our unswerving effort.

The formulation and implementation of population policies and programmes based on its own realities are the internal affairs of a country. At the same time, because the population problem is one of global dimentions, all countries in the world should share experiences and discuss their common concerns. Like many other developing countries, China faces the problem of population growth outpacing its socio-economic development. We are thus willing to learn from and share our experiences with other countries.

The interdependence of modern human society demands that the North and South co-operate in a concerted effort to deal with the population problem. Such co-operation will benefit both developing and developed countries. In the search for solutions, it is both necessary and appropriate that all the countries carry out their co-operation according to the goal, as advocated in the UN Charter, of "promoting social progress and improving livelihood." We hope that co-operation based on this goal will be strengthened in the future. The UN Fund for Population Activities, other departments within the United Nations, intergovernmental organizations and international non-governmental institutes can do much to help achieve this goal.

All in all, while carrying out the reform and opening and promoting the socialist modernization programme, China will continue to do its utmost, together with other countries, to stabilize the world's population growth and make life better for future generations. ■

Questions for a discussion of "*Population Problems and Countermeasures*"

1. Give 3 ways in which population affects socio-economic development.

2. What was the world population in early 1989?

3. The author cites several reasons the per capita share of farmland has been reduced in addition to excessive population; name two of them.

4. How have Chinese attitudes towards marriage and birth changed in the last few years?

5. The article notes that one aspect of family planning will be to raise the social status of women. Why? How will this help family planning in general?

6. The author breaks the country into groups to demonstrate the "uneven" success of birth control. (In "Stark Reality" section.) Make a chart from the reading to highlight those areas and, using your own words, say why family planning has been difficult in the last two areas.

# *Resource Lists: China's Geography*

## Maps

***Zhonghua Renmin Gongheguo Ditu***
***(People's Republic of China Map)***
Government of the People's Republic of China

This is the large official map of China prepared by the Chinese Geographic publishing office. It is attractive, concentrating on China's political divisions (demarcated in various colors) and indicating surrounding countries. Highly recommended as an additional classroom resource.

Available from:
China Books and Periodicals
2929 Twenty-fourth Street
San Francisco, CA 94110

Price: inquire

***The People's Republic of China/The Peoples of China***
National Geographic

A beautiful map on heavy chart paper, easy to fold and unfold, which presents on one side a map of China's physical features, political divisions, and neighboring countries and on the other a map of the geographical locations of China's ethnolinguistic minority peoples (55 in all, representing 6 percent of the population but occupying 50-60 percent of the territory), with pictures of these peoples around the borders of the map.

Available from:
NATIONAL GEOGRAPHIC SOCIETY
Washington, D.C., 20036

Tel. (800) 638-4077

Price: $3.00 (allow 6 weeks for delivery)

*China* and *China's Borders*
National Technical Information Service

NTIS provides at low cost a large number of CIA publications and 8 1/2" x 11" maps on many countries. It is an excellent resource as the maps may be reproduced without copyright permission.

Available from:

NTIS
U.S. Department of Commerce
5285 Port Royal Road
Springfield, VA 22161

Tel: (703) 487-4650

Price: inquire (map # 801242 PB-89-928307)

## Atlases

***Current Information and Graphics for Social Sciences***
World Eagle

This atlas contains 157 maps of Asia for grades 6 through 12.

Available from:

Asia Today
64 Washburn Ave.,
Wellesley, MA 02181

Tel: (800) 634-3805

Price: inquire

***The Population Atlas of China***
Oxford University Press

This atlas contains an extraordinary variety of information about the population of China, presented in more than 130 large-scale maps, and in numerical form in the appendices. Most of the data came from the 1982 census. The visual presentation of population distribution, ethnicity, age and sex structure, fertility and mortality, educational level, marital status, and other topics in great geographical detail is a stunning summary of the social, economic, and demographic status of the largest national population. Would be a beautiful library addition.

Available from:
Oxford University Press
Attn: Humanities and Social Sciences Marketing
200 Madison Avenue
New York, N.Y. 110157-0913

216 pp., 137 full color maps, 32 pp. of tables and textual material

Price: $250.00

## Books

*A Map History of Modern China*
Brian Catchpole

A highly recommended resource for history, more than for geography. Includes maps of dynasties, invasions, war, and revolution.

Available from:
HEINEMANN EDUCATIONAL BOOKS
4 Front Street
Exeter, New Hampshire 03833

Tel: (603) 431-7894

Price: inquire

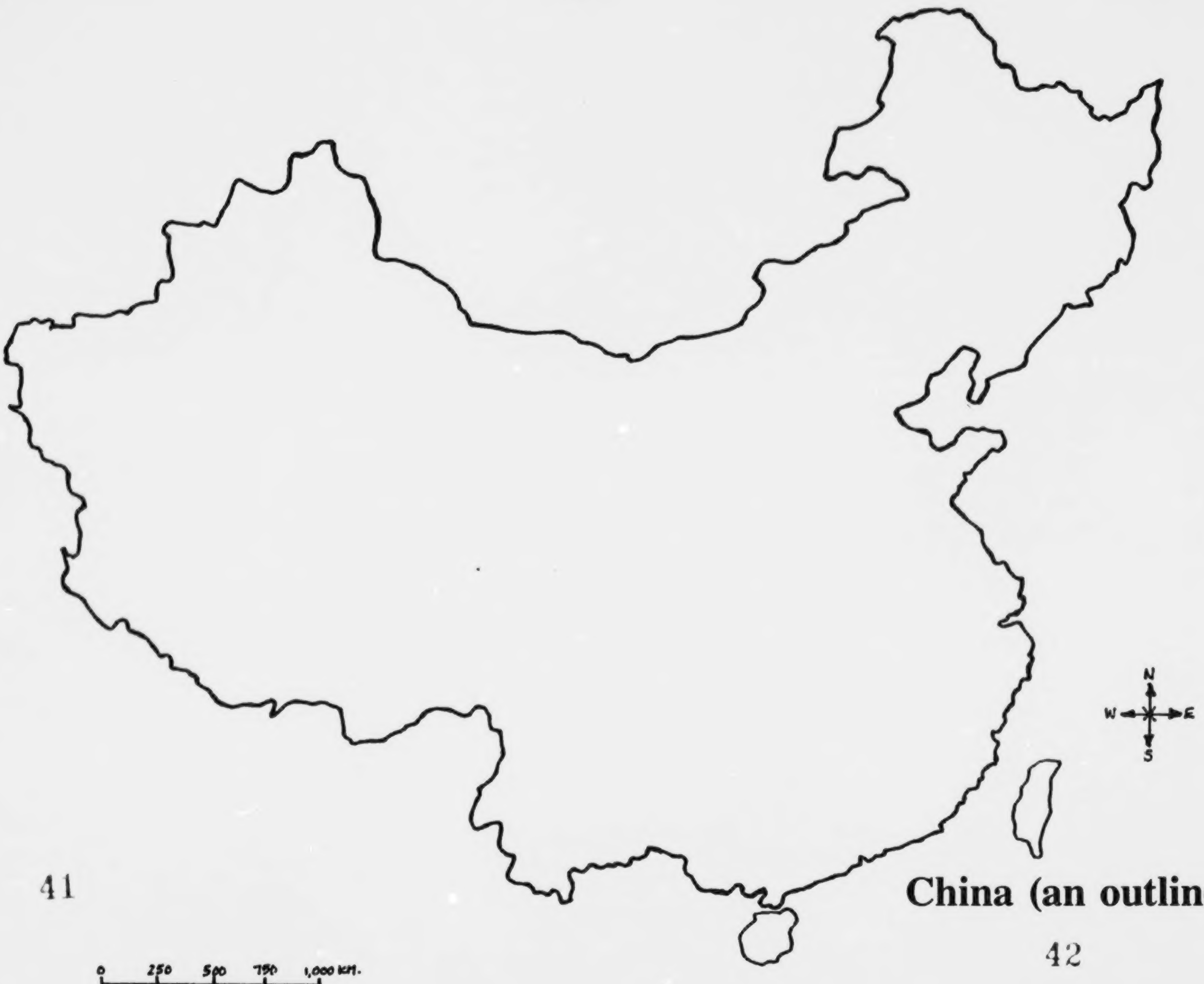
*Journey into China*
The National Geographic Society

This book contains 400 color photographs from all of China's major regions.

Available from:
NATIONAL GEOGRAPHIC SOCIETY
P.O. Box 1540
Washington, C.C. 20013

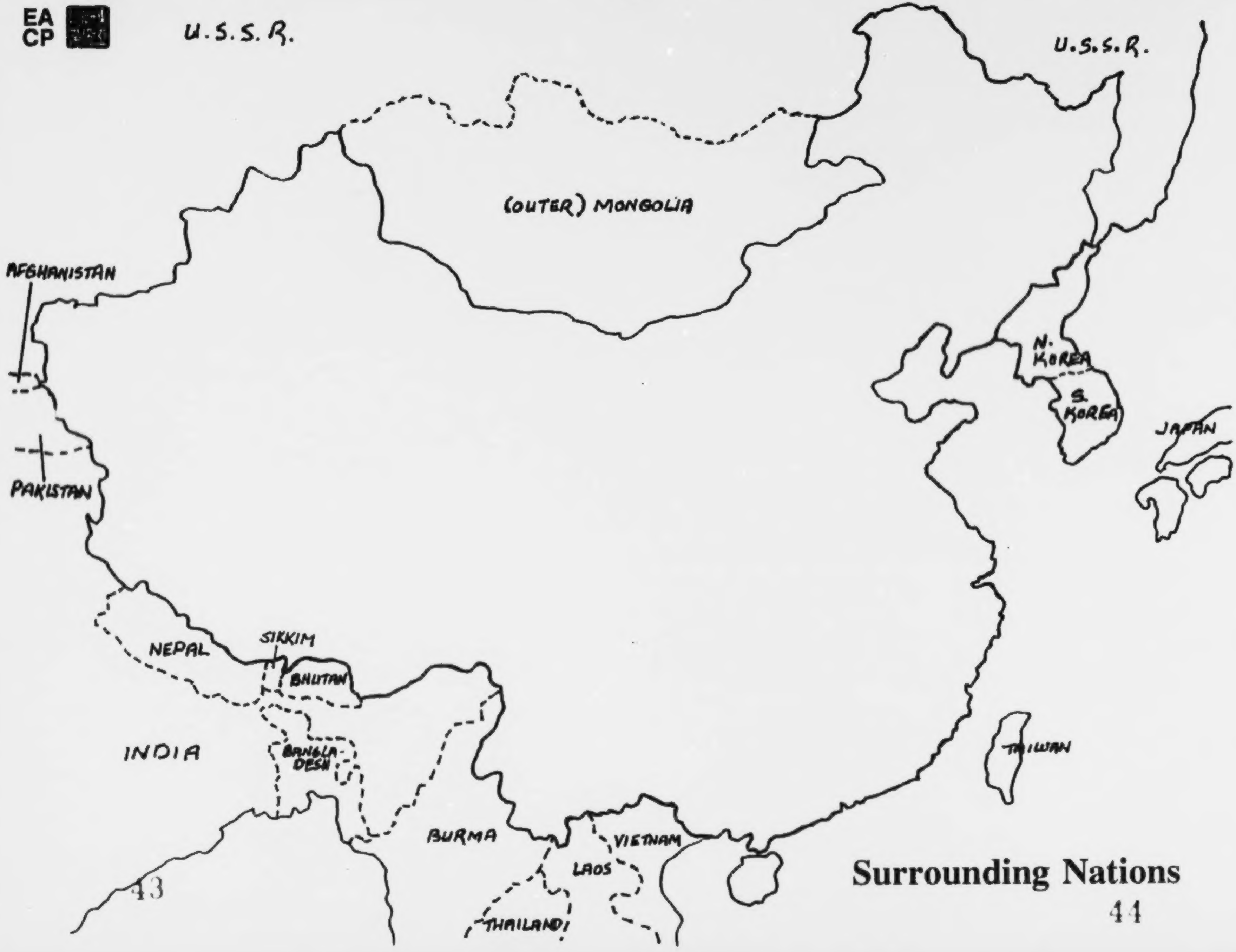
Price: $21.50 (hardcover)

EA
CP

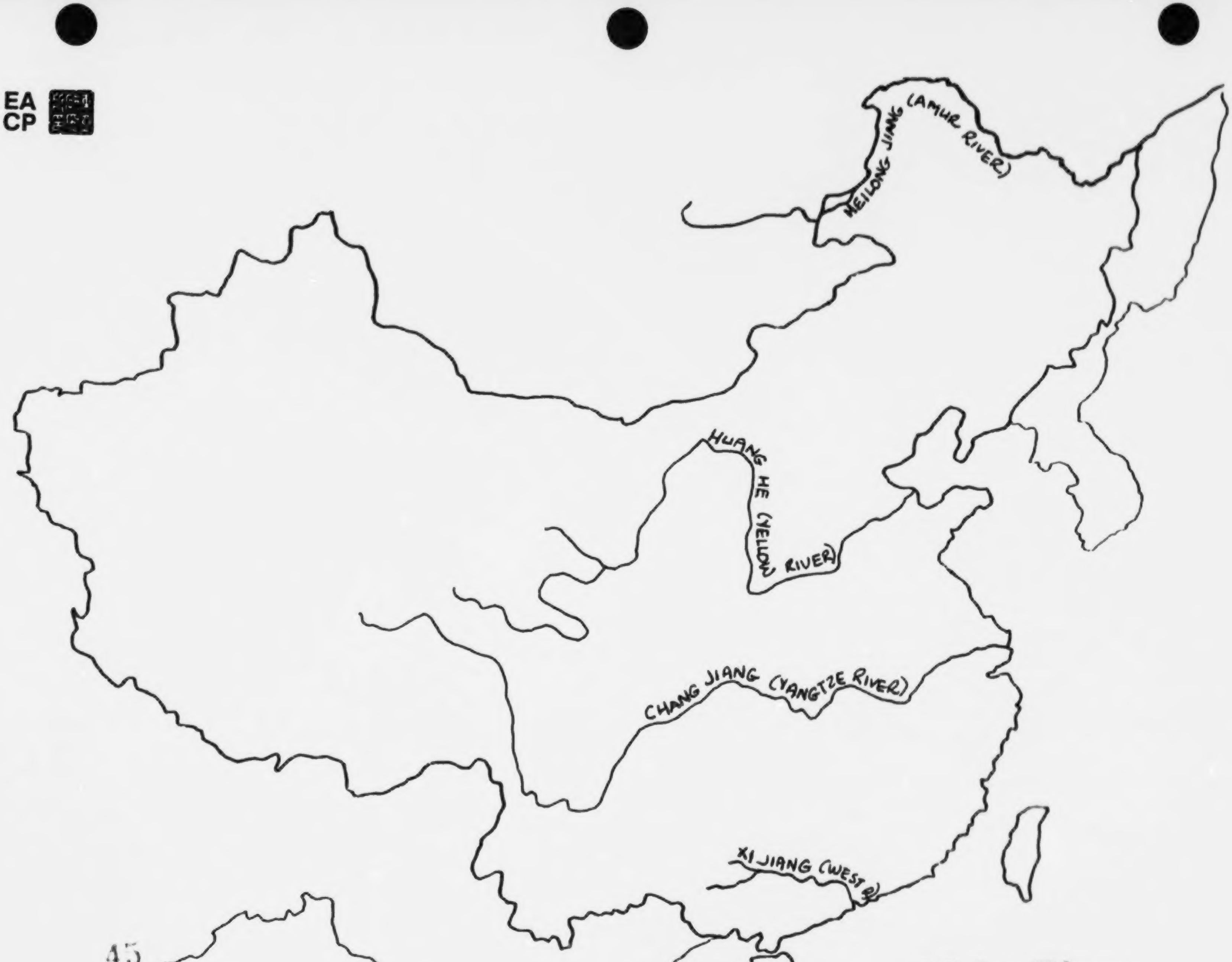

N
W
E
S
0
250
500
750
1,000 KM.
250
500 MI.

China (an outline)

EA
CP

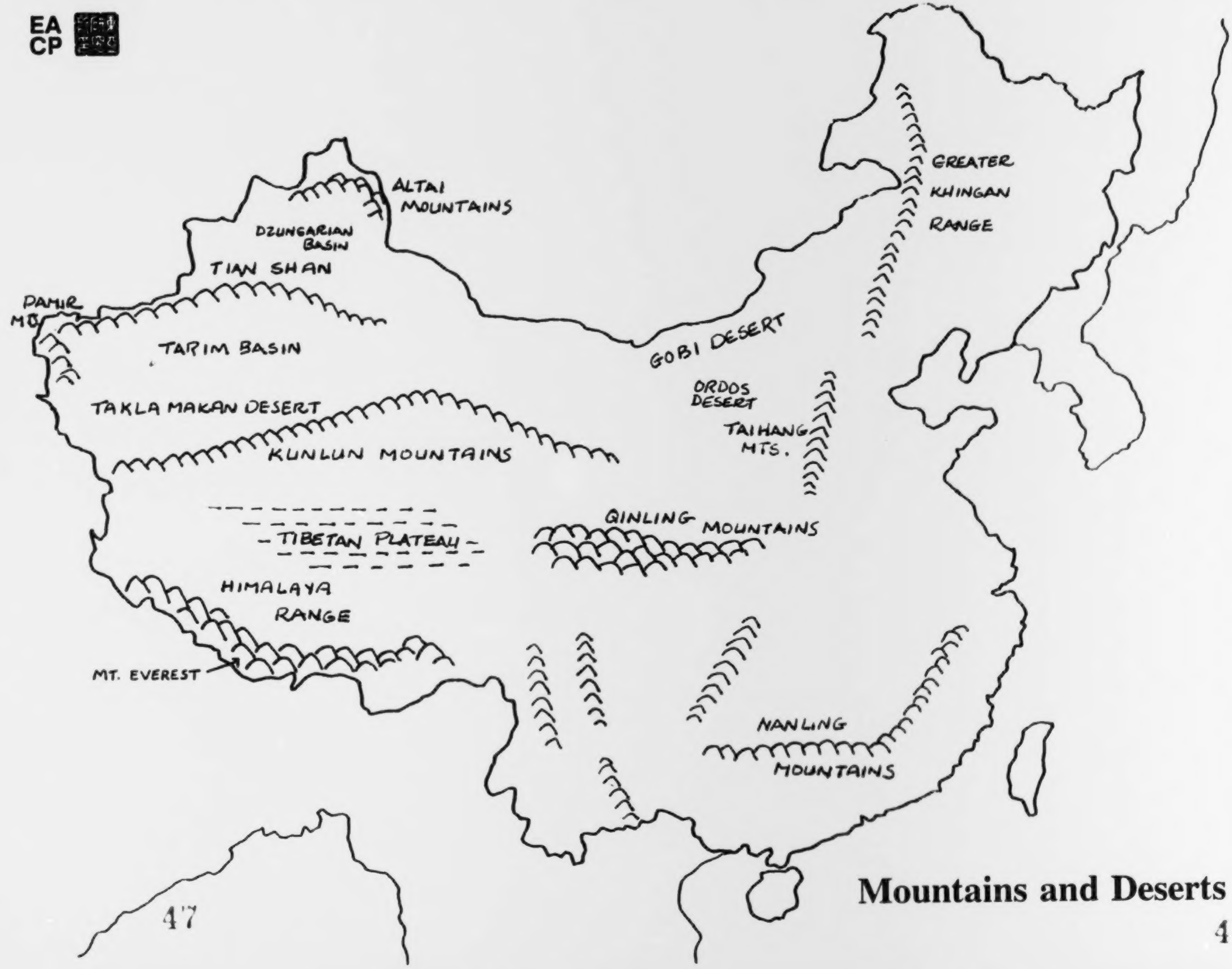

U.S.S.R.
U.S.S.R.
(OUTER) MONGOLIA
AFGHANISTAN
PAKISTAN
N. KOREA
S. KOREA
JAPAN
NEPAL
SIKKIM
BHUTAN
INDIA
BANGLA-DESH
BURMA
LAOS
VIETNAM
THAILAND
TAIWAN

## Surrounding Nations

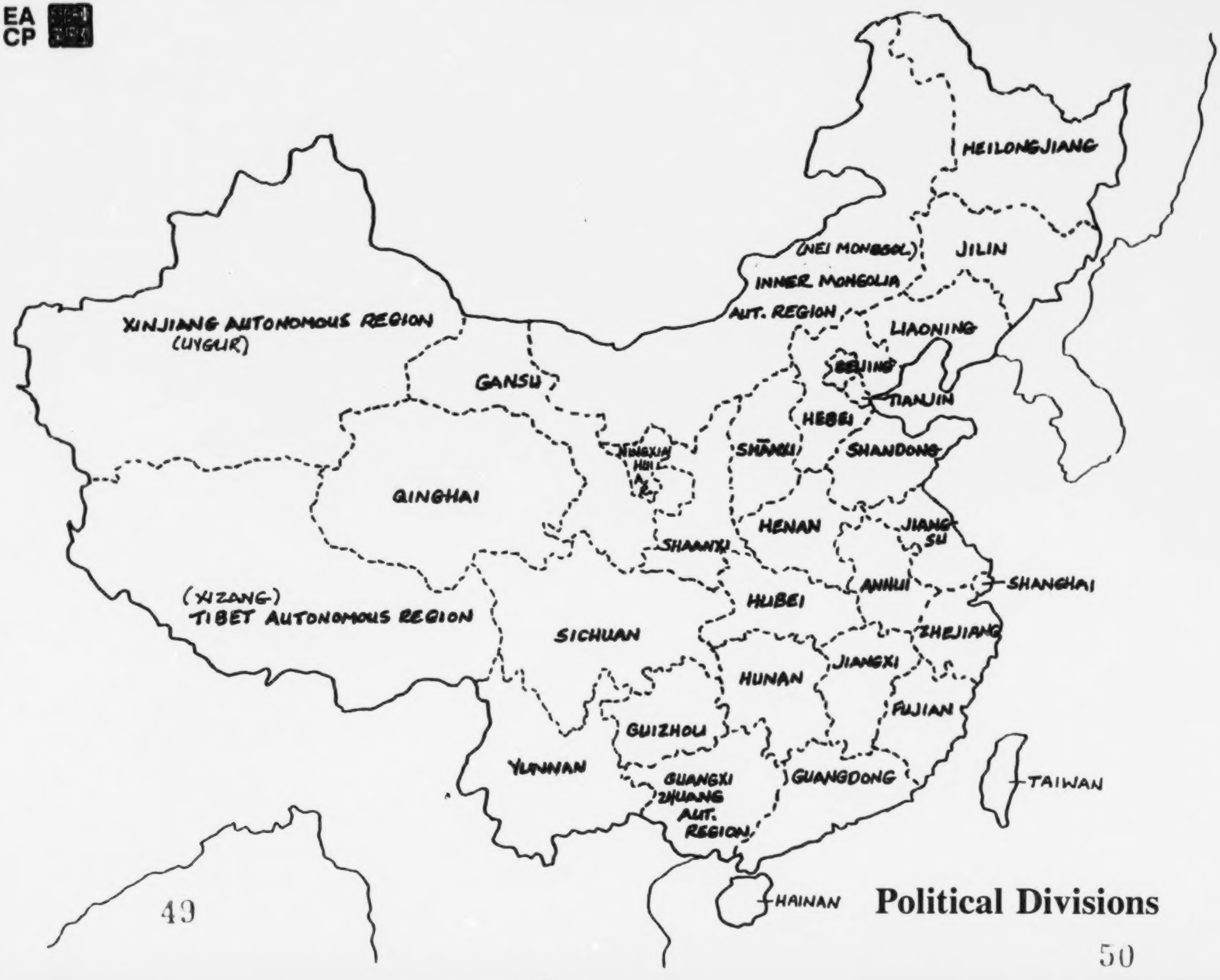

HEILONG JIANG (AMUR RIVER)
HUANG HE (YELLOW RIVER)
CHANG JIANG (YANGTZE RIVER)
XI JIANG (WEST R)

Major Rivers

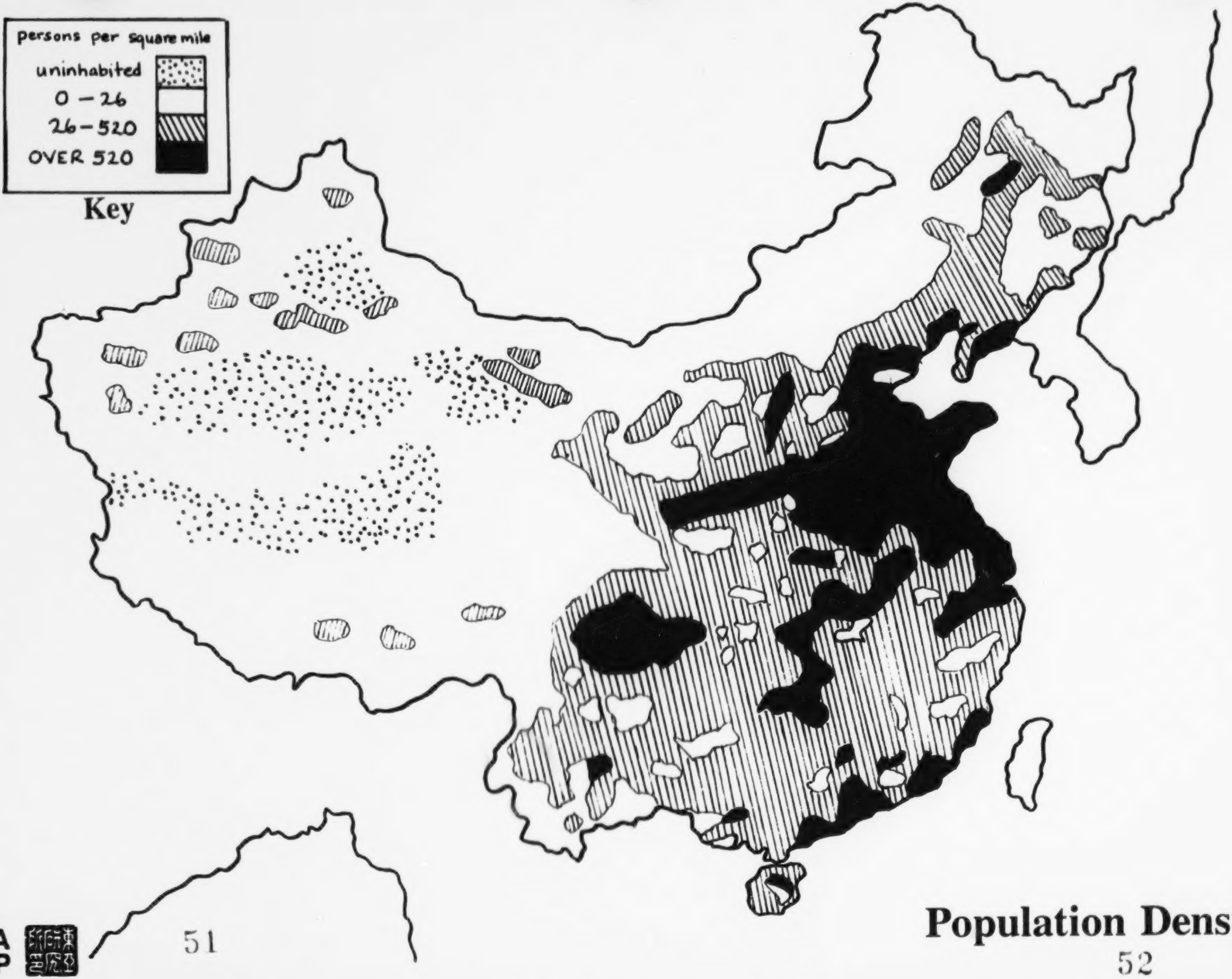
EA
CP


ALTAI MOUNTAINS
DZUNGARIAN BASIN
TIAN SHAN
PAMIR MTS
TARIM BASIN
TAKLA MAKAN DESERT
KUNLUN MOUNTAINS
TIBETAN PLATEAU
HIMALAYA RANGE
MT. EVEREST
GREATER KHINGAN RANGE
GOBI DESERT
ORDOS DESERT
TAIHANG MTS.
QINLING MOUNTAINS
NANLING MOUNTAINS

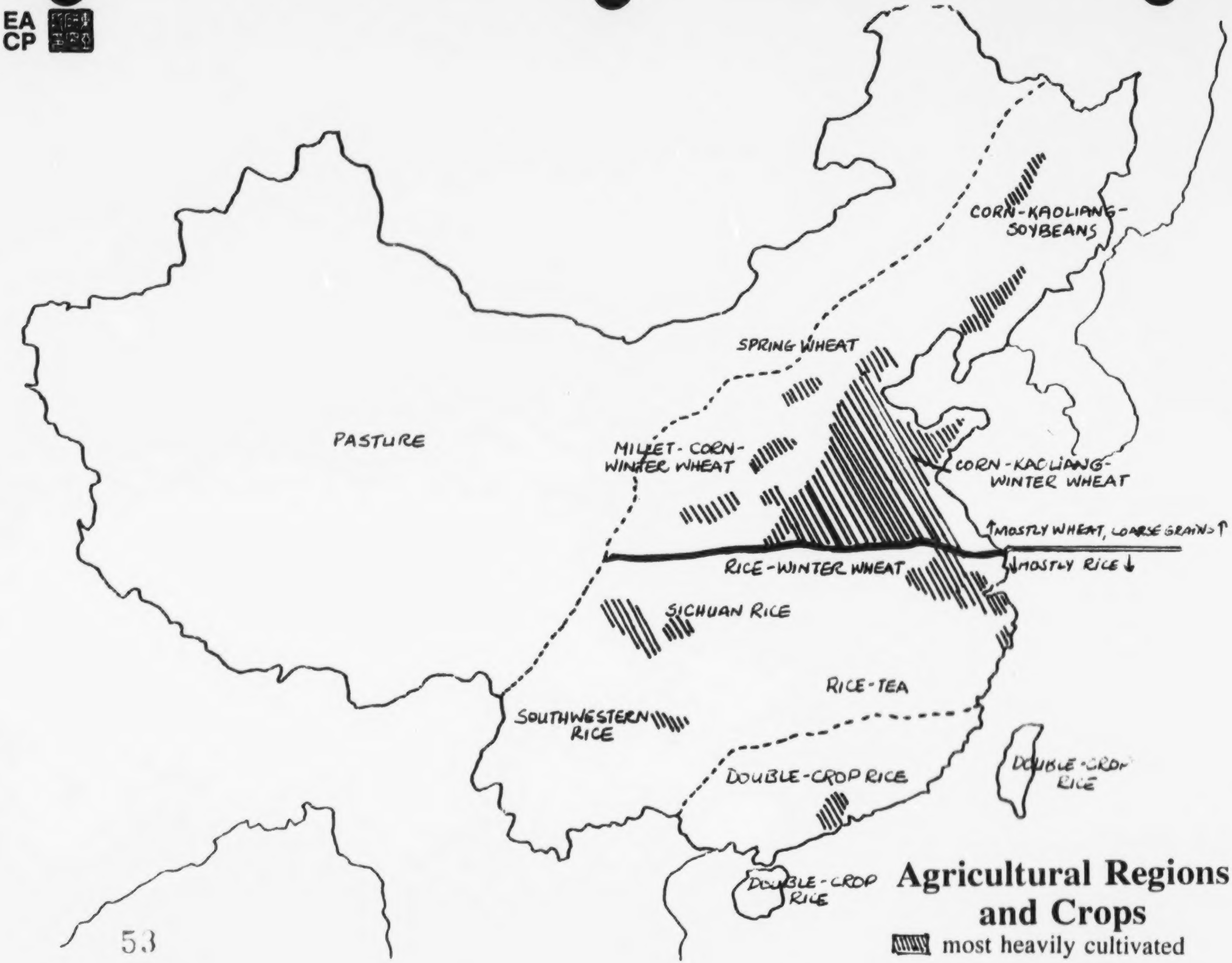
Mountains and Deserts


HEILONGJIANG
(NEI MONGGOL)
INNER MONGOLIA
AUT. REGION
JILIN
LIAONING
XINJIANG AUTONOMOUS REGION
(UYGUR)
GANSU
BEIJING
TIANJIN
HEBEI
SHANXI
SHANDONG
NINGXIA
HUI
A.
R.
QINGHAI
HENAN
JIANG
SU
SHAANXI
ANHUI
SHANGHAI
(XIZANG)
TIBET AUTONOMOUS REGION
HUBEI
SICHUAN
ZHEJIANG
JIANGXI
HUNAN
FUJIAN
GUIZHOU
YUNNAN
GUANGXI
ZHUANG
AUT.
REGION
GUANGDONG
TAIWAN
HAINAN

**Political Divisions**

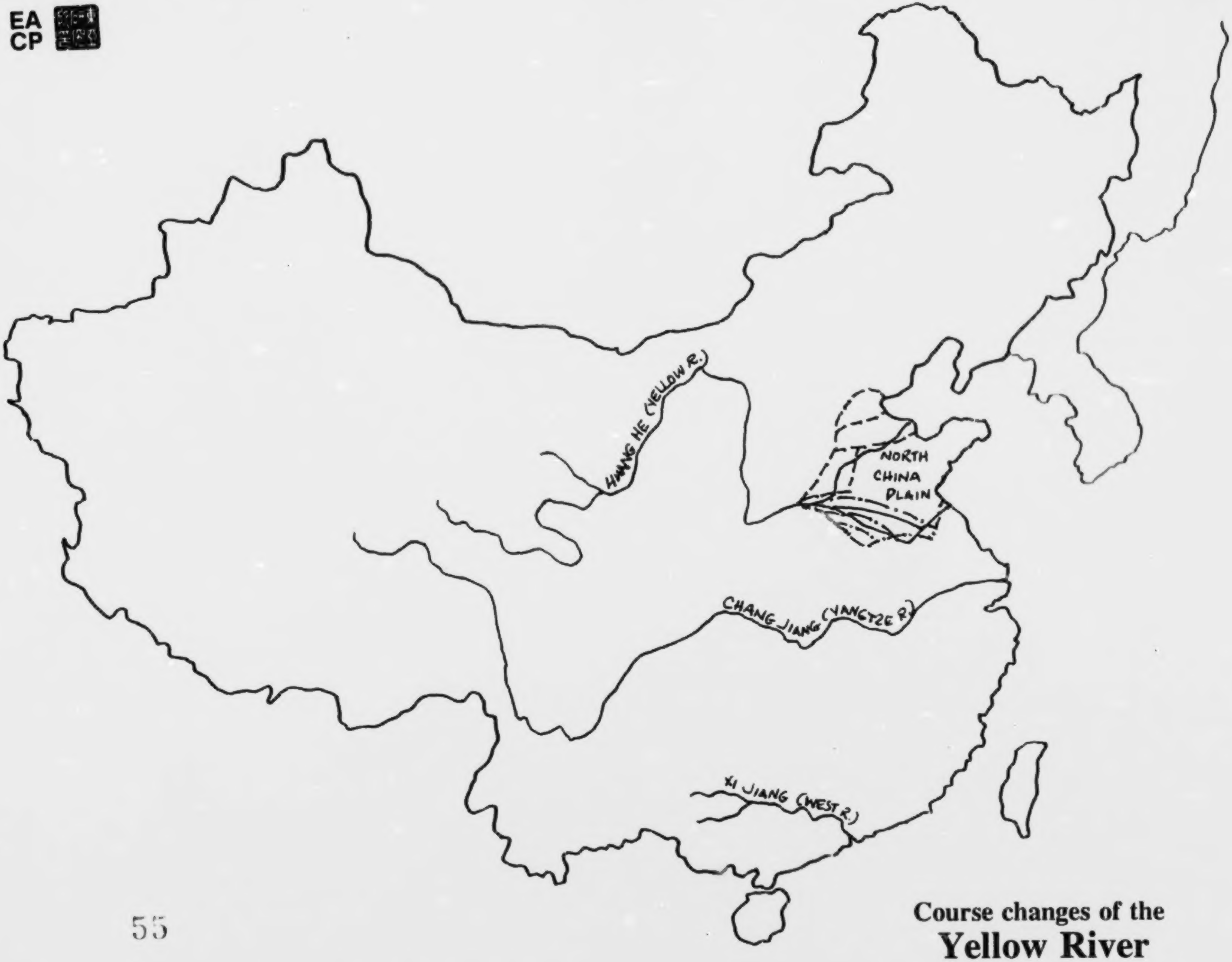

persons per square mile
uninhabited
0 – 26
26 – 520
OVER 520
Key

## Population Density


CORN-KAOLIANG-SOYBEANS
SPRING WHEAT
PASTURE
MILLET-CORN-WINTER WHEAT
CORN-KAOLIANG-WINTER WHEAT
↑MOSTLY WHEAT, COARSE GRAINS↑
RICE-WINTER WHEAT
↓MOSTLY RICE↓
SICHUAN RICE
RICE-TEA
SOUTHWESTERN RICE
DOUBLE-CROP RICE
DOUBLE-CROP RICE
DOUBLE-CROP RICE

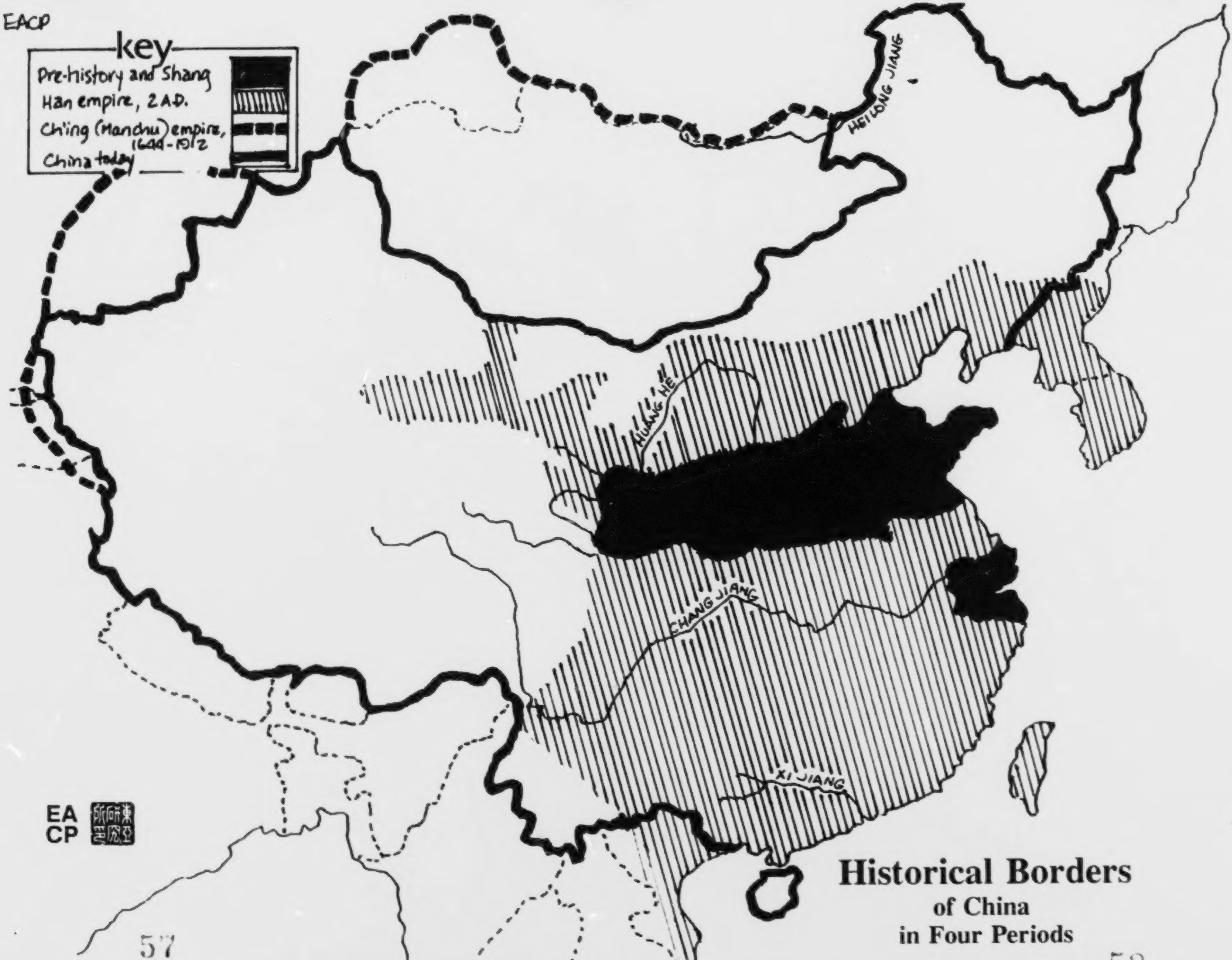
## Agricultural Regions and Crops

▨ most heavily cultivated


HUANG HE (YELLOW R.)
NORTH CHINA PLAIN
CHANG JIANG (YANGTZE R.)
XI JIANG (WEST R.)

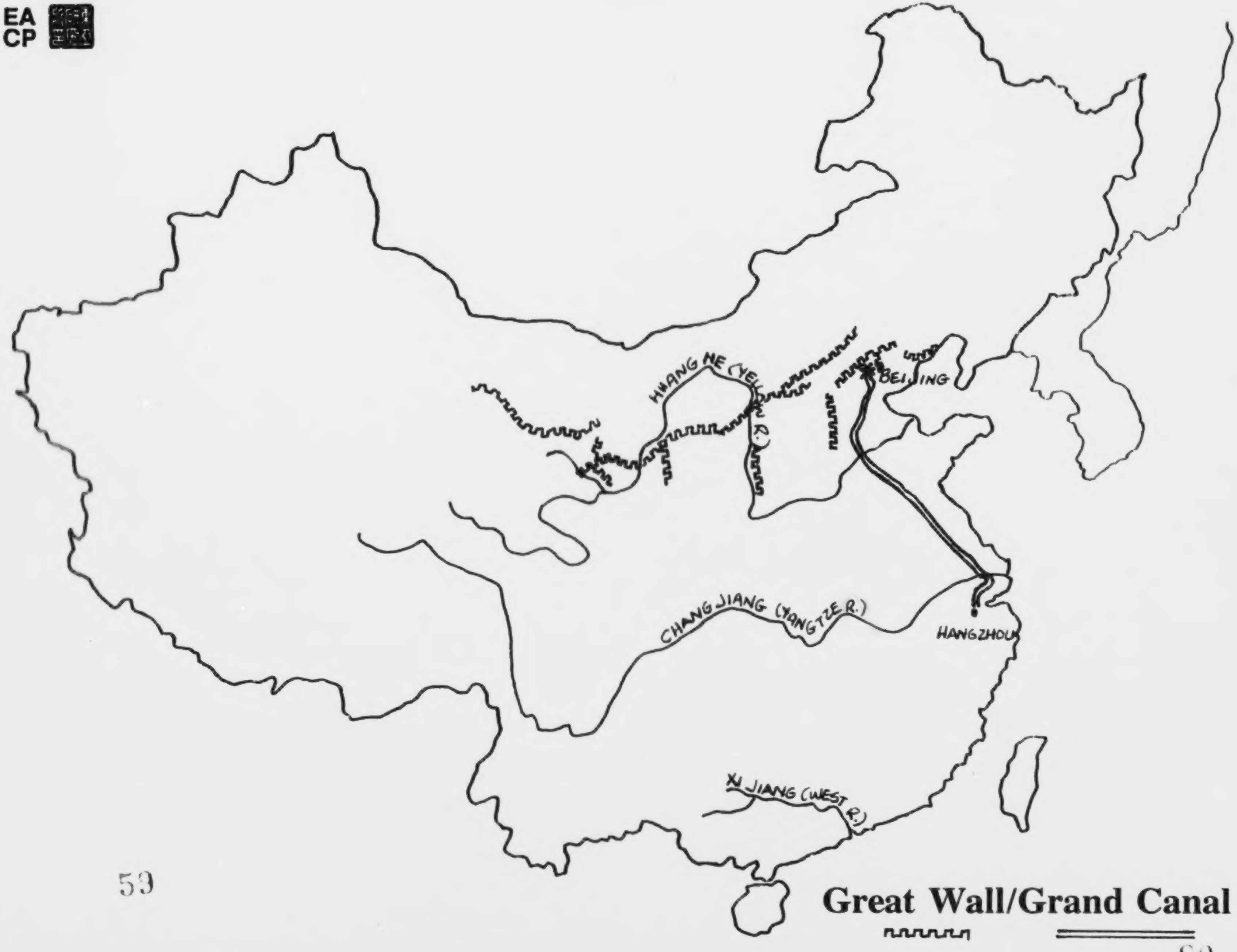
Course changes of the
**Yellow River**

EACP


key
Pre-history and Shang
Han empire, 2 A.D.
Ch'ing (Manchu) empire, 1644-1912
China today
HEILONG JIANG
HUANG HE
CHANG JIANG
XI JIANG

EA
CP

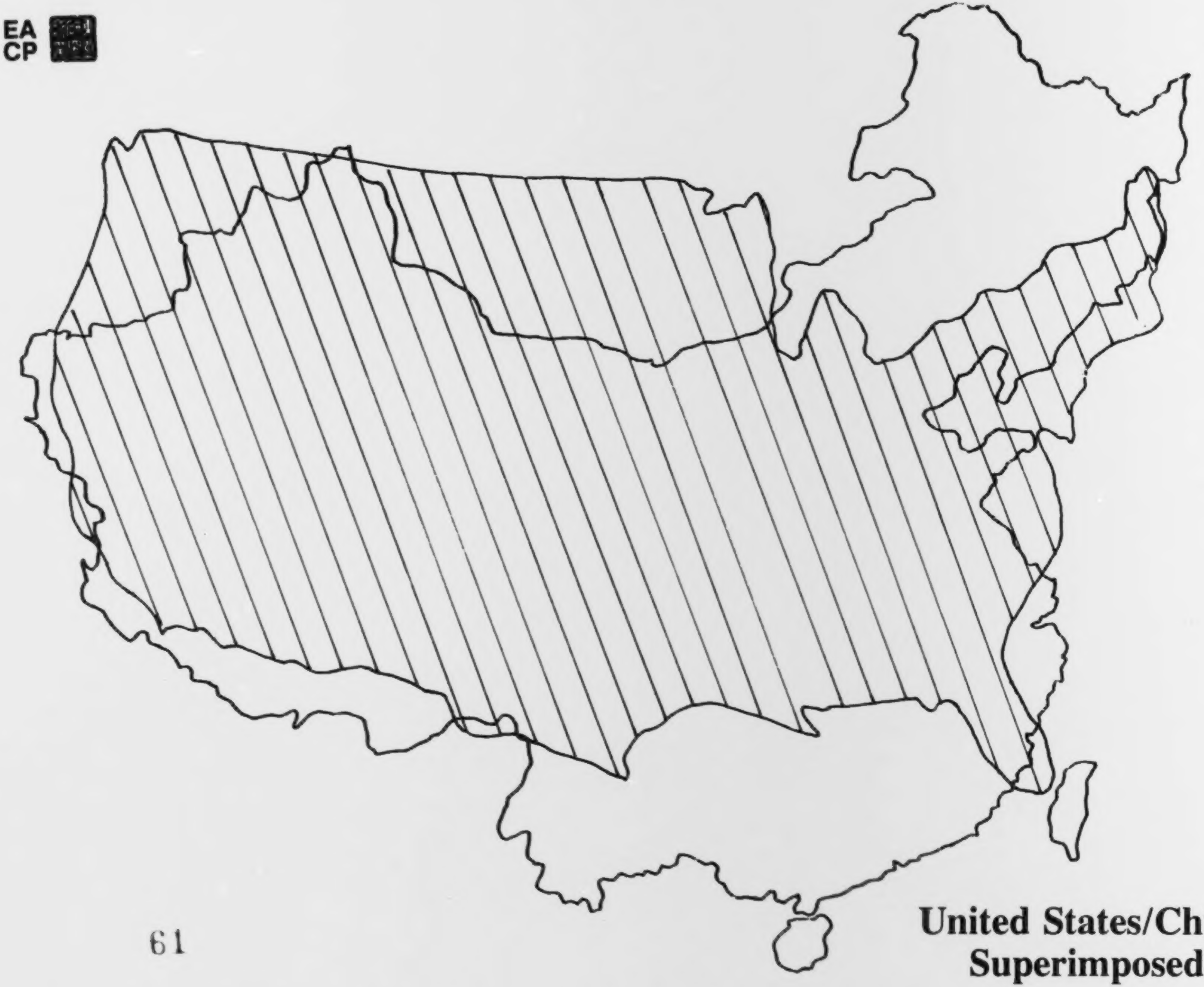
# Historical Borders
of China
in Four Periods


HUANG HE (YELLOW R.)
BEIJING
CHANG JIANG (YANGTZE R.)
HANGZHOU
XI JIANG (WEST R.)

# Great Wall/Grand Canal

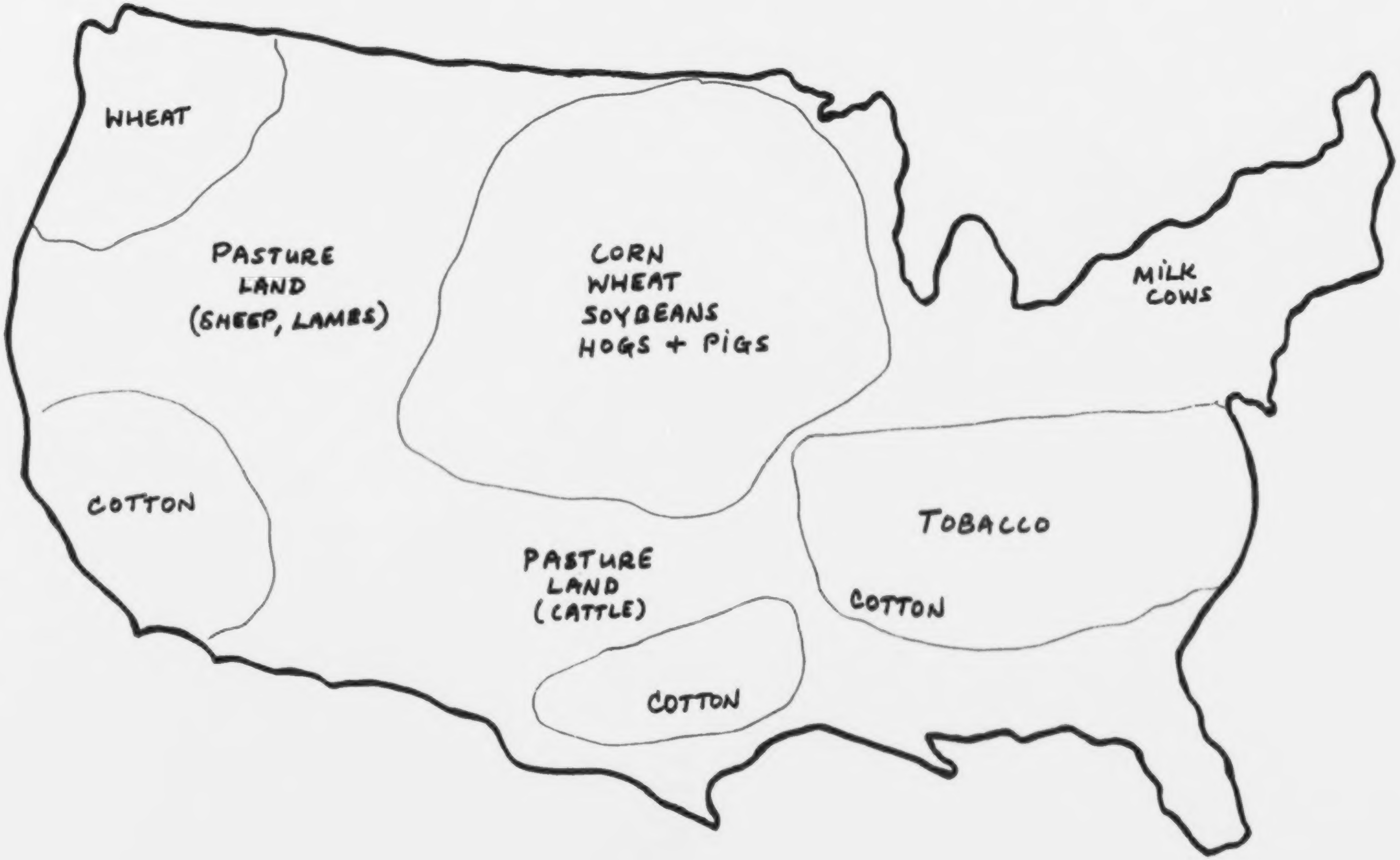
ЛЛЛЛЛЛЛ ═══

EA
CP



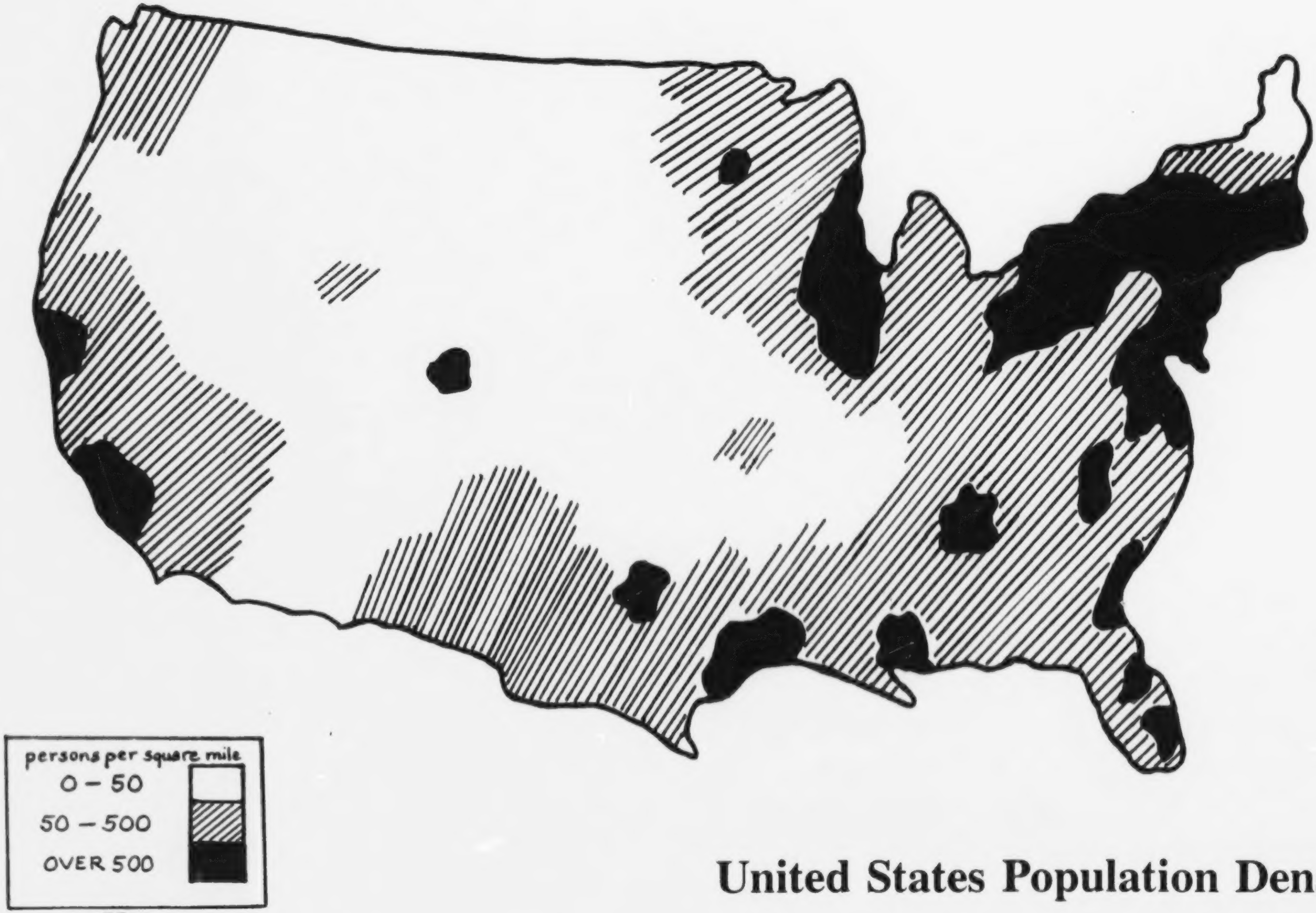
United States/China
Superimposed

EA
CP


WHEAT
PASTURE LAND (SHEEP, LAMBS)
CORN
WHEAT
SOYBEANS
HOGS + PIGS
MILK COWS
COTTON
TOBACCO
PASTURE LAND (CATTLE)
COTTON
COTTON

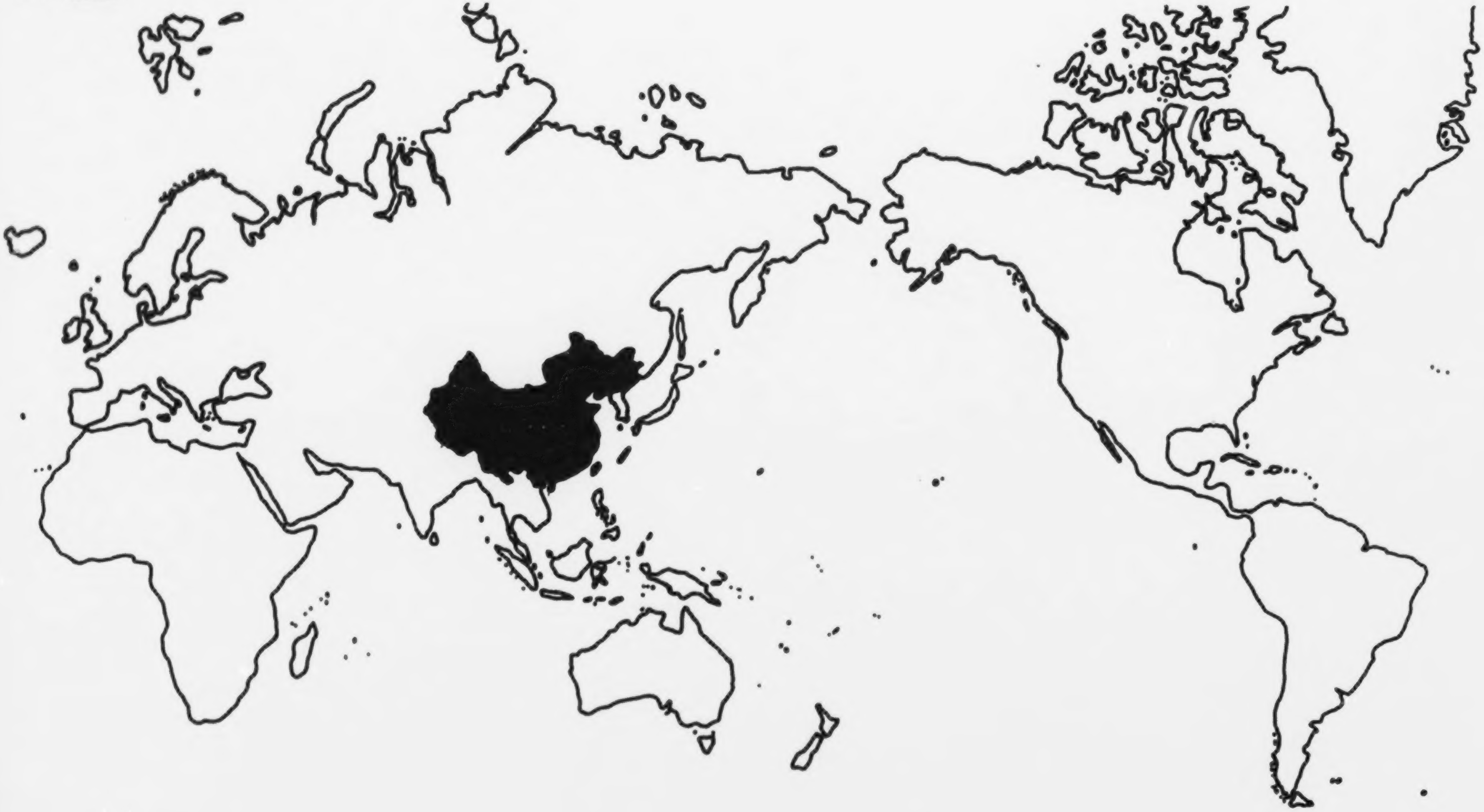
United States' Agricultural Regions & Crops

EA
CP


persons per square mile
0 – 50
50 – 500
OVER 500

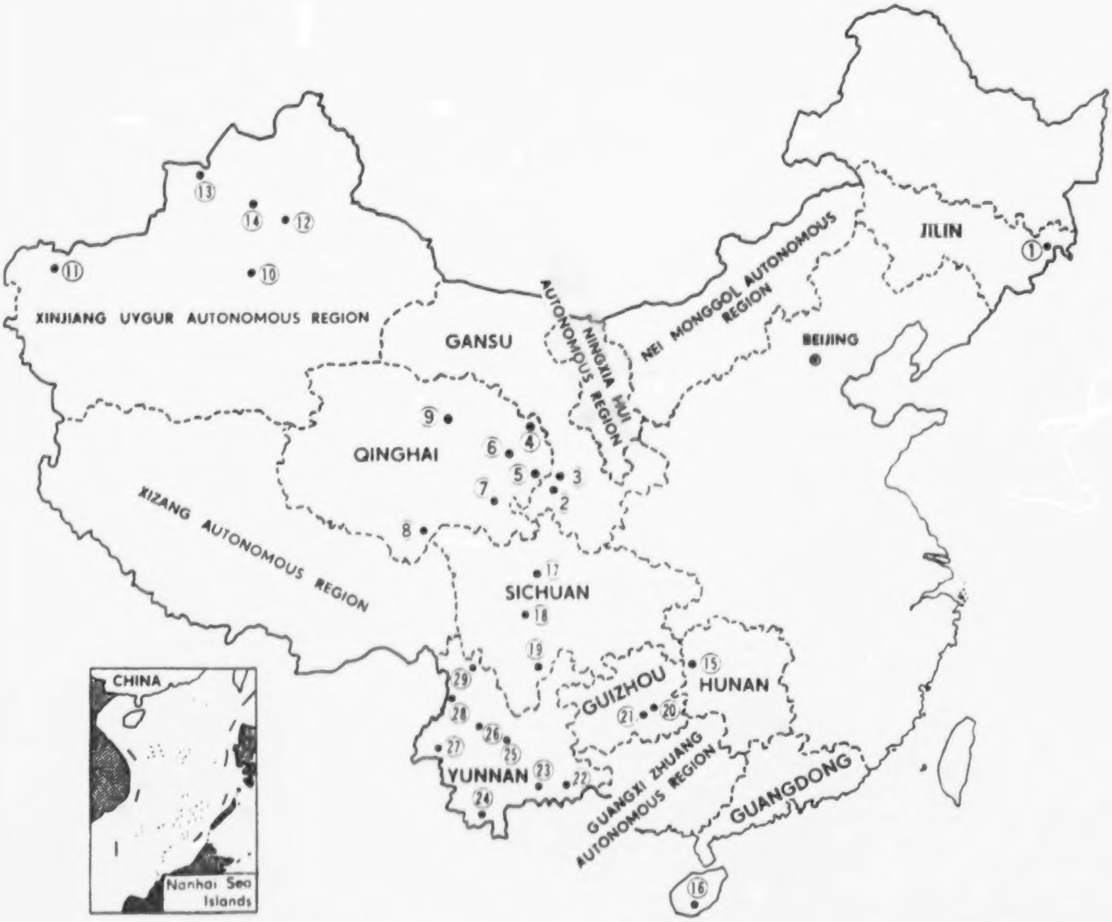
Key

United States Population Density



**China and the World**

## CHINESE NATIONAL MINORITIES AND MAJOR AREAS OF DISTRIBUTION


JILIN
NEI MONGGOL AUTONOMOUS REGION
BEIJING
NINGXIA HUI AUTONOMOUS REGION
GANSU
XINJIANG UYGUR AUTONOMOUS REGION
QINGHAI
XIZANG AUTONOMOUS REGION
SICHUAN
GUIZHOU
HUNAN
YUNNAN
GUANGXI ZHUANG AUTONOMOUS REGION
GUANGDONG
CHINA
Nanhai Sea Islands
1
2
3
4
5
6
7
8
9
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11
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14
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28
29

1. Yanbian Korean Autonomous Prefecture
2. Gannan Tibetan Autonomous Prefecture
3. Linxia Hui Autonomous Prefecture
4. Haibei Tibetan Autonomous Prefecture
5. Huangnan Tibetan Autonomous Prefecture
6. Hainan Tibetan Autonomous Prefecture
7. Guoluo Tibetan Autonomous Prefecture
8. Yushu Tibetan Autonomous Prefecture
9. Haixi Mongolian, Tibetan, Kazakh Autonomous Prefecture
10. Bayingolin Mongolian Autonomous Prefecture
11. Kizilsu Khalkhas Autonompus Prefecture
12. Changji Hui Autonomous Prefecture
13. Bortala Mongolian Autonomous Prefecture
14. Ili Kazakh Autonomous Prefecture
15. Xiangxi Tujia, Miao Autonomous Prefecture
16. Hainan Li, Miao Autonomous Prefecture
17. Aba (Ngawa) Tibetan Autonomous Prefecture
18. Garze Tibetan Autonomous Prefecture
19. Liangshan Yi Autonomous Prefecture
20. Qiandongnan Miao, Dong Autonomous Prefecture
21. Qiannan Bouyei, Miao Autonomous Prefecture
22. Wenshan Zhuang, Miao Autonomous Prefecture
23. Honghe Hani, Yi Autonomous Prefecture
24. Xishuangbanna Dai Autonomous Prefecture
25. Chuxiong Yi Autonomous Prefecture
26. Dali Bai Autonomous Prefecture
27. Dehong Dai, Jingpo Autonomous Prefecture
28. Nujiang Lisu Autonomous Prefecture
29. Degen Tibetan Autonomous Prefecture

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| National Minorities | Major Areas of Distribution |
|---|---|
| Mongolian | Nei Monggol Autonomous Region, Liaoning Province, Jilin Province, Heilongjiang Province, Gansu Province, Xinjiang Uygur Autonomous Region, Qinghai Province, Hebei Province, Henan Province, Yunnan Province |
| Zhuang | Guangxi Zhuang Autonomous Region, Yunnan Province, Guangdong Province |
| Uygur | Xinjiang Uygur Autonomous Region |
| Miao | Guizhou Province, Hunan Province, Yunnan Province, Guangxi Zhuang Autonomous Region, Sichuan Province, Guangdong Province, Hubei Province |
| Hui | Ningxia Hui Autonomous Region, Gansu Province, Henan Province, Hebei Province, Qinghai Province, Shandong Province, Yunnan Province, Anhui Province, Xinjiang Uygur Autonomous Region, Liaoning Province |
| Tibetan | Xizang Autonomous Region, Qinghai Province, Sichuan Province, Gansu Province, Yunnan Province |
| Yi | Yunnan Province, Sichuan Province, Guizhou Province |
| Korean | Jilin Province, Heilongjiang Province, Liaoning Province |
| Manchu | Liaoning Province, Heilongjiang Province, Jilin Province, Hebei Province, Beijing, Nei Monggol Autonomous Region |
| Bouyei | Guizhou Province |
| Dong | Guizhou Province, Hunan Province, Guangxi Zhuang Autonomous Region |
| Yao | Guangxi Zhuang Autonomous Region, Hunan Province, Yunnan Province, Guangdong Province, Guizhou Province |
| Bai | Yunnan Province |
| Tujia | Hunan Province, Hubei Province |
| Hani | Yunnan Province |
| Kazakh | Xinjiang Uygur Autonomous Region, Gansu Province, Qinghai Province |
| Dai | Yunnan Province |
| Li | Guangdong Province |
| Lisu | Yunnan Province |
| Va | Yunnan Province |
| She | Fujian Province, Zhejiang Province, Jiangxi Province, Guangdong Province, Anhui Province |
| Gaoshan | Taiwan Province |
| Lahu | Yunnan Province |
| Shui | Guizhou Province |
| Dongxiang | Gansu Province |
| Naxi | Yunnan Province |
| Jingpo | Yunnan Province |
| Khalkhas | Xinjiang Uygur Autonomous Region |
| Tu | Qinghai Province |
| Daur | Heilongjiang Province, Xinjiang Uygur Autonomous Region |
| Mulao | Guangxi Zhuang Autonomous Region, Guizhou Province |
| Qiang | Sichuan Province |
| Bulang | Yunnan Province |
| Salar | Qinghai Province, Gansu Province |
| Maonan | Guangxi Zhuang Autonomous Region |
| Gelao | Guizhou Province, Yunnan Province, Guangxi Zhuang Autonomous Region |
| Xibe | Xinjiang Uygur Autonomous Region, Liaoning Province, Jilin Province |
| Achang | Yunnan Province |
| Pumi | Yunnan Province |
| Tajik | Xinjiang Uygur Autonomous Region |
| Nu | Yunnan Province |
| Uzbek | Xinjiang Uygur Autonomous Region |
| Russian | Xinjiang Uygur Autonomous Region |
| Ewenki | Heilongjiang Province |
| Benglong | Yunnan Province |
| Baoan | Gansu Province |
| Yugur | Gansu Province |
| Jing | Guangdong Province |
| Tartar | Xinjiang Uygur Autonomous Region |
| Drung | Yunnan Province |
| Oroqen | Heilongjiang Province |
| Hezhe | Heilongjiang Province |
| Monba | Xizang Autonomous Region |
| Loba | Xizang Autonomous Region |

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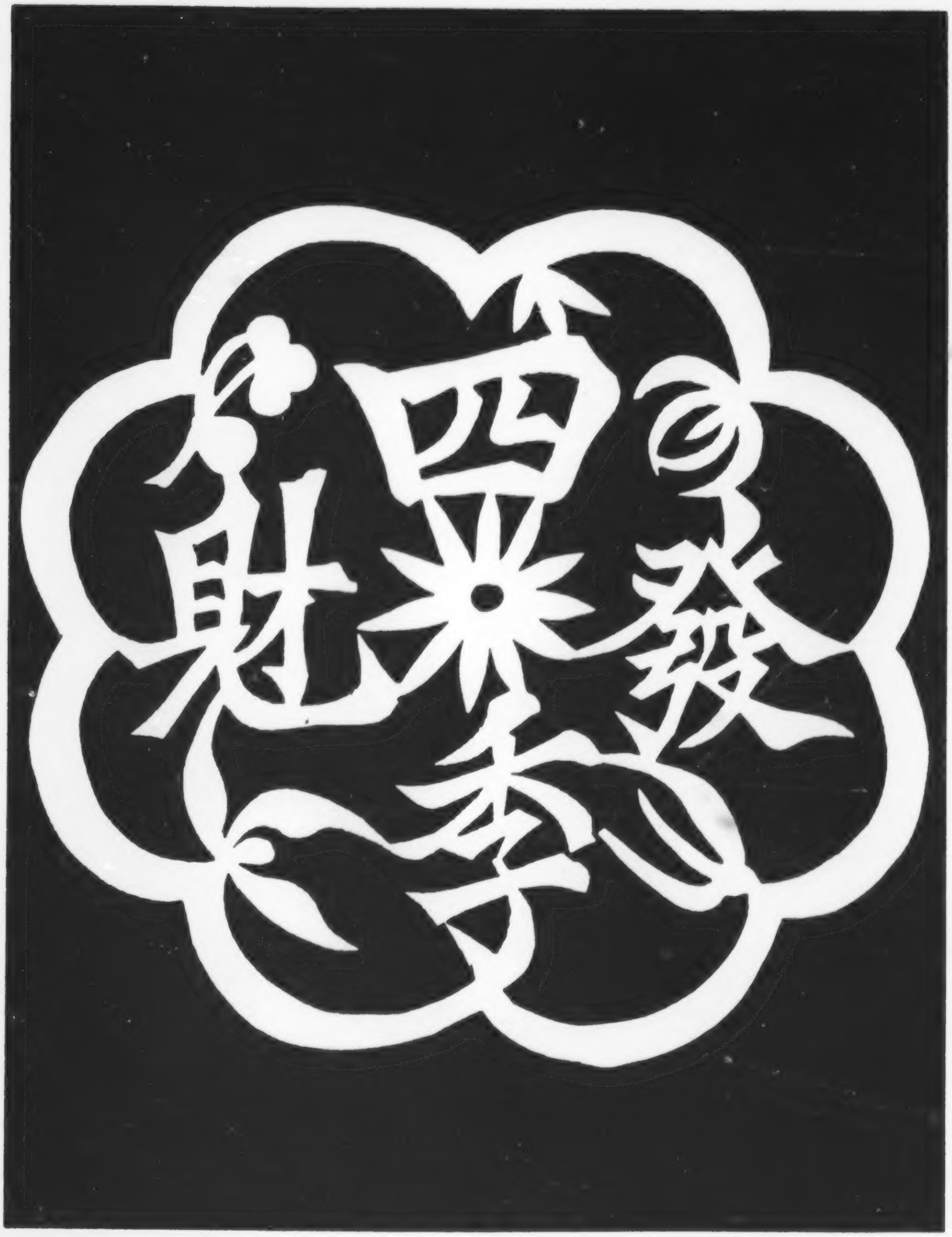
## *Section III*
# Language

### CONTENTS

Unit 1: ***The Chinese Language***
- Teacher's Note
  - Guide to pronouncing Chinese
- Student Reading: "*The Chinese Language: An Introduction*"
- Student Exercise: **What's in a Name?**

Featured Resource: ***Demystifying the Chinese Language***

- ***Calligraphy Exercise Packet***



A charm to provide good fortune in the Four Seasons.

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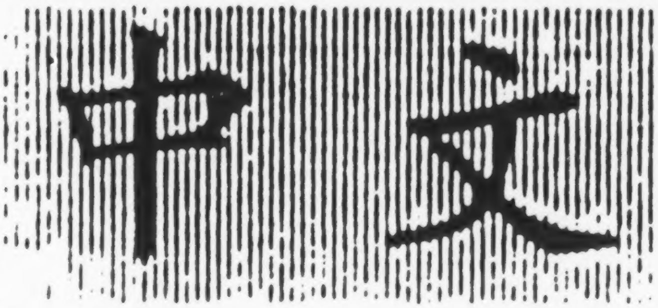

*Unit 1*

# The Chinese Language

### *Teacher's Note:*

Below is a student reading introducing the Chinese language and a calligraphy class exercise to follow the introduction. The goal of this unit is not to teach Chinese per se, but to create an appreciation for one of the world's oldest surviving languages, and to encourage students to see a connection between language and culture.

Students may ask what their names are in Chinese, but there are no direct translations. English names are transliterated into Chinese, i.e., given Chinese names that sound like English names but may mean something very different. Pronunciations of foreign names are often meaningless in Chinese! See the **Society** section of this workbook for a more detailed discussion of how Chinese get their names.

Since Chinese uses characters rather than an alphabet, many different systems of romanization have been developed over the years to help Americans and Europeans learn to pronounce the Chinese characters. Until the establishment of the P.R.C. in 1949, the **Wade-Giles system** had been the predominant system, and it is still used as the official romanization system in Taiwan. In their attempts to simplify the Chinese language and to increase literacy among the Chinese people, the P.R.C. developed a new system, known as the **pinyin system**. This system is now used by U.S. newspapers and many book publishers.

Following are a few tricks to pronouncing Chinese words which are romanized using **pinyin**:

| | |
|---|---|
| c is pronounced "ts" (its) | |
| q is pronounced "ch" (check) | Qing Dynasty (pronounced "Ching" Dynasty) |
| x is pronounced "sh" (she) | Deng Xiaoping (pronounced "Deng Shiaoping") |
| zh is pronounced "j" | Zhou Enlai (pronounced "Joe Enlai") and Zhou Dynasty (pronounced "Joe Dynasty") |

All other sounds can be pronounced as they are written.

# PRONOUNCING THE CHINESE LANGUAGE

| Wade-Giles | Pinyin | English Equivalent |
|---|---|---|
| ch' (aspirated) | q | ch (Thus, the name of Mao's widow is written "Chiang Ch'ing in Wade-Giles; "Jiang Qing" in Pinyin and would be pronounced "Jiang Ching.") |
| ch (unaspirated) | j or zh | j (Chou Enlai in Wade-Giles is spelled Zhou Enlai in Pinyin and pronounced Joe Unlie. |
| k' (aspirated) | k | k (Thus, Hua Kuofeng in Wade-Giles system has become Hua Guofeng in Pinyin) |
| k (unaspirated) | g | g |
| p' (aspirated) | p | p |
| p (unaspirated) | b | b (Thus, the capital of Taiwan is no longer written Taipei but Taibei.) |
| t' (aspirated) | t | t (Thus, the t in Mao Tsetung's name changes to d: Mao Zedong.) |
| t (unaspirated) | d | d |
| ts' and tz' (aspirated) | c | ts (Thus, the ts in Mao's name changes to z: Mao Zedong.) |
| ts and tz (unaspirated) | z | a or ds (ds as in "woods".) |
| hs | x | sh (Thus, the first part of Deng Xiaoping changes from Hsiao to Xiao.) |
| j | r | French j plus r (no exact English equivalent.) |
| a | a | a (as in star) |
| e | e | e (as in set) |
| i | i | e (as in he) or i (as in machine) |
| ou | ou | o (as in over) |
| u | u | oo (as in too) |
| en | en | un (as in under) |
| ih | i | ir (as in bird - no exact English equiv. |
| ü | ü | German ü (no exact English equivalent) |
| ai | ai | ie (as in lie) or i (as in i) |
| ei | ei | ay (as in day) |
| ao | ao | ow (as in now) |
| uo | uo | oo (as in too) plus ou (as in ought) |
| ui, uei | ui | oo (as in too) plus ay (as in day) |
| ung | ong | oo (as in book) plus ng (as in thing |

*Chart courtesy of TEXPERA (Texas Program for Educational Resources on Asia).*

## *Student Reading*

### THE CHINESE LANGUAGE: AN INTRODUCTION

Chinese is one of the oldest written languages in the world. While there are many different spoken languages and dialects in China, there is only one written language. (The same written symbol is pronounced differently in different dialects, although it has the same meaning.)

This was an important element in keeping a very diverse country unified. Centuries ago the only way people from different regions in China could communicate was through the written language which we know as classical Chinese (**wen yan, or gu wen**). Classical Chinese was, and is used, for scholarly works and literature. Many of the words and phrases used in classical Chinese are not meant to be spoken, and would have no meaning if spoken because they do not correspond to speech. This is somewhat like the difference between spoken English, and the English used in scholarly journals, or in literature. As in all languages a person does not write exactly as one speaks. For much of Chinese history the written language was known only by scholar-officials, who were members of the educated class. To be a member of the scholar-elite was quite an honor since very few people were educated.

Since the beginning of the 20th century, the Chinese have developed what is known as standard Mandarin or normal Chinese (**baihua**), which is the spoken form of the written language. The dialect chosen by the government to be the spoken language in China comes from the area of Beijing which is populated by the Han people, the largest ethnic group in China. There are other dialects in China which amount to different spoken languages such as Cantonese, Shanghainese, Fukienese. (Locate on the map the areas of Guangdong - also known as Canton, Shanghai, and Fujian.) A person speaking Mandarin cannot communicate with a person speaking Cantonese. When foreigners learn Chinese they generally learn standard Mandarin, also called **Han yu** (meaning language of the Han), or **Zhongguo hua** (Chinese language). Sometimes it is also referred to as **Guo yu** (national language).

### Pronouncing Chinese: The Tones

Chinese is a tonal language. Cantonese, for example, has 7, but Mandarin has 4 tones. The first tone ( — ) is a high pitched tone like a hum, or like me in the following sentence: "Who would like to go outside? MEEE!" The second tone (the rising tone ╱ ) is similar in English to the rising of the voice at the end of a question, or a greeting: "hello, who is it?" "Is that your bicycle?" The third tone (dipping tone ∨ ) sounds like the head master in the play "Oliver" as Oliver approached to ask for more porridge: head down, but looking over his spectacles he says "yes...?" The "yes" comes from deep in his throat. The fourth tone (the falling tone \ ) is similar to a command: sit! no! Try to pronounce each tone using your head to indicate the direction of the sound. The dramatics of your head rising and falling, either slowly or quickly, will demonstrate what is meant by the tonal quality of the language:

First tone: move your head slowly from left to right saying "ma" continuously.
Second tone: look down at your left side and slowly move your head upwards and to the right as you say "ma" as if in a question so that your head ends up tilted back with your nose pointing to the ceiling over your right shoulder.
Third tone: slowly drop your chin to your chest while saying "ma" continuously deep in your throat.
Fourth tone: Look up and a little to the left and then say "ma" as you drop your head down and to the right quickly as if to say no!

Congratulations! You've just said 4 words in Chinese: "mā" - mother; "má" - a question word; "mǎ" - horse; "mà" - to scold. Imagine how embarrassing it could be to say a word with the incorrect tone. This is one of the reasons Chinese is considered a very difficult language. The other reason has to do with writing Chinese.

### Writing Chinese: The Characters

Chinese symbols are called **characters**. Each character contains a **radical** or a sign which indicates meaning, and a **phonetic** which suggests how the character is to be pronounced. Chinese is a **pictographic** language in that its earliest renderings were pictures. The written language has evolved from its earlier pictorial roots to a standardized form. In addition, in the PRC it has also been **simplified**. In 1956 the communist government in China, in an effort to raise the literacy rate and make it easier for the central government to communicate with everyone, they reduced the number of strokes it takes to write Chinese characters by almost half in some cases. This means that in the **traditional** or **complex** form, a simplified character such as 机 looks like this 機. The traditional characters are still used in Taiwan and Hong Kong. In addition to simplifying the written language the government also introduced a romanization system called **pinyin** to teach the Chinese people how to render their language in roman letters. The romanization used in this essay is from the pinyin system of romanization. There are other systems still in use such as Wade-Giles, which pre-dates pinyin and is still used in Taiwan. Attached is a pronunciation guide and a comparison of the two systems. Most of the official documents and all of the newspapers produced in the PRC use the simplified characters, but journals, newspapers, and books produced in Taiwan or Hong Kong use the complex characters.

Not all ideas can be written in simple pictures, so the Chinese have developed other symbols to represent ideas, and sometimes combine them to create new ideas. For example, the concept of "good" is expressed in the character 好, "hao". This character is the picture of a kneeling woman 女 and a child 子. Woman and child together means good. Similarly, the character for pen is 笔. It is made up of the character for bamboo ⺮ ,and the character for hair 毛. In ancient China, pens or writing brushes were often made of bamboo with animal hair attached (like a modern paint brush). Today, the specific character for a calligraphy writing brush is ("maobi") 毛笔, the word for hair or fur and the word for pen. Often, two characters meaning different things are put together to create a new meaning. Take the word for crisis, 危机 ,"weiji" (or 危機). It contains the character 危 "wei" which means danger, and the character 机 "ji", which means opportunity, or crucial point. A crisis presents a moment of opportunity as well as great danger. A language reflects the understanding that a culture has of itself, and influences how people in that culture think. The following essay demonstrates the way characters may be put together to form different words, and how different meanings can have the same sound, but different tones.

## QĪNG 青

"Qīng" 青 means blue or green, young, or green grass. In general, 青 has a positive connotation in Chinese. Put together with other characters it has different meanings:

青天 "qīng tiān" - blue sky: "tian" 天 means heaven.

青春 "qīng chún" - youthfulness: "chún" 春 means springtime, literally it is a picture of planted fields 𡗗 nurtured by the sun 日 .

Now, if we add different radicals to the character, (remember, radicals give meaning), we will get a new meaning. For example, add the radical for sun
The new character, "qing" (note change of tone), means fine, or clear. So,

晴天 "qíng tiān" - now means clear, sunny day.

Next we'll add the radical for speech, 言(讠), "yǎn" (a picture of a mouth reading lines or words 请). This character, 请 , "qing" (again, note tone change), means to request, to ask for, or to say "please".

请客 "qǐngkè" - play the host, give a dinner party. "Kè" means guest: literally to invite guests to come under your roof 宀 .

请安 "qǐng ān" - pay respects to, or wish somebody good health. 安 , "ān", means peaceful, tranquil, secure and in good health: literally "woman 女 under a roof 宀 ."

Now, if we add the radical for water written either 氵 or 水 , we get 清 "qīng", which means unmixed, clarified, pure, or cleaned up. Thus,

清水 "qīng shuǐ" - clear water

清白 "qīng bái" - pure, stainless: "bai" means white.

清香 "qīng xiāng" - delicate fragrance: "xiang" means fragrant: literally "the smell of ripe rice 禾 in the sun 日 ."

Finally, if we add the heart radical which is written 忄 or 心, we get 情 "qíng", which means feelings, affection, favour, or kindness. So,

情意 "qíng yì" - means tender regards, or good will. 意 "Yi" means idea or intention.

情人 "qíng rén" - sweethearts. 人 , "ren" is the character for person.

As you noticed, 青 "qīng" and 清 "qīng" have the same tone, as does 晴 "qíng" and 情 "qíng". Therefore, the meaning of the spoken word would have to come from the context of the conversation since they sound the same.

As you may have guessed, mastering Chinese takes many years, but unlike English, Chinese grammar is simple. A big difference is that in Chinese one does not conjugate verbs to show tense. Instead, a time word is used to indicate that the action is in the past, present, or future. Also, because Chinese is a monosyllabic language, (each character having only one syllable like no, see, air, sing), it is easier to learn to speak than many other languages. (Compare names like Beijing or Taipei to Philadelphia or Mississippi!) While the Chinese language consists of over 50,000 characters, one need only know 3,000 to 5,000 to read newspapers and books. It is said that for a person to become a real scholar of Chinese (and know all 50,000 characters), he or she would have to study nothing but Chinese for ten years. The written language is very difficult, but writing beautiful Chinese characters is an art encompassing in its simplicity, symmetry, and variety. It is also fun.

## Chinese Names

In China, as in other Asian countries, the surname is written first, then the given names. For example,

> Wu Gongfu; the last name is Wu (like Smith, Jones, etc.) and the given names are Gong and fu (written together in Pinyin and hyphenated in Wade-Giles, Wu Gong-fu).

In China, what is most important about a person is that they have a family, or are part of a family, hence the last name comes first. Of second importance is the individual name. Very often, when speaking to a Chinese person the whole name is said: "Hi Wu Gongfu!" Good friends will also just use the given name: "Gongfu, will you please pass the tea?"

***Unit Consultant:** Catherine H. Keyser*

*Student Exercise*

# What's in a Name?

| Pinyin | (Wade-Giles) | English | Pinyin | (Wade-Giles) | English |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| zhong | (chung) | middle | bei | (pei) | north |
| hai | (hai) | sea | ping | (p'ing) | peace |
| he | (ho) | river/stream | ning | (ning) | peace |
| jiang | (chiang) | river/stream | an | (an) | peace |
| chuan | (ch'uan) | river/stream | po | (p'o) | slope |
| hu | (hu) | lake | sha | (sha) | sand |
| huang | (hwang) | yellow | shan | (shan) | mountain |
| jing | (king/ching) | capital | shang | (sheng) | above/upon |
| guang | (kuang) | wide/broad | shen | (shen) | pass |
| gui | (kwei) | honored | xi | (hsi) | west |
| liao | (liao) | distant | si | (sze/szu) | four |
| lin | (lin) | woods | tian | (t'ien) | heaven |
| ling | (ling) | range | jin | (tsin/chin) | ferry/ford |
| nan | (nan) | south | dong | (tung) | east |
|  |  |  | yun | (yun) | clouds |

Using only these translated forms and a physical/political map of China, find the meanings of the names of as many provinces, cities, and natural features as possible.

Examples: Beijing = Northern Capital     Nanjing = __________ Capital

Shanghai= ________________     Huanghe = Yellow ___________

Hainan Island = Sea ____________ Island

Provinces to try: Guangdong; Jiangsi; Shandong; Shanxi; Hebei; Henan; Yunnan; Sichuan

Note to the teacher: In some cases the above translations are approximations and are, as such, acceptable for the purposes of this exercise. Consult the EACP map unit for provincial names and divisions and the major mountains and rivers students should identify.

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# Demystifying the Chinese Language

The most comprehensive packet of class exercises available. Introduces students to the general problem of developing a written communication system and to the specific system of Chinese - evolution of characters, types of characters, dialects. Also includes stories in which students read Chinese characters; an explanation of terms; a note on character simplification and pinyin romanization; and a supplement for teachers that explains the evolution of characters, the several types of characters, and the four pronunciation tones. Developed by the Stanford Program on International Cross Cultural Education (SPICE) at Stanford University. Highly recommended.

Available from:

S.P.I.C.E.
Littlefield Center, Room 14
300 Lausen Street,
Stanford University
Stanford, CA 94305-5013

Price: $21.95

137 pp. K-12. No prior knowledge of Chinese is required.

# 書法

# CALLIGRAPHY

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# CHINESE CALLIGRAPHY

## I. A. Introduction

Calligraphy, the writing of characters, is an art which has developed over many centuries in China. This unit introduces students to this ancient art through step-by-step instructions on writing Chinese characters. As each character is made up by a series of single brushstrokes, the student will soon learn to recognize these as components of the completed character and the written Chinese language will become much less forbidding.

The exercises in this unit also encourage the students to experience the rhythm and sense of design in Chinese writing, thereby bringing an aesthetic dimension to their understanding of the Chinese language.

While the principles of calligraphy may be taught to students who have had no prior exposure to Chinese, we recommend that they complete the lessons in Demystifying the Chinese Language (another BAYCEP unit) beforehand.

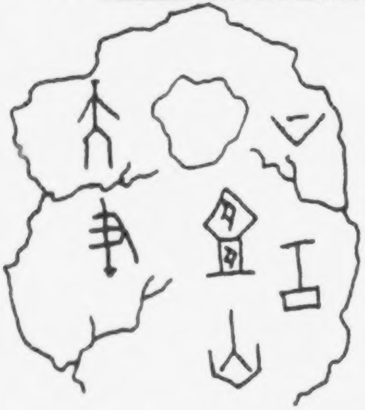
### What is calligraphy?

The word "calligraphy" is originally a Greek word meaning "beautiful writing." We usually associate this word with good penmanship, handwriting that is neat, legible and attractive. In China, however, calligraphy is regarded as an art form in itself and is admired and displayed in museums just as paintings are.

Moreover, calligraphy is often used to decorate articles of everyday use. For instance, when you go to a Chinese restaurant you may notice that the dishes are painted with characters as well as with colorful pictures. Even on the ordinary, everyday level of life, beautiful writing is appreciated.

## I. B. Some Styles of Chinese Calligraphy

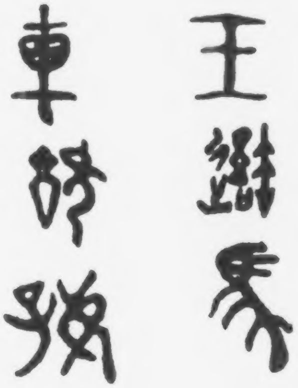
### 1. Oracle Inscriptions



The earliest known examples of Chinese writing are inscriptions on animal bones and tortoise shells dating from the 13th century B.C. during the Shang dynasty. These inscriptions were the records of divinations made by heating the bones or shells over a fire until cracks appeared on them. Predictions were read from the pattern of the cracks and recorded directly on the bone or shell. The figure on the left shows an oracle carved on the plastron of a tortoise. Note that the characters are composed of fairly straight lines with sharp endings. (Do you think these features might have something to do with the kind of materials used?)

### 2. The Great Seal Style

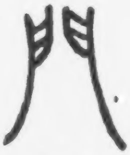
This term covers a broad range of styles which came into use during the Chou dynasty (1122-221 B.C.). Compared to the Oracle Style, these characters are more rounded at the corners and show a mixture of thick and thin strokes. Many of the surviving examples of this style, such as the one on the right, come from inscriptions that were cast on bronze vessels. At the bottom of the first column is the pictograph (picture-word) for "horse." The first word in the second column is also a pictograph. It shows "carriage" from a bird's eye view — a compartment with two wheels on either side, joined by an axle.



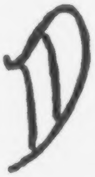
### 3. The Small Seal Style

In 221 B.C. the first unifier and emperor of China ordered that the writing system be standardized and established the style of his native state, Ch'in, as the model script of the empire. The round corners of this script, later known as the Small Seal Style, make it similar to the Great Seal Style. Here, however, the lines are all of an even thickness and the characters are very elongated so that they might be imagined to fit neatly into a vertical rectangle.

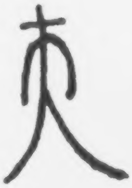
GATE



MOON,
MONTH

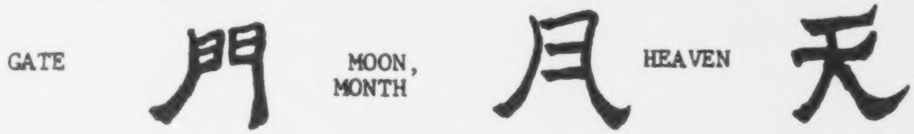


HEAVEN



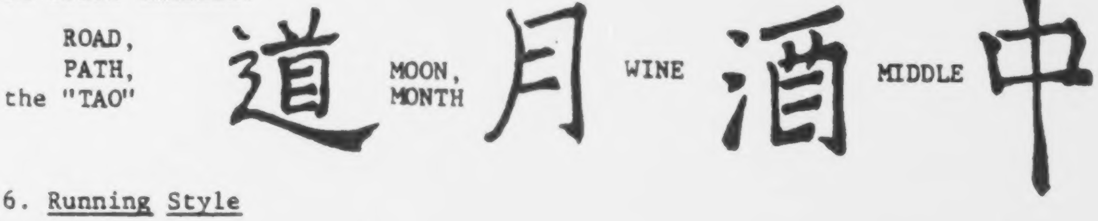
4. Clerical Style

During the Han dynasty (207 B.C.–220 A.D.) the Small Seal Style was surpassed in popularity by another script which could be written more quickly and easily with a brush. This style became known as the Clerical Style because most of the samples of this script were found on official documents such as government records of taxes, census records, deeds, etc. Notice the upward tilt at the end of the horizontal strokes which gives each character a fluid quality. This style is the forerunner of the Regular Style which we will look at next.



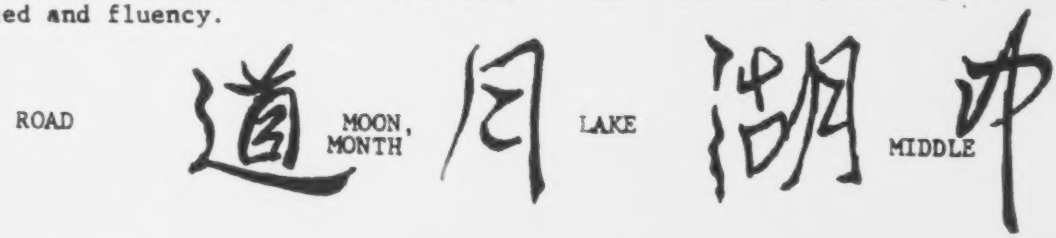
5. Regular Style

The Regular Style preserves the Clerical script's precision and modulation of line width but is less formal and heavy in appearance. Note that the horizontal lines generally slope upwards but do not have the final tilt at the end of the stroke which the Clerical Style has. Note also that the vertical lines are kept strictly vertical and do not lean away from the center of the character as in the Clerical Style. As students of calligraphy have traditionally mastered this style before attempting the others we will also use it as our model in learning to write Chinese.



6. Running Style

As the name suggests, this style allows for more freedom and fluidity in movement. The strokes and dots that are written seperately in the Regular Style are here joined together in a single sweep of the brush, thus producing a feeling of speed and fluency.



(Styles 1 through 4 are called "archaic" styles because they are no longer in use, except for special artistic purposes. Styles 5 and 6 are both in common use today and so, are called "modern" styles although, historically, they have been practised since the end of the 5th century A.D.)

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## I. C. Discussion Questions and Exercises

1. "Be a scribe in order that your limbs may grow smooth and your hands soft, that you may walk abroad in a white robe and that men of importance may greet you with respect...the profession of scribe is more profitable than any other profession. It makes you exempt from manual labor. There is no need to carry a hoe, a pickaxe or a basket, or to row a boat. Your life will be free from care."

These words of a school teacher in ancient Egypt were used to encourage his students to read and write well. In Egypt, as in China, only a small number of people were able to read and write.

What does the above quote tell you about that society's values?

If literacy enabled a person to have a good job and to gain the respect of society, why didn't everyone learn to read and write?

Considerations the teacher might bring up:

...the possibility that education was not open to some because of sex, class background, etc. Contrast the concept of education as a privelege with the concept of education as a right.

...the possibility that writing was used only for a few, special purposes (such as the oracle inscriptions) when it was thought necessary to have a permanent record of an event.

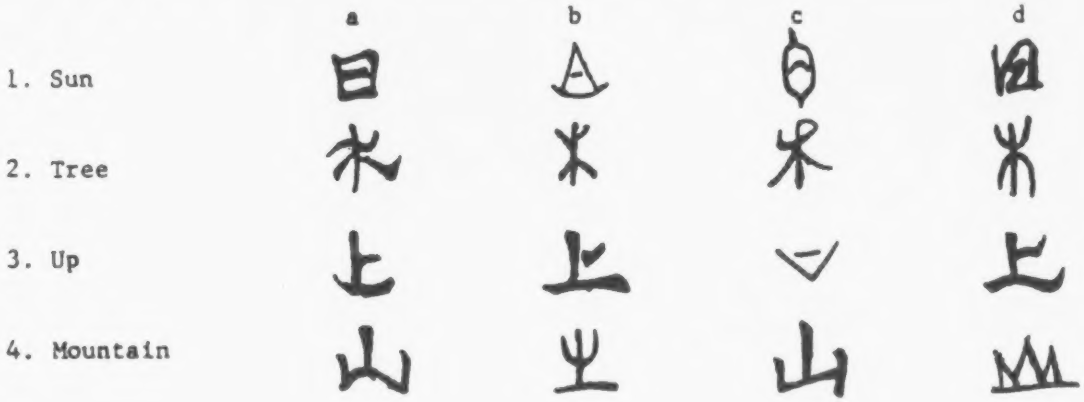
2. To what extent is your writing style determined by the instruments you use?

Specific questions the teacher might ask to encourage discussion:

- What kinds of lines are more easily made with a sharp instrument? Straight or round? Ask the students if they have ever tried to carve wood or carve letters on other types of hard surfaces.
- What are the advantages (and drawbacks) of writing with a pencil? a ballpoint pen? a felt tip pen? a fountain pen? Is any one of these tools more convenient to use than the others? Talk about such factors as speed of writing, expense of the tool, ability to correct mistakes, durability of the tool. In what situations would any of these instruments be preferred over the others? How do these tools compare with a brush? (Students might want to answer this last question after the calligraphy practice in Part II.)

3. Is good penmanship important in our society? Is it sometimes regarded as an art? How about the case of commercial lettering, the style and layout of lettering in advertisements and billboards?

4. Test your eye! Can you identify the styles of the following characters? (The meaning of each set of words is given at the beginning of the row.)



Answer Key

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| 1a. Regular | b. Oracle | c. Sm. Seal | d. Running |
| 2a. Clerical | b. Oracle | c. Running | d. Sm. Seal |
| 3a. Gr. Seal | b. Regular | c. Oracle | d. Clerical |
| 4a. Clerical | b. Sm. Seal | c. Regular | d. Oracle |

## II. Calligraphy in the Classroom

### A. Basic Materials

Brushes. Chinese brushes usually have bamboo handles but are sometimes made of other materials such as hard wood, ivory and porcelain. The brushes used for calligraphy should have stiff tips. Most commonly, these are made from the hair of wolves. A large size brush is easier for the beginner to handle. If Chinese brushes are not available, use Western-made paint brushes (Number 12) which can be purchased at any art supplies store.

Paper. Coarse textured, absorbent paper is needed for practising calligraphy. Blank newsprint is suitable for the beginner and we recommend it over the traditional "rice-paper" because it is much less expensive.

Ink. Ink can be purchased in two forms: liquid or stick. Grinding ink from an ink stick is laborious and time-consuming. We suggest that you purchase the liquid ink (most commonly imported from Japan and bottled in a plastic container) from an arts supplies store. This ink has a rather dense consistency and is easier to use if diluted with water. Give each student (or pair of students) a paper cup with the ink-water mixture of one part ink to four or five parts water.

Backing Paper. Three or four sheets of newspaper should be placed under the newsprint practice sheet to prevent ink from seeping onto the desk. Impress upon your students that this ink is highly indelible once it has dried and that they should avoid getting it onto their clothing.

Sink with cold running water. After the calligraphy practice, clean the brushes by holding them, tips pointed downwards, under a cold tap. Do not rinse them under hot water as this would dissolve the glue that holds the brush hairs together.

Stack of paper towels. For clean-up.

An effective way to demonstrate the strokes is for the teacher to draw them on the blackboard, using a brush and plain water. Tell the students to watch each stroke done on the blackboard before trying it on their practice sheets.

The students should be seated so that each one has a clear view of the board. School desks arranged in vertical rows are not ideal for this purpose. If possible, have them sit at long tables arranged in a "U" shape, facing the board.

## B. Technique

Just as in learning to play a musical instrument or a sport, there is a technique to be mastered in learning Chinese calligraphy. The following exercises will familiarize the student with handling a brush and enable him to use it effectively.

1. Dip the bottom half of the brush in ink and holding it loosely make different kinds of shapes with it...zigzags, curves, dashes, dots. Try the same shapes with the brush held tightly. Do you see any difference in how the lines turn out?

   Is there a difference in the lines just after the brush is dipped in ink and later when it has run drier? What if you vary the speed of your writing?

   You may have noticed that your arm became tense when you held the brush tightly. You will find that you have the best control of your lines when you hold the brush rather firmly but keep your arm relaxed.

   When freshly dipped in ink, the brush will go more smoothly over the paper and produce clearer shapes than when it's drier. If you load the brush with too mush ink, however, your lines will begin to spread out in blotches on the absorbent paper.

   Most of you probably made the lines at about the same speed as you would sign your name. Try to write more slowly as this will give you better control over the direction of the brush.

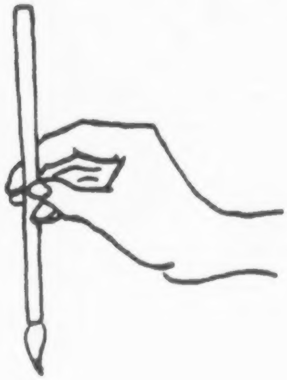
2. Write your initials (in script, not printed form) by pressing down at the start of each initial and gradually lifting the brush as you come to the end of the letter. Be sure to make each initial in one, slow, continuous movement. Now, reverse the technique. Begin each letter with the point of the brush lightly touching the paper and gradually press down on it as you continue the letter.

   Compare the two sets of initials. In Chinese calligraphy it is essential to be able to vary the width of the strokes simply by applying a little pressure to the brush. If a line is too wide at one point or too narrow at another it cannot be "touched up" because the corrected area will show darker than the original stroke once the ink has dried. This is also a reason that each stroke must be done in one continuous movement.

3. Write a single horizontal line across the paper, alternately pressing and raising the brush. Now try it holding your hand about 4 inches above the paper (you will have to hold the brush farther away from its tip this time.)

   You probably felt awkward in writing without any support for your hand and in having to hold the brush farther away from its tip than you normally hold a Western writing utensil. This method, however, gives you better leverage on the brush and because it makes you write with your arm and not just your wrist and fingers, your brushstrokes will be more lively and forceful.

4. The final step in learning the technique of calligraphy is knowing how to grasp the brush. Grasp it firmly between the thumb and first two fingers. Keep the ring and fourth fingers lightly behind the brush as a kind of balance.



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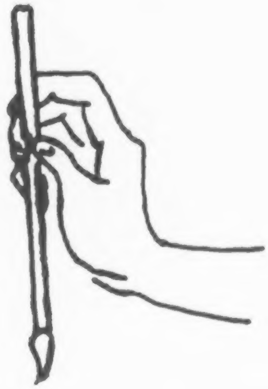


Always keep the brush in a strictly vertical position. Now, write the horizontal line of exercise #3 once more.

By holding the brush this way, strictly upright, you can use the entire tip of the brush when you write rather than just the side of it as when you hold it like a pen or pencil. Do you find that the points where you pressed down your brush this time are more distinct than in the lines of exercise #3?

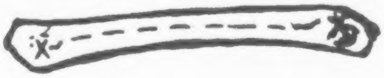
Note: If the students find it too difficult at first to write without any support, have them place their left hand under their right wrist to serve as support.

C. Practice Makes Perfect: There are only eight different kinds of strokes in Chinese calligraphy! Every character is made of one or more of these strokes.

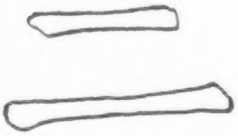
1. The Horizontal

a. Put your brush on the paper, press down at the start of the stroke.
b. Lift your brush slightly as you draw it leftwards to the middle of the stroke.
c. Press down again at the end of the stroke.

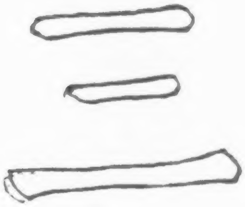
The dotted lines trace the path of the brush; "x's" mark points where you should press down with the brush.



You have just made the number, "one," in Chinese! Now make numbers "two" and "three."



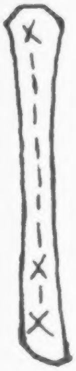
(The second stroke should be longer than the first.)



(The second stroke should be the shortest of them all and the third stroke should be the longest.)

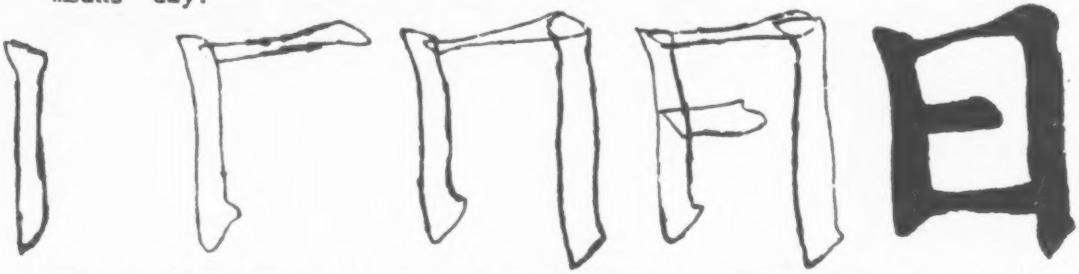
Now, you have also learned the first rule of stroke order---the top part of the word should be written before the bottom part.

2. The Vertical. The Vertical is made with the same movements as the Horizontal.

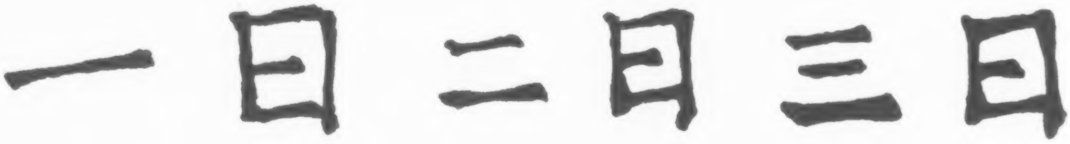


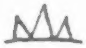
   a. Put your brush on the paper, press down at the start of the stroke.
   b. Lift the brush up slightly as you draw it downward to the middle of the stroke.
   c. Press down again at the end of the stroke.

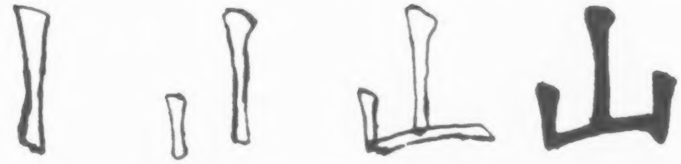
Let's try some combinations of horizontal and vertical strokes. This is the word for "sun." (see its ancient forms on p. 6 .) It also means "day."



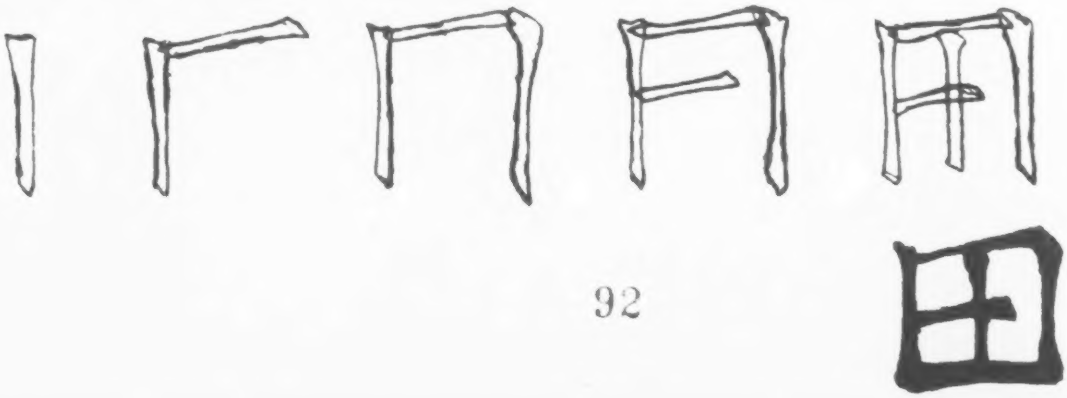
Now, you've learned the second rule of stroke order; write the left-hand part of a character before the right-hand part. If you want to write these dates, "the first (of the month)," "the second," "the third," they are written:



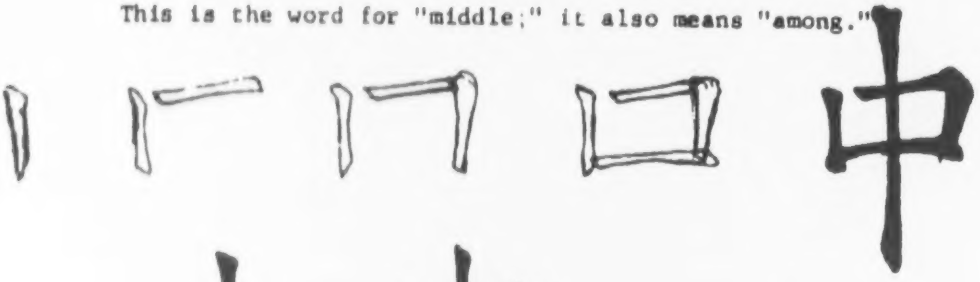
The word for mountain originally showed three peaks, 

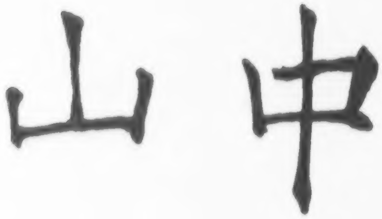


This is the word for "field," showing an area divided by footpaths.



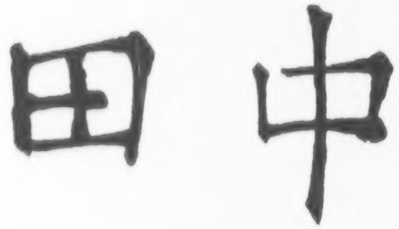
This is the word for "middle;" it also means "among."



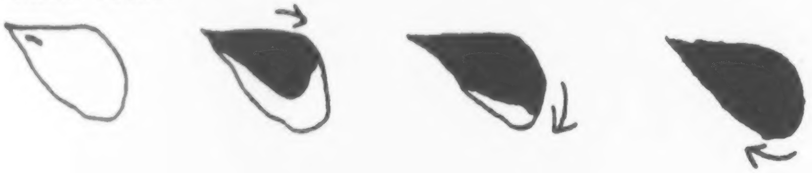


"among the mountains"

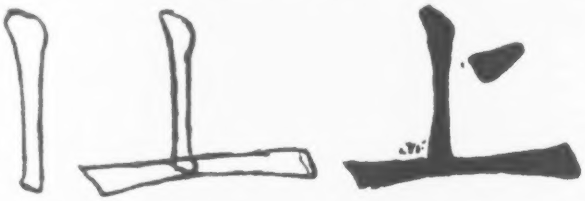
"in the middle of the field"



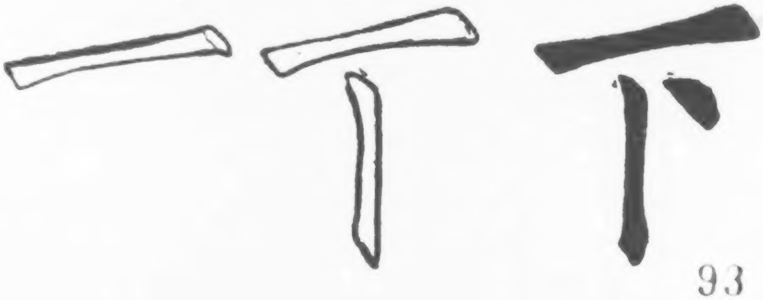
3. The Dot. The dot is basically triangular in shape. First, lightly touch the brush to the paper, then press down and bring the brush up again. If you have trouble making the last corner of the triangle, draw the brush around it as shown below.



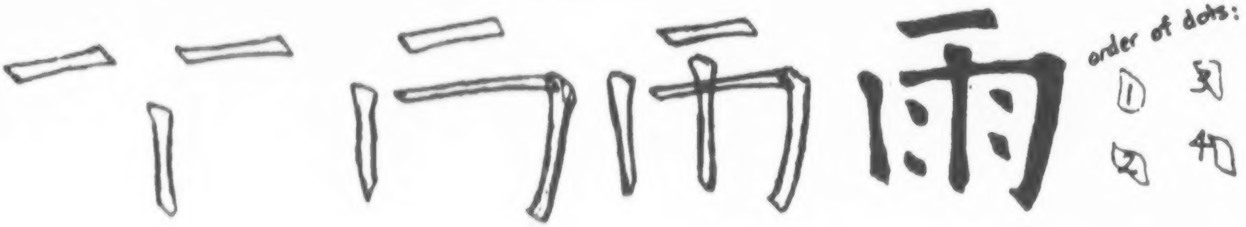
This is the word for "up" or "above." It can also be used as a verb, "to go up." Make the dot point upwards a bit.

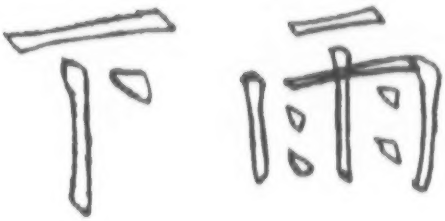


This is the word for "down," "below," "to fall down."
This



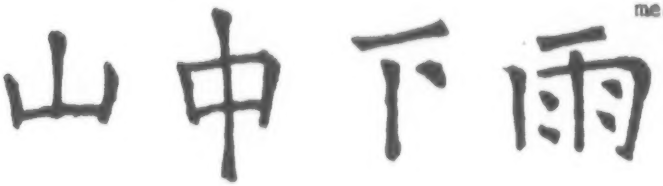
The word for "rain" should give you plenty of practice with dots!



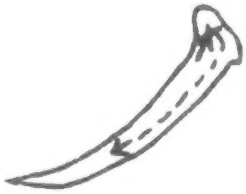


means" It's raining."

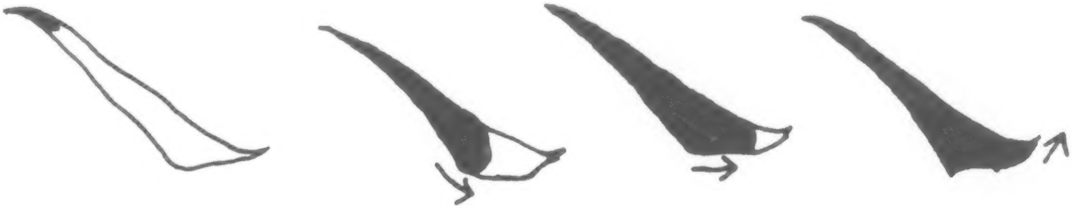
means "-----------?"



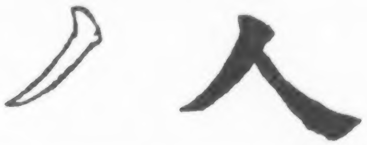
4. The Left-Slant. This stroke is made from the top right to the lower left. Lift the brush as you pull it to the left so that the stroke will become gradually thinner. Of course, remember to press down at the start of the stroke so that it will begin with a wide top.



5. The Right-Slant. This stroke is made from the top left to the lower right. Gradually put more pressure on the brush so that the end will be broad. Then, at the very end, lift the tip to make a point.

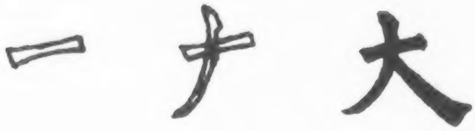


These two strokes make the word for "man."

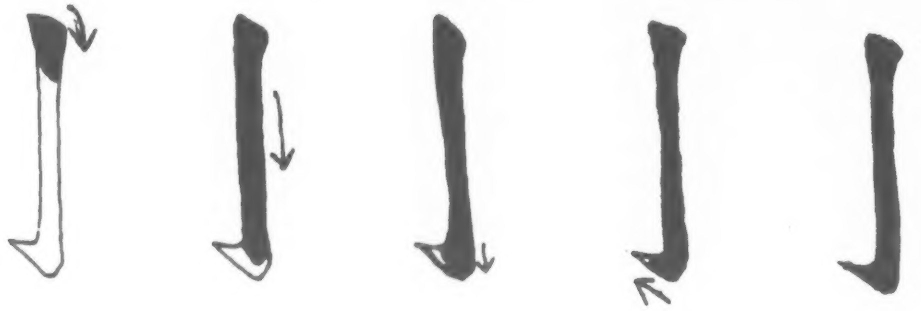


To write "everyone," write "man" twice.

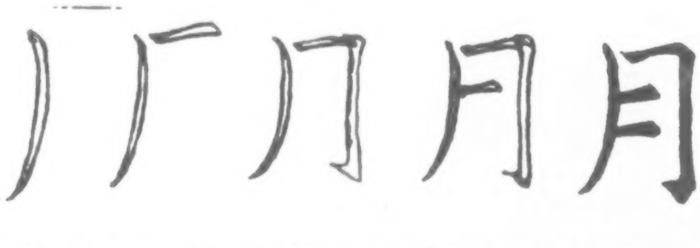
A man with his arms outstretched means "big."



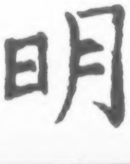
6. The Hook. This is simply a vertical stroke with a leftward point on the end. Press down at the start of the stroke, lift at the middle and press down again at the end. Now that you have reached the lowest point of the stroke, lift the brush so that the tip barely touches the paper, press down and gradually lift up to make the tapering end.



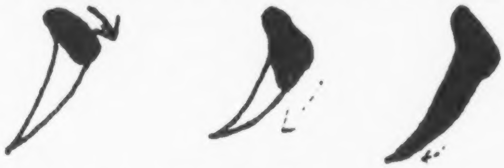
This is the word for "moon, month." We saw it earlier in the examples of different styles of calligraphy.



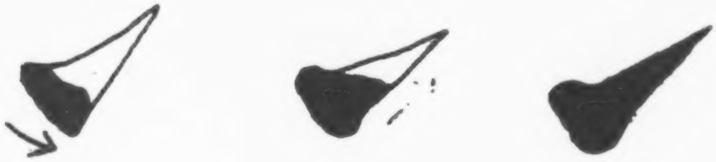
The word "bright" combines the words for "sun" and "moon."



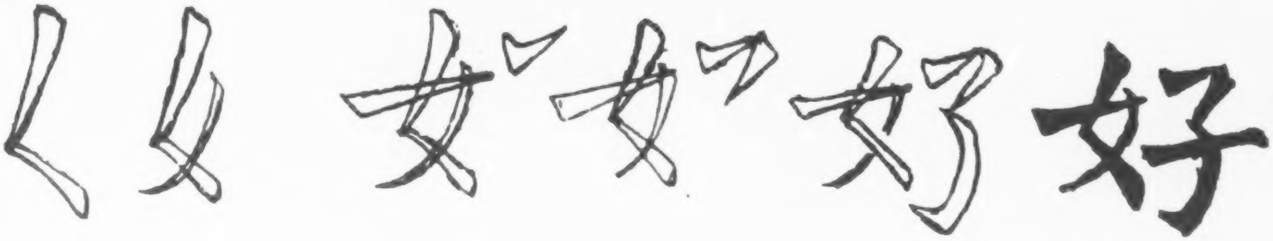
7. The Down-Slant. This stroke is made from right to left, becoming thinner. Press down at the start of the stroke and gradually lift the brush to a point.

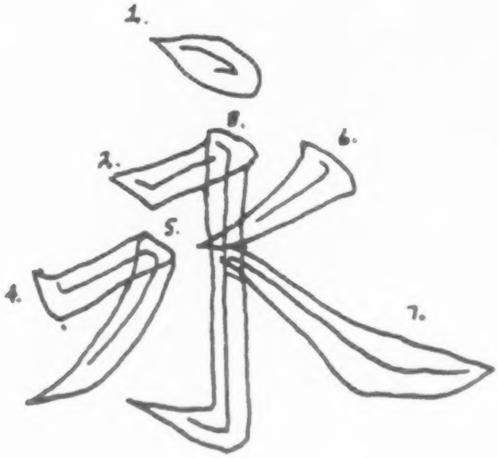


8. The Up-Slant. This is made the same way as the Down-Slant, but remember that you're going in the opposite direction, from left to right.



The Down-Slant and the Up-Slant are both used in the word for "good."





The character"yung" which means "eternal" uses all the strokes we have learned.

# CHINESE CALLIGRAPHY

## -THE NUMBERS 1~10-

This unit has been designed to accompany the BAYCEP unit, Chinese Calligraphy. It should be used by students who have been exposed to the Chinese language and writing system through the unit Demystifying the Chinese Language.

The enclosed exercises may be mimeoed and distributed to the students, who should use medium bamboo calligraphy brushes. A mixture of block printing ink and water works well in lieu of solid ink and inkstones, which would be impractical for a large class.

Special attention should be paid to the proper position of the brush and the hand, as well as the stroke order of each character. Brushes should be held perpendicular to the paper, between the thumb and first three fingers. The stroke order of the characters is indicated by the dotted lines next to each character.

Numbers above ten are combinations of the first ten numbers, for example:

| | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| twelve is written | 十<br>ten | 二<br>two | | (10 + 2 = 12) |
| twenty is written | 二<br>two | 十<br>ten | | (2 x 10 = 20) |
| twenty-one is written | 二<br>two | 十<br>ten | 一<br>one | (2x10+1 = 21) |

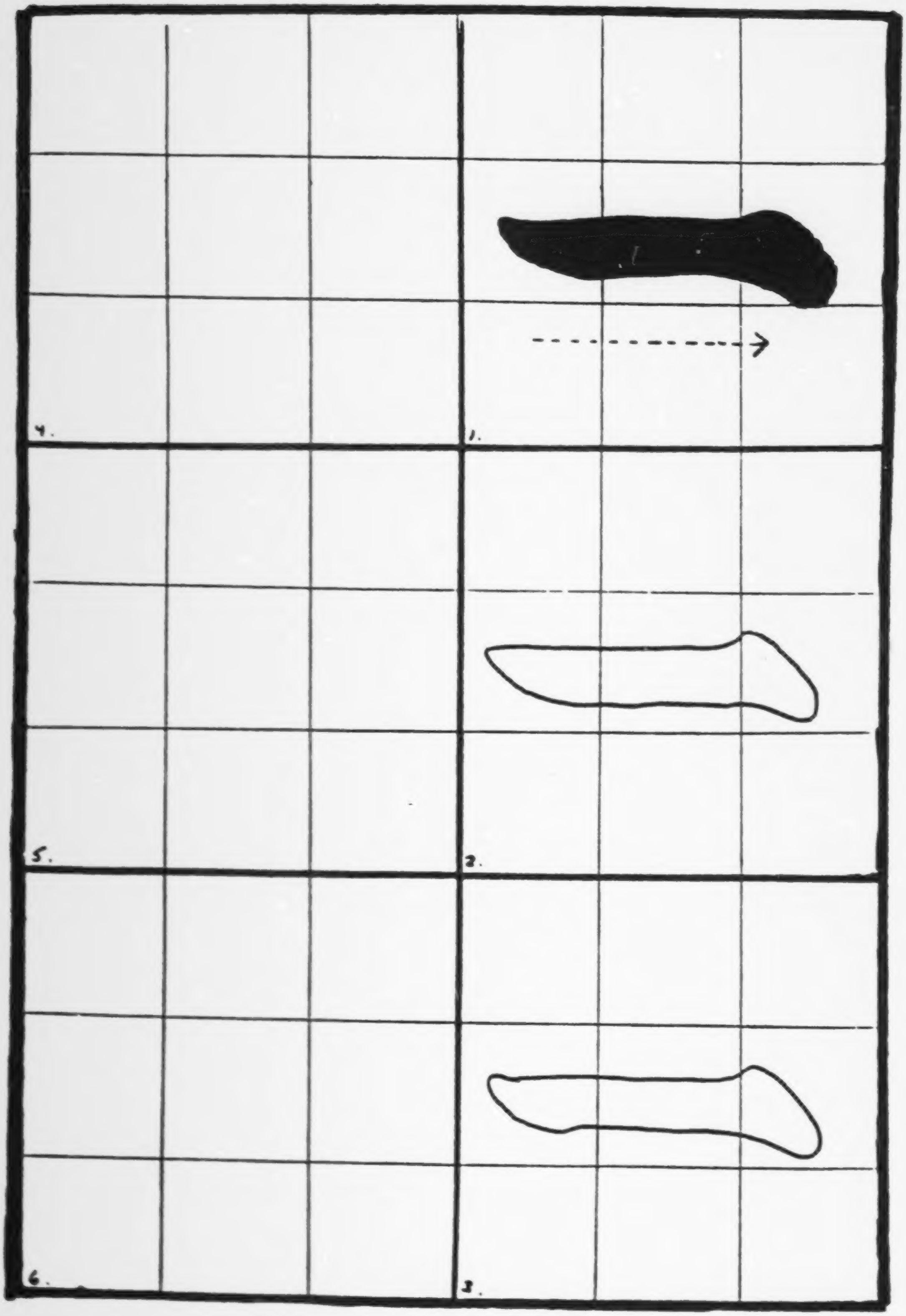
Have the students practice the position by holding dry brushes and moving the arm and wrist. Then have them practice making horizontal and vertical lines on scrap paper, before attempting to use the exercises in this lesson.

This unit was prepared for the East Asia Study Center at the University of Arizona by Caryn M. White.

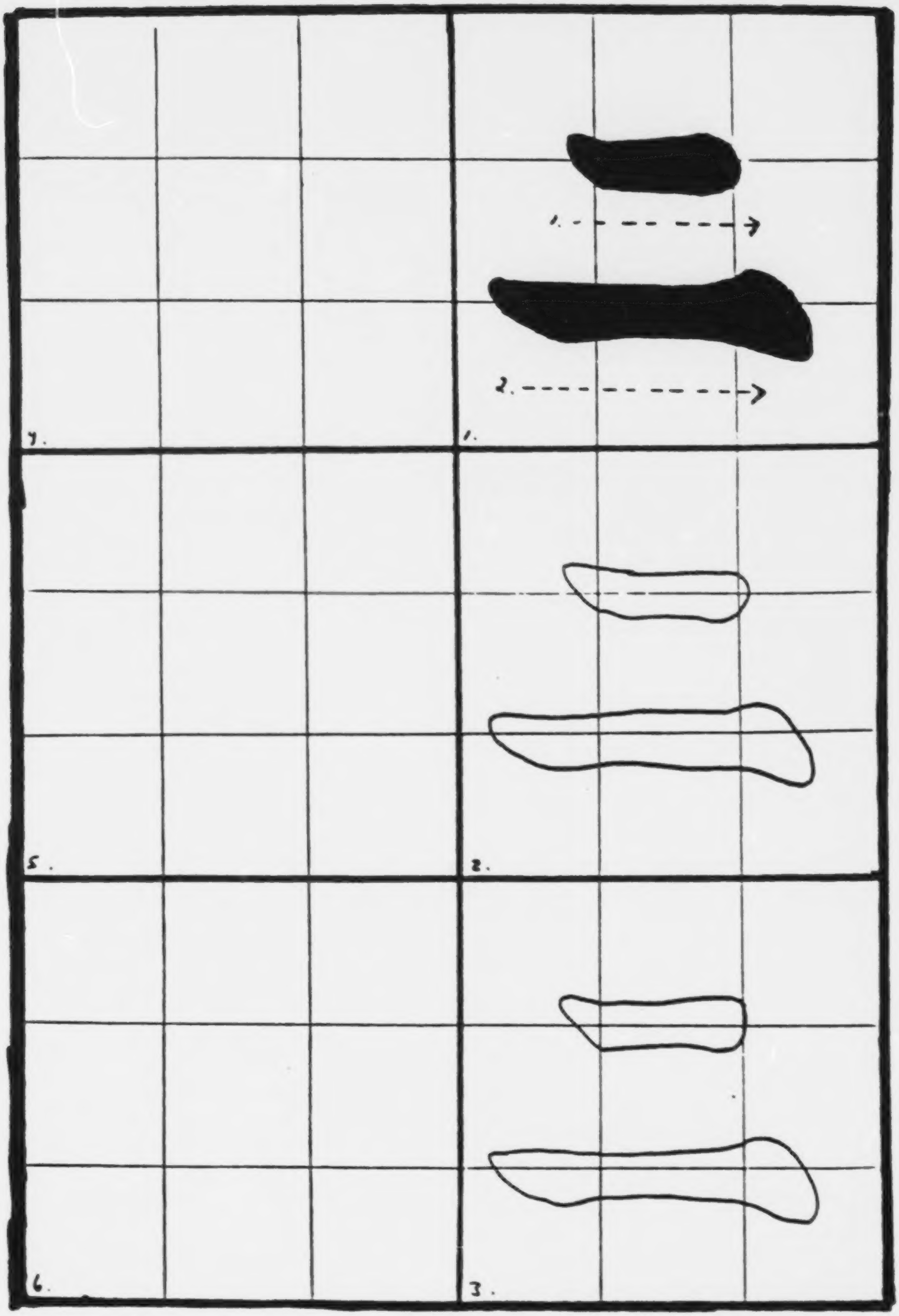
BEST COPY AVAILABLE

# ONE

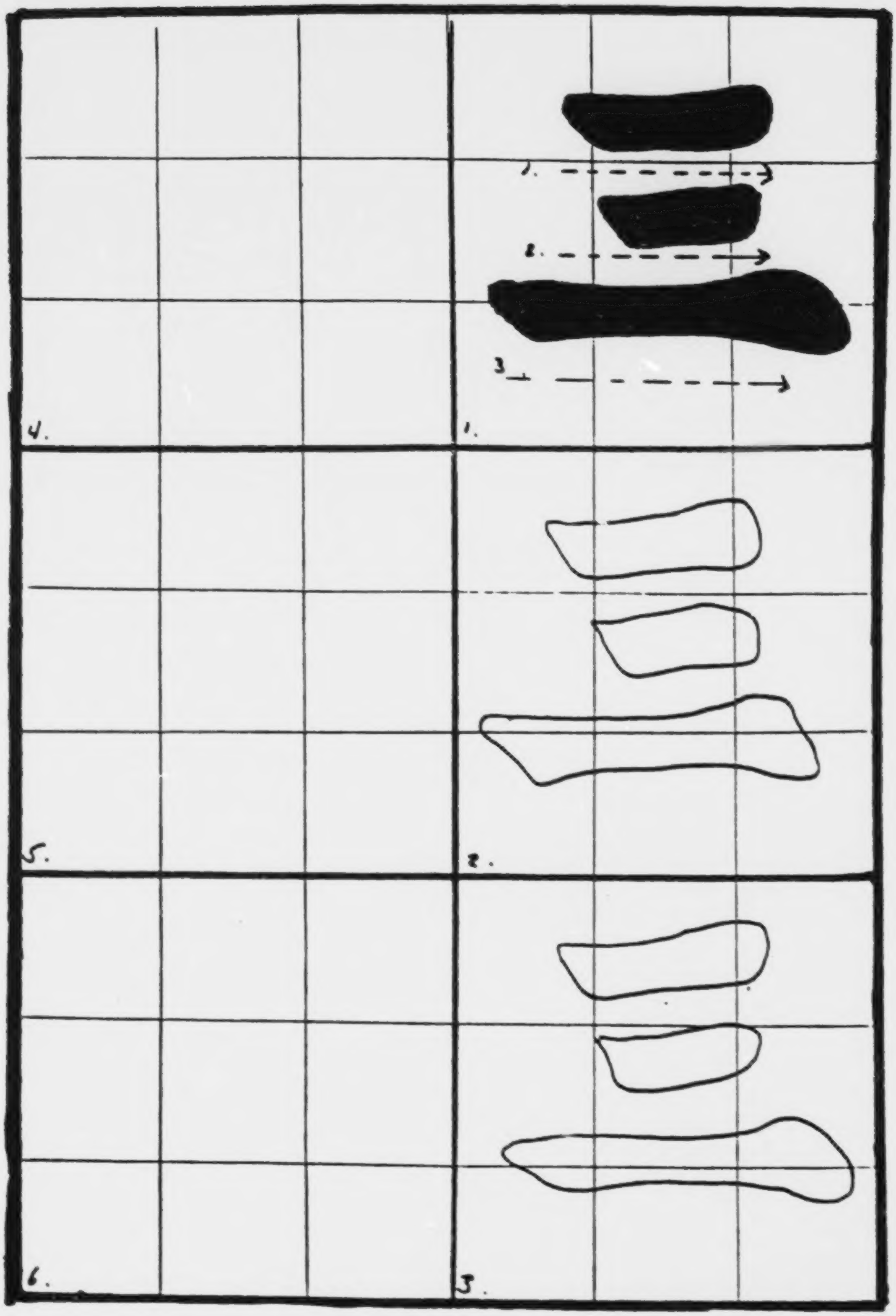
Use the outlines on this side to practice, then try it without them on the other side.



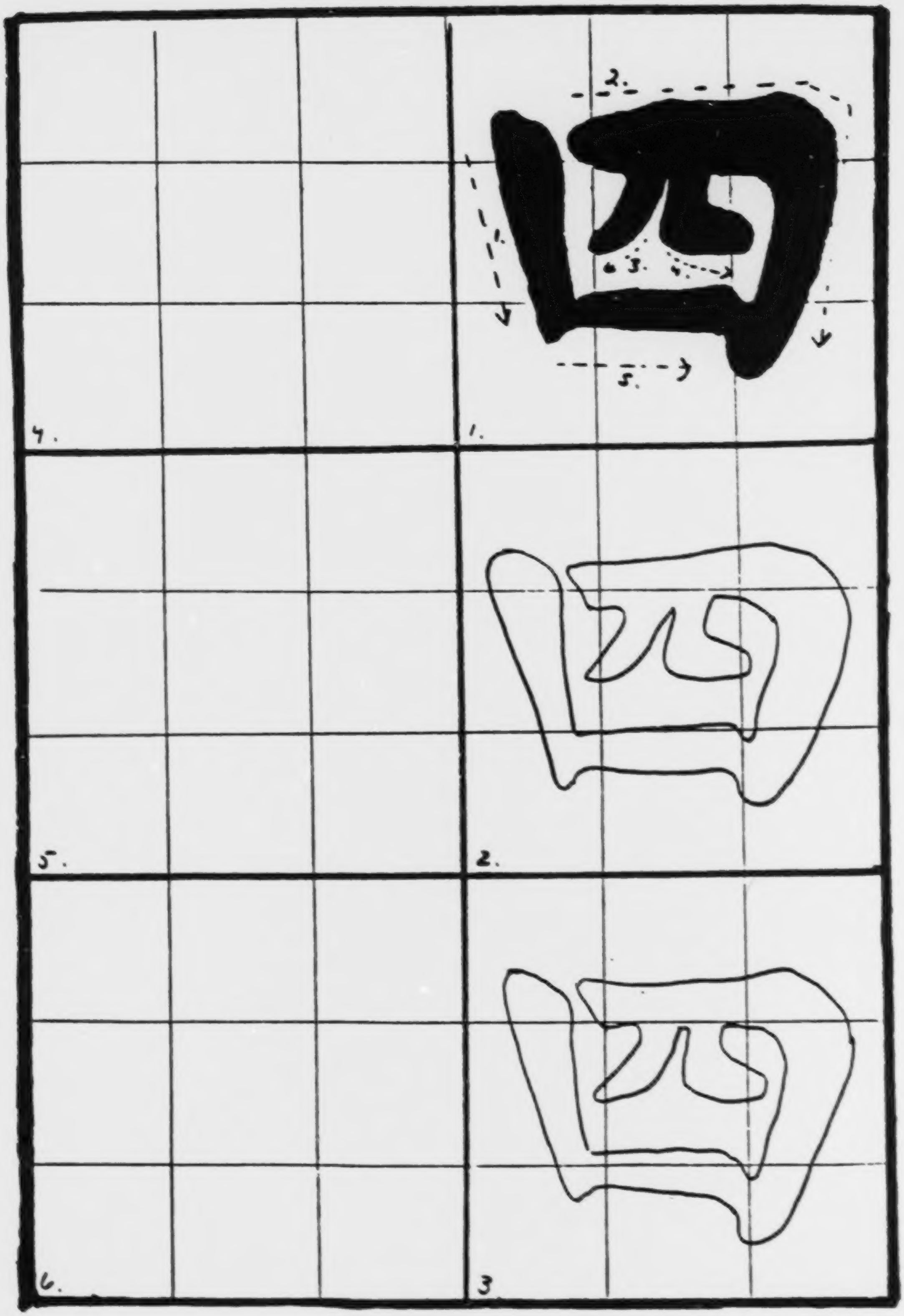
# TWO



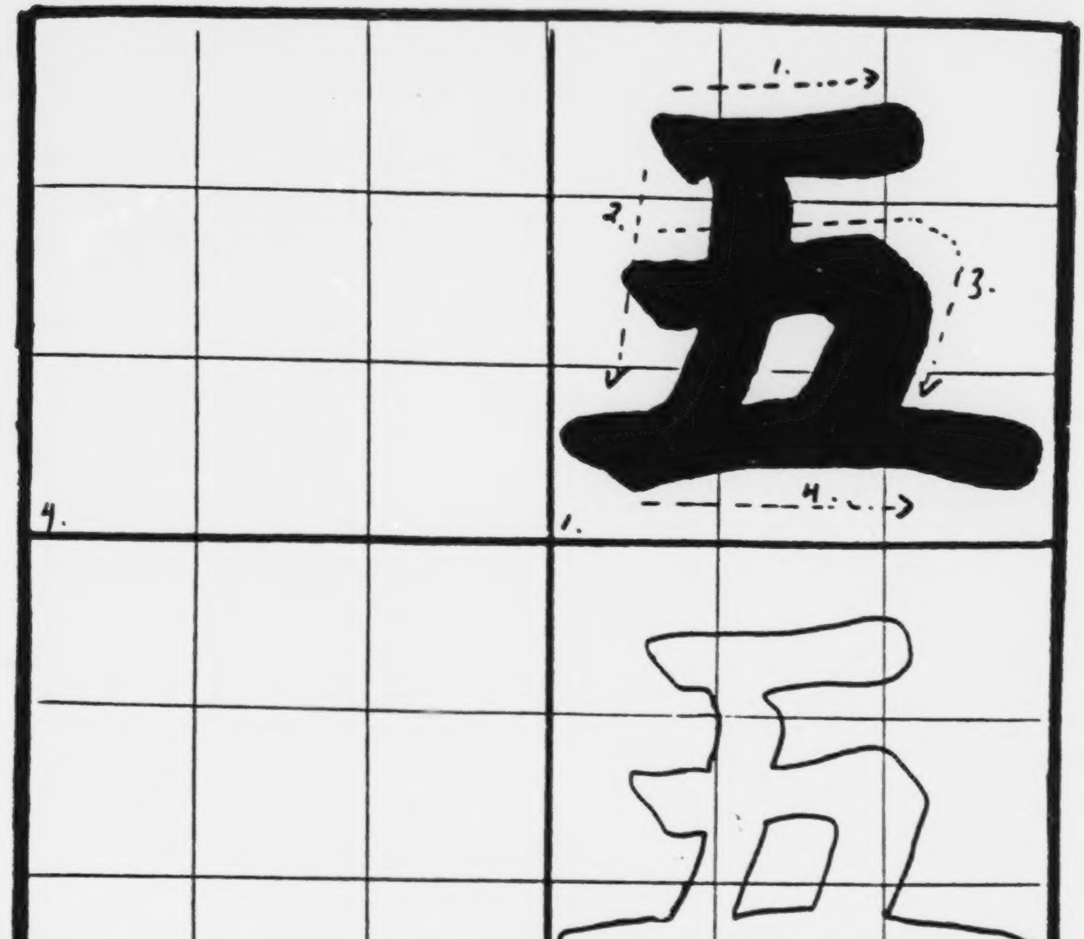
# THREE



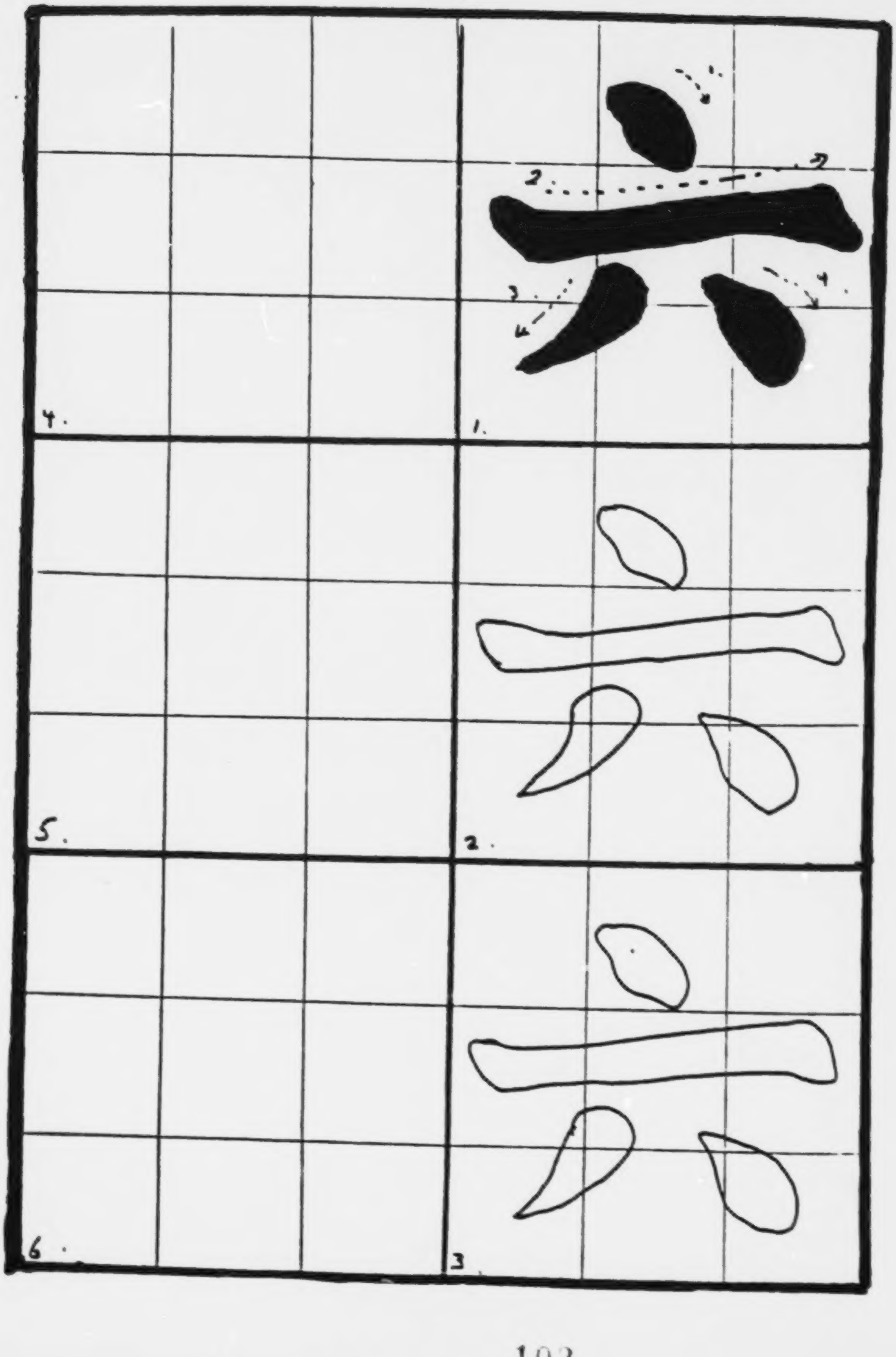
# FOUR


2.
1.
3.
4.
5.
4.
1.
5.
2.
6.
3

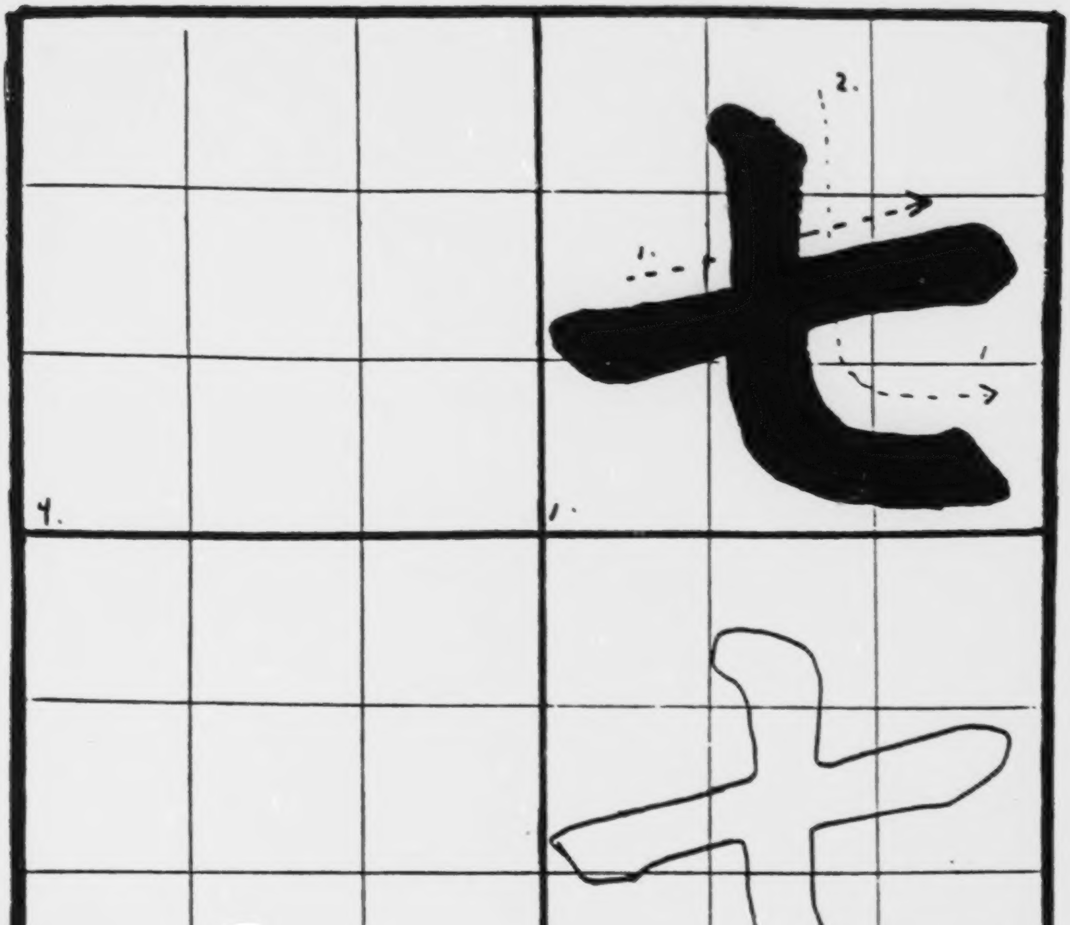
# FIVE


1.
2.
3.
4.
1.
2.
3.
4.
5.
6

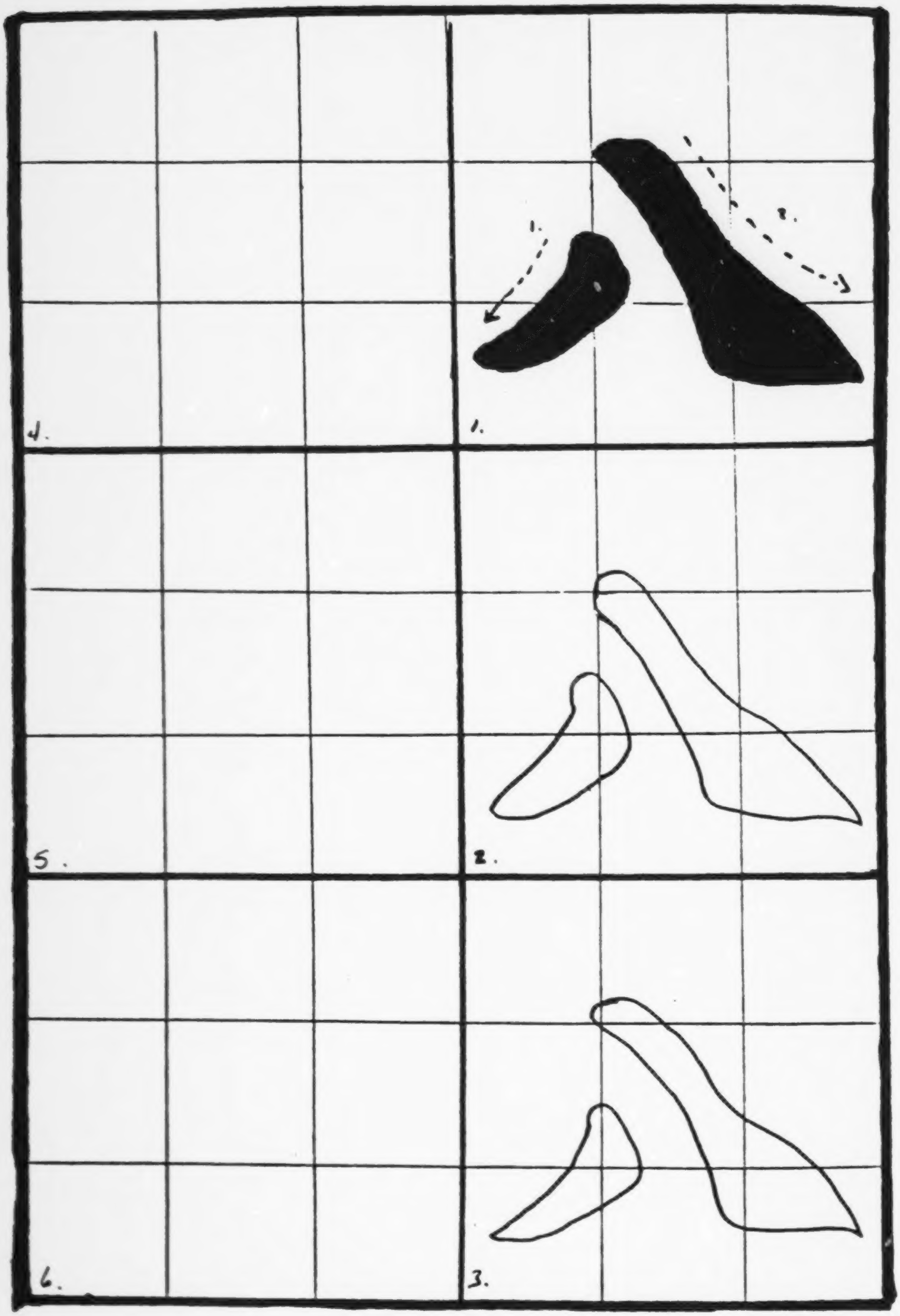
# SIX


1
2
3
4
4.
1.
5.
2.
6.
3

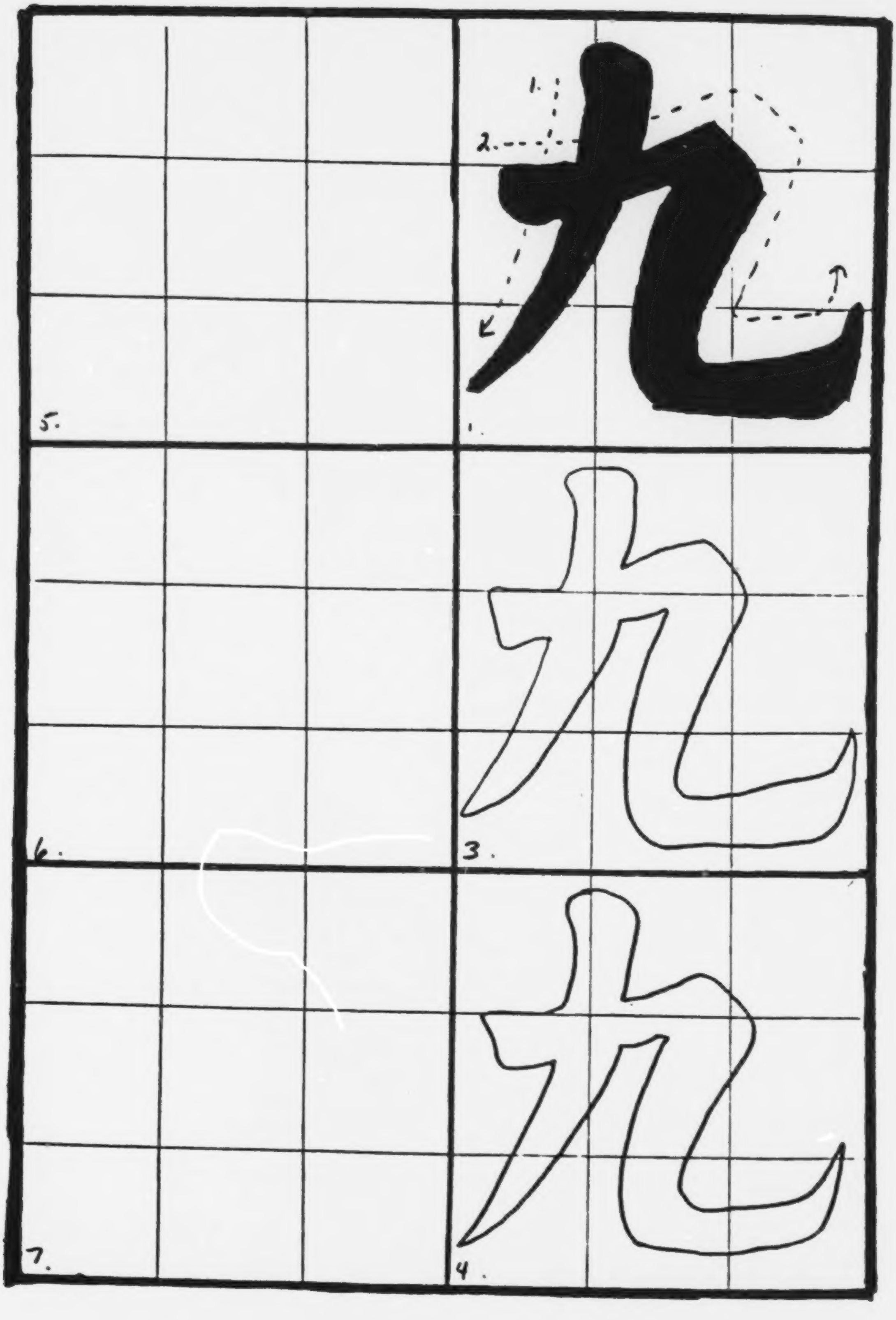
# SEVEN



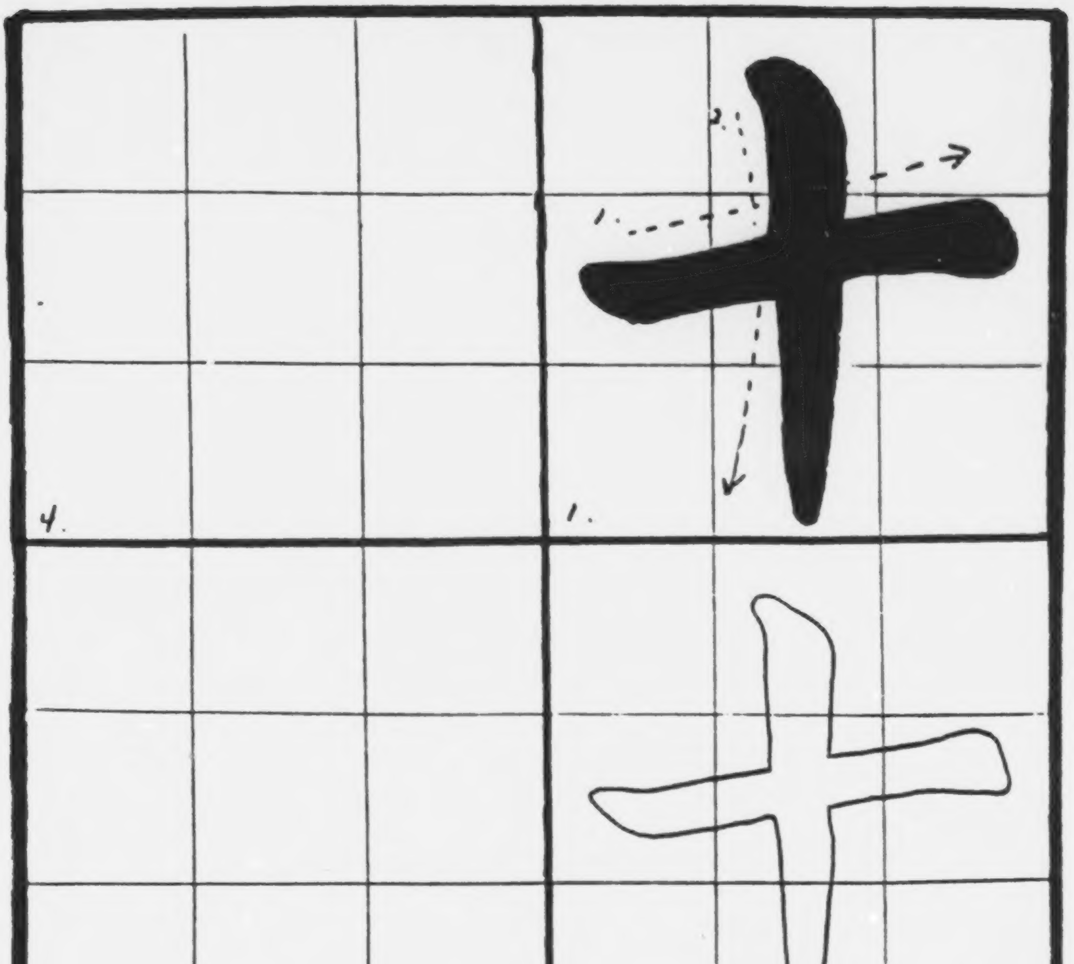
# EIGHT



# NINE



# TEN



## Bibliography

1. Chiang Yee — Chinese Calligraphy 2nd edition Cambridge,Mass. Harvard University Press 1954 Examples and description of the unique art of calligraphy.

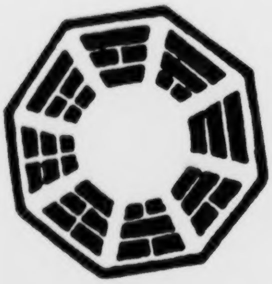
2. Creel, Herrlee C. — Chinese Writing. Asiatic Studies in American Education No. 2 American Council on Education 1943 16pp. $.25 A short pamphlet on the historical evolution and structural form of Chinese characters and sentences, as well as the relation of Chinese writing to the ancient culture of the Chinese.

3. Quong, Rose — Chinese Written Characters: Their Wit and Wisdom. Cobble Hill Press, New York 1968 78pp. A charming, fancifully written text, often etymologidally correct in its derivations for a variety of characters...combining oddments and tidbits of information such as sayings of Mencius in interesting asides.

4. Weise, Kurt — You Can Write Chinese. Viking Seafarer Edition, Viking Press New York 1973 31pp. $.95. Useful for younger readers, using bold and suggestive drawings correlated to brush strokes to show the origin of some of the simpler characters.

*Section IV*

# Philosophy and Religion



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*An Old Chinese Saying*

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- Student Reading: "*What Did Confucius Say?*"

Unit 2: ***Taoism and Legalism***
- Student Readings: *Advanced Students*
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Unit 3: ***Buddhism*** *
- Student Reading: "*Buddhism: The Origins of Buddhism*"
- Featured Resource: "*Buddhism in China*" (a film)

Unit 4: ***Muslims in China***
- Student Reading: "*Muslims in China*"

Resource List

* Teachers are referred to the section on **Art** for related units on Buddhist Art and Art of the Chinese Literati

***The Wade-Giles system of romanizing Chinese names is used throughout most of this section, following the form of the translations from which primary source passages are taken.***

If there be righteousness in the heart, there will be beauty in the character. If there is beauty in the character there will be harmony in the home. If there is harmony in the home, there will be order in the nation. When there is order in each nation there will be peace in the world.

Very old Chinese Proverb.

## Unit 1

# Confucian Thought

### Teachers' Background

Government and society in China were grounded in the Confucian philosophy, which held that there was a basic order in the universe and a ***natural harmony linking man, nature, and the cosmos (heaven)***; it also held that man was by nature a social being, and that the natural order of the universe should be reflected in human relations. The family unit was seen as the primary social unit; relationships within the family were fundamental to all others and comprised three of the "five relationships" that were the models for all others: sovereign-subject; husband-wife; parent-child; elder brother-younger brother; friend-friend. In this hierarchy of social relations, each role had clearly defined duties; reciprocity or mutual responsibility between subordinate and superior was fundamental to the Confucian concept of human relations. The virtue of ***filial piety***, or devotion of the child to his parents, was the foundation for all others. When extended to all human beings, it nurtured the highest virtue, ***humaneness ("ren" or "jen"), or the sense of relatedness to other persons***.

In traditional China it was assumed by adherents of all schools of thought that government would be ***monarchial*** and that ***the state had its model in the family***. The ruler was understood to be at once the Son of Heaven, and the father of the people, ruling under the Mandate of Heaven. Traditional thinkers, reflecting on the problem of government, were concerned primarily not with changing institutions and laws but with ensuring the moral uprightness of the ruler and encouraging his appropriate conduct as a father-figure. The magistrate, the chief official of the lowest level of government and the official closest to the people, was known as the "father-mother" official. Even today, under a radically different form of government, the Chinese term for state is ***"guo-jia"*** or ***"nation-family," suggesting the survival of the idea of this paternal and consensual relationship***. The first and third of the "five relationships" - i.e., emperor and minister, father and son - indicate the parallels between family and state.

The notion of the ***role of the state as guarantor of the people's welfare*** developed very early, along with the monarchy and the bureaucratic state. It was also assumed that good government could bring about order, peace, and the good society. Tests of the good ruler were social stability, population growth (a reflection of ancient statecraft where the good ruler was one who could attract people from other states), and ability to create conditions that fostered the people's welfare. The ***Mandate of Heaven*** was understood as justifying the right to rule, with the corollary right to

The ***Mandate of Heaven*** was understood as justifying the right to rule, with the corollary right to rebel against a ruler who did not fulfill his duties to the people. The state played a major role in determining water rights, famine control and relief, and insuring social stability. The state encouraged people to grow rice and other grains rather than commercial crops in order to insure an adequate food supply; it held reserves in state granaries, in part to lessen the effects of drought and floods, particularly common in northern China. For fear of losing the Mandate of Heaven governments levied very low taxes which often meant that the government could not provide all the services expected of it, and that officials ended up extorting money from the people.

### *The Perfectibility of Man and the Moral Role of Government*

The dominant strain of Confucian thought stressed the ***perfectibility of man***. Confucius (a political philosopher who lived c. 551-479 B.C.) expressed a belief in the fundamental similarity of all persons and in the perfectibility and educability of each individual. Mencius and Hsun Tzu, two of his prominent successors, held different views on human nature, Mencius arguing that it contained the seeds of goodness, and Hsun Tzu that, in its uncultivated state, human nature tended to evil. Both, however, believed that human beings were perfectible through ***self-cultivation*** and the ***practice of ritual***. From the 11th century onward, Neo-Confucian philosophers, engaged in the renewal and elaboration of Confucian thought, subscribed to the Mencian line, stressing the potential goodness of human nature and the importance of developing that goodness through ***education***.

Belief in the innate goodness and perfectibility of man has had strong implications for the development of the Chinese political system. ***The ruler's main function in the Confucian state was to educate and transform the people***. This was ideally accomplished not by legal regulation and coercion, but by ***personal rule, moral example***, and ***mediation*** in disputes by the emperor and his officials. Confucian political theory emphasized conflict resolution through mediation, rather than through the application of abstract rules to establish right and wrong in order to achieve social harmony.

The belief that the state was the moral guardian of the people was reflected in a number of institutions. Most important among these was the ***merit bureaucracy***, or ***civil service***, in which all officials were to be selected for their moral qualities, qualities that would enable them not only to govern, but to set a moral example that would transform the people. Because Confucianism was a moral system, the Confucian classics had to be mastered by prospective officials. Official position and examination degree, not wealth or business acumen, were universally recognized marks of status.

### *Legalism and a Strong State*

A complementary philosophical strain in Chinese thought was Legalism, first applied in the short-lived dynasty of the first emperor, Qin Shi Huangdi (Ch'in Shih Huang-ti, 221-207 B.C.). Proponents of Legalism stressed an administrative approach to efficient and pragmatic government; universal and codified law rather than morality (in contrast to the Confucian emphasis); and state power as an end in itself. As first applied, Legalism proved too harsh and disruptive, but for two millenia thereafter the Chinese state combined aspects of the Legalist structure with the Confucian spirit, recognizing the effectiveness of a ***centralized, bureaucratic rule*** which could oversee massive public works, state monopolies, standardized weights, measures, and even script, attempt intellectual control, and enforce social order by suppressing revolt.

# What Did Confucius Say?

If power, prestige, and wealth were taken as the standards of achievement, Confucius would hardly be considered to have been a success in his own lifetime. K'ung Ch'iu, or Master Kung, the man who later became known in the West by the Latinized name of Confucius, was born in the state of Lu in northeastern China about the middle of the sixth century B.C. This was a period when China was divided into several feudal kingdoms.

Not much is known about Confucius's personal life. Even his traditional dates, 551-479 B.C., are only approximate. It appears that his family, which probably once ranked among the aristocracy, had fallen on hard times and may even have been quite poor. While he was an educated person, Confucius never held high political office. His highest aspiration was to contribute to the cause of civilization as he knew it. For him, this meant being employed by a ruler and having the opportunity to translate his ideas into action. Though many years of his life were spent traveling from one feudal state to another trying to gain an audience for his ideas, he never was rewarded with a high post. Eventually he returned to his native state of Lu and died without knowing the impact his ideas and his example as a teacher would have for centuries to come, not only in China but in all of East Asia.

During the Han dynasty (206 B.C.-220 A.D.), Confucius came to be recognized as a great teacher. In time his teachings became the basis of the Chinese educational system, which in turn was used to select government officials throughout much of Chinese history down to the twentieth century. Equally important, the ideas of Confucius and his followers penetrated to the very core of the lives of ordinary Chinese people. These ideas became the guiding principles of Chinese life. They gave structure and focus to the Chinese sense of what it means to be human.

When we want to know what Confucius said, we turn to a small book that records some of the conversations he had with his students and their accounts of his actions of particular occasions. The Chinese name for this book is the Lun-yü, which means discussions or conversations. This title is usually translated into English as the Analects, meaning selection or choice. Since the Analects of Confucius is not a philosophical or religious treatise with a single point of view but rather a selection of words and deeds of Confucius that his followers found most impressive, this English translation is quite appropriate.

One of the distinctive features of Confucius's teaching is the confidence that he expressed that human beings are essentially alike by nature. Confucius thought that the important differences in human beings are determined by environment and education, by the habits and preferences they develop and the lives they lead. For this reason Confucius put great emphasis on learning. But because he saw people as constantly changing and growing, his teaching was not the same for everyone. Readers of the Analects are always struck by the fact that Confucius never failed to take into account the personality of each individual and his particular stage of development. Even the principles of humaneness and filial piety (devotion to one's parents and family members), which are so fundamental to Confucius's view of human relations, were not set doctrines or fixed rules of behavior. What Confucius offered was a guide to the way human beings ought to feel about themselves and others and to the way that feelings and actions should be related.

The selections from the Analects that appear below have been grouped under five headings. In the first section you will find a number of the sayings of Confucius himself and descriptions of him by others. These reveal something of what he was like as a person and as a teacher. In the following sections you will find statements that reflect his thoughts about humaneness, filial piety, government, and religious life. Following each section are a number of questions that you may want to ask yourself. Once you have thought through your own answers to the questions, try going back and rereading the selections so that you can give examples to support your opinions in class discussion.

Except as otherwise indicated, all translations from the Analects are taken or adapted from those of Wing-tsit Chan in A Source Book in Chinese Philosophy (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1963). The other source for the translations is Sources of Chinese Tradition (New York: Columbia University Press, 1960). The number of the section in the complete text of the Analects follows in parentheses.

ACKNOWLEDGMENT: The consultant for this unit was Dr. Irene Bloom, a specialist in Chinese intellectual history.

# CONFUCIUS, THE TEACHER and PERSON

For centuries Confucius has been a source of inspiration to the people of China and East Asia, educated and illiterate. He has served as an example of how life can be well lived. This is not only because of his words and deeds but because of the total personality expressed in those words and deeds. As you read the following selections, try to imagine how Confucius's students or disciples must have felt about him, and how you might have felt about him if you had been among them.

1. Confucius said, "At fifteen my mind was set on learning. At thirty I had no more perplexities. At fifty I knew the will of Heaven. At sixty I was at ease with whatever I heard. At seventy I could follow my heart's desires without transgressing moral principles." (24)

2. Tzu-kung (one of Confucius's disciples) asked about the superior man. "He acts before he speaks and then speaks according to his action," Confucius said. (2:15)

3. Confucius said, "He who learns but does not think is lost; he who thinks but does not learn is in danger."

4. Confucius said, "Yu (another disciple, also called Tzu-lu), shall I teach you (the way to acquire) knowledge? To say that you know when you do know and say that you do not know when you do not know--that is (the way to acquire) knowledge." (2:17)

5. Confucius said, "In the morning, hear the Way; in the evening, die content!" (4:8)

6. Confucius said, "A superior man in dealing with the world is not for anything or against anything. He follows righteousness as the standard." (4:10)

7. Confucius said, "Ts'an (another name for disciple Tseng Tzu), there is one thread that runs through my doctrines." Tseng Tsu said, "Yes." After Confucius had left, the disciples asked him, "What did he mean?" Tseng Tzu replied, "The Way of our Master is none other than loyalty and reciprocity." (4:15) (Note: reciprocity involved not treating others in a way you would not want to be treated.)

8. Confucius said, "The superior man understands righteousness; the inferior man understands profit." (4:16)

9. Tzu-kung said, "What I do not want others to do to me, I do not want to do to them." Confucius said, "Ah, Tzu! That is beyond you." (5:11)

10. Confucius said, "I transmit but do not create. I believe in and love the ancients. I venture to compare myself to our old P'eng (an official of the Shang dynasty, 1766-1122 B.C., who loved to recite old stories)." (7:1)

11. Confucius said, "There has never been anyone who came with as little a present as dried meat (for tuition) that I have refused to teach him something." (7:7)

12. Confucius said, "With coarse rice to eat, with water to drink, and with a bent arm for a pillow, there is still joy. Wealth and honor obtained through unrighteousness are but floating clouds to me." (7:15)

13. Confucius said, "I do not enlighten those who are not eager to learn, nor arouse those who are not anxious to

give an explanation themselves. If I have presented one corner of the square and they cannot come back to me with the other three, I should not go over the points again." (7:8)

14. The Duke of She asked Tzu-lu about Confucius, and Tzu-lu did not answer. Confucius said, "Why didn't you say that I am a person who forgets his food when engaged in vigorous pursuit of something, is so happy as to forget his worries, and is not aware that old age is coming on?" (7:18)

15. Confucius said, "I am not one who was born with knowledge; I love ancient (teaching) and earnestly seek it." (7:10)

16. Confucius said, "When walking in a party of three, I always have teachers. I can select the good qualities of the one for imitation, and the bad ones of the other and correct them in myself." (7:21, translation from Sources of Chinese Tradition)

17. Confucius taught four things: culture, conduct, loyalty, and faithfulness. (7:24)

18. Confucius was gently yet firm, dignified but not harsh, respectful yet well at ease. (7:37, translation from Sources of Chinese Tradition)

19. Confucius was completely free from four things: He had no arbitrariness of opinion, no dogmatism, no obstinacy, and no egotism. (9:4)

20. Yen Hui (Confucius's favorite disciple) heaved a sigh and said: "You look up to it and it seems so high. You try to drill through it and it seems so hard. You seem to see it in front of you, and all of a sudden it appears behind you. The Master is very good at gently leading a man along and teaching him. He has broadened me with culture, restrained me with ritual. I just could not stop myself. But after I have exhausted every resource, there still remains something standing distinct and apart from me. Do what I can to reach his position, I cannot find the way." (9:10, translation from Sources of Chinese Tradition)

21. Tzu-lu asked, "Should one immediately practice what one has heard? Confucius said, "There are father and elder brother (to be consulted). Why immediately practice what one has heard?" Jan Yu (the disciple) asked, "Should one immediately practice what one has heard?" Confucius said, "One should immediately practice what one has heard." Kung-hsi Hua (another disciple, also called Tzu-hua) said, "When Yu (Tzu-lu) asked you, 'Should one immediately practice what one has heard?' you said, 'There are father and elder brother.' When Ch'iu (Jan Yu) asked you, 'Should you immediately practice what one has heard? you said, 'One should immediately practice what one has heard.' I am perplexed, and venture to ask you for an explanation." Confucius said, "Ch'iu is retiring; therefore I urged him forward. Yu has more than one man's energy; therefore I kept him back." (11:21)

22. Confucius said, "It is man that can make the Way great, and not the Way that can make man great." (15:28)

23. Confucius said, "In education there should be no class distinction." (15:38)

24. Confucius said, "The superior man has nine wishes. In seeing, he wishes to see clearly. In hearing, he wishes to hear distinctly. In his expression, he wishes to be warm. In his appearance, he wishes to be respectful. In his speech, he wishes to be sincere. In handling affairs, he wishes to be serious. When in doubt, he wishes to ask. When he is angry, he wishes to think of the resultant difficulties. And when he sees an opportunity for gain, he wishes to think of righteousness." (16:10)

25. Ch'ang-chU and Chieh-ni were cultivating their fields together. Confucius was passing that way and told Tzu-lu to ask them where the river could be forded. Ch'ang-chU said, "Who is the one holding the reins in the carriage?" Tzu-lu said, "It is K'ung Ch'iu (Confucius)." "Is he the K'ung Ch'iu of Lu?" "Yes." "Then he already knows where the river can be forded!" Tzu-lu asked Chieh-ni. Chieh-ni said, "The whole world is swept as though by a torrential flood. Who can change it? As for you, instead of following one who flees from this man or that man, is it not better to follow those who flee the world altogether?" And with that he went on covering the seed without stopping. Tzu-lu went to Confucius and told him about their conversation. Confucius said ruefully, "One cannot herd with birds and beasts. If I do not associate with mankind, with whom shall I associate? If the Way prevailed in the world, there would be no need for me to change it." (18:6)

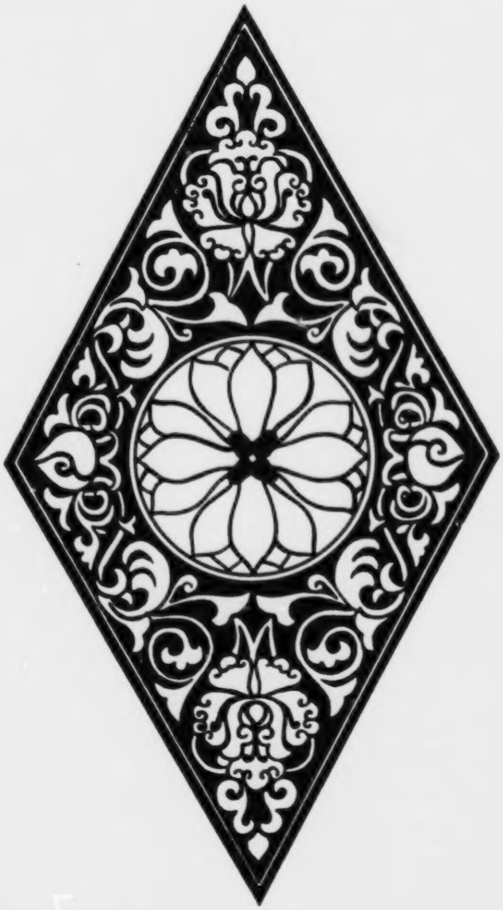
26. Confucius said: "By nature men are pretty much alike; it is learning and practice that set them apart." (17:2, translation from the Sources of Chinese Tradition.)

# Questions

- What qualities of Confucius do you think might have made him a good teacher? Do you think he would still be considered a good teacher if he were alive today in our own society? Why or why not? (Note: What do you learn in particular about his teaching from passage 21?)

- What qualities do you think Confucius would look for in an educated person?

- How do you think Confucius saw his own role? (See, for example, passages 10 and 25.)



# HUMANITY

If we were to identify the virtue that Confucius and his followers regarded as most important, it would be that of jen (pronounced ren) or humanity. Though it is at the very heart of his teaching, Confucius never defined jen. When one of his disciples asked him if a certain person or a certain kind of conduct exemplified jen, Confucius would usually reply that the person or the conduct in question fell somewhat short of being jen. On the one hand he tells us that jen is not far away from us, and on the other he suggests that very few people are able to keep it constantly in mind. It will help you as you read the following selections to know that the Chinese word for jen is 仁 . The symbol on the left, 亻, means "a human being," while the symbol on the right, 二 , is the number two. So the basic ideas has to do with the way in which human beings relate to one another in society. See if you can develop a feeling for jen on the basis of what follows.

1. Confucius said, "One who is not a man of humanity (jen) cannot endure adversity for very long, nor can he enjoy prosperity for long. The man of humanity is naturally at ease with humanity. The man of wisdom cultivates humanity for its advantage." (4:2)

2. Confucius said, "If you set your mind on humanity, you will be free from evil." (4:4)

3. Confucius said, "Wealth and honor are what every man desires. But if they have been obtained in violation of moral principles, they must not be kept. Poverty and humble station are what every man dislikes. But if they can be avoided only in violation of moral principles, they must not be avoided. If a superior man departs from humanity, how can he fulfill that name? A superior man never abandons hunanity even for the lapse of a single meal. In moments of haste, he acts according to it. In times of difficulty and confusion, he acts according to it." (4:5)

4. Confucius said, "I have never seen one who really loves humanity or who really hates inhumanity. One who really loves humanity will not place anything above it. One who really hates inhumanity will practice humanity in such a way that inhumanity will not have a chance to get at him. Is there anyone who has devoted his strength to humanity for as long as a single day? Perhaps there is such a case but I have never seen it." (4:6)

5. Confucius said, "The man of wisdom delights in water; the man of humanity delights in mountains. The man of wisdom is active; the man of humanity is tranquil. The man of wisdom enjoys happiness; the man of humanity enjoys long life." (6:21)

6. Tzu-kung said, "If a ruler extensively confers benefit on the people and can bring salvation to all, what do you think of him? Would you call him a man of humanity?" Confucius said, "Why only a man of humanity? He is without doubt a sage. Even (sage-emperors) Yao and Shun fell short of it. A man of humanity, wishing to establish his own character, also establishes the character of others, and wishing to be

prominent himself, also helps others to be prominent. To be able to judge others by what is near to ourselves may be called the method of realizing humanity." (6:28)

7. Confucius said, "Is humanity far away? As soon as I want it, there it is right by me." (7:29)

8. Fan Ch'ih asked about humanity. Confucius said, "It is to love men." He asked about knowledge. Confucius said, "It is to know men." (12:22)

9. Confucius said, "A resolute scholar and a man of humanity will never seek to live at the expense of injuring humanity. He would rather sacrifice his life in order to realize humanity." (15:8)

10. Tzu-chang asked Confucius about humanity. Confucius said, "One who can practice five things wherever he may be is a man of humanity." Tzu-chang asked what the five are. Confucius said, "Earnestness, liberality, truthfulness, diligence, and generosity. If one is earnest, one will not be treated with disrespect. If one is liberal, one will win the hearts of all. If one is truthful, one will be trusted. If one is diligent, one will be successful. And if one is generous, one will be able to enjoy the service of others." (17:6)

## Questions

- What kind of quality or virtue is jen or humanity, and what kind of person could be called a person of humanity?

- Do you find any similarities between the humanity of Confucius and the guiding principles of another religious tradition with which you may be familiar--for example, love or charity in Christianity, social responsibility in Judaism, or compassion in Buddhism? Any differences?

# FILIAL PIETY

Filial piety, devotion to one's parents and family members, has always been a central element in Chinese life and thought. It remains so to the present day. The English expression "charity begins at home," from a Chinese point of view, is quite literally true. This is because the Confucian idea is that a person learns to be loving through experiencing live in his family. Becoming a moral person depends on extending to others in an ever widening circle the love and consideration that are fostered in a natural way in the family itself. For Confucius, our being moral is grounded in the most basic human feelings.

1. Yu Tzu (a disciple named Yu Jo) said, "Few of those who are filial sons and respectful brothers will show disrespect to superiors, and there has never been a man who is not disrespectful to superiors and yet creates disorder. A superior man is devoted to the fundamental (the root). When the root is firmly established, the moral law (Tao) will grow. Filial piety and brotherly respect are the root of humanity (jen). (1:2)

2. Young men should be filial when at home and respectful to their elders when away from home. They should be earnest and faithful. They should love all extensively and be intimate with men of humanity. When they have any energy to spare after the performance of moral duties, they should use it to study literature and the arts." (1:6)

3. Tzu-yu asked about filial piety. Confucius said, "Filial piety nowadays means to be able to support one's parents. But we support even dogs and horses. If there is not feeling of reverence, wherein lies the difference? (2:7)

4. Confucius said, "In serving his parents, a son may gently remonstrate with them. When he sees that they are not inclined to listen to him, he should resume an attitude of reverence and not abandon his effort to serve them. He may feel worried, but does not complain." (4:18)

5. The Duke of She told Confucius, "In my country there is an upright man named Kung. When his father stole a sheep, he bore witness against him." Confucius said, "The upright men in my community are different from this. The father conceals the misconduct of the son and the son conceals the misconduct of the father. Uprightness is to be found in this."

## Questions

- In the exchange between Confucius and the Duke of She recorded in selection 5 above, we find two very different views of what "uprightness" means. What do you think being "upright" means to the Duke of She, and what does it mean to Confucius? What advantages and disadvantages do you find in each view?

- What do you think of the suggestion that people who are deeply respectful of parents and family members are likely to act as a stabilizing influence in society?

# GOVERNMENT

For Confucius, morality and government were so closely related that it was scarcely possible to think about them separately. As you read the following selections, try to form your own idea about the kind of government Confucius was advocating and its possible strengths and weaknesses.

1. Confucius said, "Lead the people with governmental measures and regulate them with laws and punishment, and they will avoid wrongdoing but will have no sense of honor and shame. Lead them with virtue and regulate them by the rules of propriety, and they will have a sense of shame and, moreover, set themselves right." (2:3)

2. Tzu-kung asked about government. Confucius said, "Sufficient food, sufficient armament, and sufficient confidence of the people." Tzu-kung said, "Forced to give up one of these, which would you abandon first? Confucius said, "I would abandon the armament." Tzu-kung said, "Forced to give up one of the remaining two, which would you abandon first?" Confucius said, "I would abandon food. There have been deaths from time immemorial, but no state can exist without the confidence of the people." (12:7)

3. Duke Ching of Ch'i asked Confucius about government. Confucius replied, "Let the ruler _be_ a ruler, the minister _be_ a minister, the father _be_ a father, and the son _be_ a son." The duke said, "Excellent! Indeed when the ruler is not a ruler, the minister is not a minister, the father not a father, the son not a son, although I may have all the grain, shall I ever get to eat it?" (12:11)

4. Chi K'ang Tzu (a great official of Confucius's native state of Lu) asked Confucius about government. Confucius replied, "To govern, (_cheng_) is to rectify (_cheng_). If you lead the people by being rectified yourself, who will dare not be rectified?" (12:17)

5. Chi K'ang Tzu asked Confucius about government, saying, "What do you think of killing the wicked and associating with the good?" Confucius replied, "In your government what is the need of killing? If you desire what is good, the people will be good. The character of a ruler is like wind and that of the people is like grass. In whatever direction the wind blows, the grass always bends." (12:19)

6. Confucius said, "If a ruler sets himself right, he will be followed without his command. If he does not set himself right, even his commands will not be obeyed." (13:6)

7. When Confucius was travelling to Wei, Jan Yu drove him. Confucius observed, "What a dense population!" Jan Yu said, "The people having grown so numerous, what next should be done for them?" "Enrich them," was the reply. "And when one has enriched them, what next should be done?" Confucius said, "Educate them." (13: 9)

## Questions

- If you were a ruler during the time of Confucius, would you have accepted his advice about government? Why?
- Do you think any of Confucius's

thoughts about government could be useful to government leaders today? If so, what do you think could be helpful? If not, what are some of the most important problems involved in his perspective?

# RELIGIOUS LIFE

If is often said that the Chinese people are not religious. The reason given for this is that traditional Chinese society was essentially Confucian, and Confucius did not teach people to have faith in a higher being or power. As you read the following selections, try to form your own opinion about whether this view is valid or not.

As you read, you will find references to "sacrifices" and "rituals." Sacrifices were ceremonies performed before, during, and long after the time of Confucius in honor of ancestors who had died. The ceremonies took different forms at different times and places, but the unifying element was that the person performing the sacrifice felt a debt of love and gratitude to those who had gone before them. Rituals included a whole variety of practices that had to do with all aspects of life, from eating and sleeping to receiving guests and offering prayers for good crops. You might try to think about whether these practices can be considered "religious" or not, and, if so, in what sense.

1. When Confucius offered sacrifices to his ancestors, he felt as if his ancestral spirits were actually present. When he offered sacrifices to other spiritual beings, he felt as if they were actually present. He said, "If I do not participate in the sacrifice, it is as if I did not sacrifice at all." (3:12)

2. Tzu-kung said, "We can hear our Master's views on culture and its manifestation, but we cannot hear his views on human nature and the Way of Heaven (because these subjects are beyond the comprehension of most people)." (5:12)

3. Fan Ch'ih asked about wisdom. Confucius said, "Devote yourself earnestly to the duties due to men, and respect spiritual beings but keep them at a distance. This may be called wisdom." Fan Ch'ih asked about humanity. Confucius said, "The man of humanity first of all considers what is difficult in the task and then thinks of success. Such a man may be called humane." (6:20)

4. Confucius never discussed strange phenomena, physical exploits, disorder, or spiritual beings. (7:20)

5. Confucius was very ill. Tzu-lu asked that a prayer be offered. Confucius said, "Is there such a thing?" Tzu-lu replied, "A eulogy says, 'Pray to the spiritual beings above and below.'" Confucius said, "My prayer has been for along time (that is, what counts is the life that one leads)." (7:34)

6. When Confucius was in personal danger in K'uang, he said, "Since the death of King Wen, is not the course of culture (wen) in my keeping? If it had been the will of Heaven to destroy this culture, it would not have been given to a mortal like me. But if it is the will of Heaven that this culture should not perish, what can the people of K'uang do to me?" (9:5)

7. Though his food might be coarse rice and vegetable broth, Confucius invariably offered a little in

sacrifice, and always with solemnity. (10:8, translation from Sources of Chinese Tradition)

8. Chi-lu (Tzu-lu) asked about serving the spiritual beings. Confucius said, "If we are not yet able to serve man, how can we serve spiritual beings?" (Chi-lu then said), "I venture to ask about death." Confucius said, "If we do not yet know about life, how can we know about death?" (11:11)

9. Ssu-ma Niu, worrying, said, "All people have brothers but I have none." Tzu-hsia said, "I have heard (from Confucius) this saying: 'Life and death are the decree of Heaven; wealth and honor depend on Heaven. If a superior man is reverential (or serious) without fail, and is respectful in dealing with others and follows the rules of propriety, then all within the four seas (the world) are brothers.' What does the superior man have to worry about having no brothers?" (12:5)

10. Confucius said, "Alas! No one knows me!" Tzu-kung said, "Why is there no one that knows you?" Confucius said, "I do not complain against Heaven. I do not blame men. I study things on the lower level but my understanding penetrates the higher level. It is Heaven that knows me." (14:37)

11. Confucius said, "I do not wish to say anything." Tzu-kung said, "If you do not say anything, what can we little disciples ever learn to pass on to others?" Confucius said, "Does Heaven say anything? The four seasons run their course and all things are produced. Does Heaven say anything?" (17:19)

## Questions

- What do you think religion is, and what does it mean to be a religious person? Is Confucius religious? Give your reasons for thinking what you think.

- What do Confucius's statements about Heaven suggest about his idea of the relation between Heaven and man? How does this compare with your ideas about the relation between Heaven and man or God and man in Judaism or Christianity or another religious tradition with which you are familiar?

- Finally, try to write two or three of your own "analects" or selections and see if you can capture a similar feeling to the ones in the Analects of Confucius. See whether your classmates can tell the "analects" you have written from the real thing.

## Unit 2

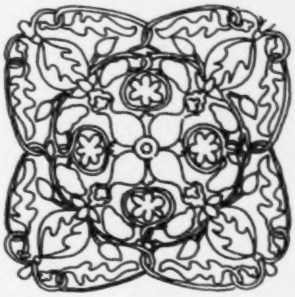
# Taoism and Legalism

### Introduction

The age of Confucius is often described as the period of the "hundred schools" of thought in ancient China. Of course, the designation of a "hundred schools" did not come about on the basis of an exact count of competing schools. Rather, it reflected a general recognition that the period was one of great ferment in the world of ideas, a time when many different points of view on politics and ethics were being brought to the fore and actively debated. Although Confucius was no doubt the single most important contributor to the intellectual debate going on at this time, he had a great many formidable opponents to challenge his views and to contribute to their development. Among the most important of these opponents were the Taoists (or the School of the Way), and the Legalists (or the School of Law). Taoism had a role to play in the shaping of the Chinese imagination and Legalism in the later evolution of the Confucian practice of government.

* Note: The romanization system of Wade-Giles has been used where it appeared in the original text.

## *Student Reading* (Advanced)



### TAOISM

The Chinese word tao (pronounced "dao") means a way or a path. Confucians used the term tao to speak of the way human beings ought to behave in society. In other words, tao, for them, was an ethical or moral way. From the point of view of Taoism, however, the Confucian concept of tao was too limited. Taoists preferred to understand the tao as the Way of Nature as a whole. They believed that Confucians, by insisting on a purely human Way, exaggerated the importance of man and failed to pay attention to the lessons which Nature has to offer about time and change, gain and loss, the useful and the useless.

The basic idea of the Taoists was to enable people to realize that, since human life is really only a small part of a larger process of nature, the only human actions which ultimately make sense are those which are in accord with the flow of Nature - the Tao or the Way. Their sensitivity to the way of Nature prompted them to reject human ideas or standards which might lead to an overly assertive mode of behavior or too strong a commitment to the achievement of worldly goals. For Taoists, such unnatural assertiveness was the root cause of violence and aggression. While Confucians found moral reasons to counsel against violence and to urge rulers to govern by virtue rather than by force, many Taoists went even further and denounced violence as reflecting the ultimate ignorance of the Way of Nature.

Their solution to the problem of how human beings should behave is expressed in the typically Taoist doctrine of wu-wei or non-action. This did not mean doing absolutely nothing but doing nothing unnatural, nothing that was out of keeping with the Tao. Related to the doctrine of non-action was the idea of no-desires, which meant that no one should have excessive desires because such desires are bound to cause injury both to oneself and to others.

As believers in the way of the natural, the Taoists characteristically favored the spontaneous and the simple. One of their favorite images was that of the uncarved block. Suggesting a block of wood which is uncut and uncrafted, the uncarved block is associated with an original simplicity and wholeness which is purely natural. From a Taoist point of view, Confucian concern with civilization, culture and moral cultivation reflected a bias toward artificiality and toward unnecessary and arbitrary distinctions. Since morality came into being only after distinctions began to be made by human beings, and among them, it is far inferior to spontaneous conformity to the Tao.

What Confucians regarded as essential to being human - the practice of ritual - the Taoists saw as just so much contrivance and arrogant insistence on the man-made a opposed to the natural. They advocated that, rather than dwelling on the practice of ritual, each individual should cultivate his own te, the virtue or power that is received from the Tao.

In addition to being unsympathetic to the Confucian idea of ritual, the Taoists tended also to be mistrustful of that other great human invention, language. This was perhaps because they realized that all those who speak are locked in time and confined to a particular human identity. What was needed, from their point of view, was not logical argument or the arts of persuasion, but quiet attunement to the rhythms and cycles of nature and to the process of change.

One of the most important figures in the shaping of classical Taoism is that of Lao Tzu, which simply means "the elder" or "the old man." Nothing certain is known of him. Some accounts of Lao Tzu suggest that he lived in the sixth century B.C. and that Confucius actually visited him in search of philosophical advice. However, there is no real evidence to support this view, and recent historians have tended to believe that most of the stories surrounding him are purely legendary. One legend about Lao Tzu has it that toward the end of his life he left China for the West. As he was passing through the gates at the border, the gatekeeper begged him to write something to leave behind. Complying with this request, Lao Tzu is supposed to have written the eighty-one chapters of a book called the *Tao-te ching*, one translation of which is *The Way and Its Power*.

Whether or not this book was actually written by Lao Tzu or, as many have argued, by several different authors, is not known. More important is the fact that it has fascinated, mystified, and inspired people in China and more recently in the West, over the course of many centuries.

The same sort of mystery surrounds the work of Chuang Chou or Chuang Tzu, the other great contributor to early Taoism. Chuang Tzu was in all likelihood an historical figure who lived in the third century B.C. While he cannot have written the entire book which bears his name, he is credited with at least seven of its thirty-three chapters. It is by almost anyone's standards one of the greatest works of world literature. In the *Chuang Tzu*, wit, humor and playfulness combine with a spirituality which is at once earthy and sublime.

As you read the following selections from the *Tao-te ching* and *Chuang Tzu*, try to assess the ways in which the Taoists departed from the philosophy of Confucius. We have discussed Confucianism and Taoism here as different "ways." Yet these two ways, rather than being altogether incompatible with one another, may also be understood as mutually complementary. Can you imagine how both philosophies might have had an appeal for some of the same people in different aspects of their lives?

From the *Tao-te ching*

> The following translations are adapted from Lao-Tzu: "*My words are very easy to understand.*" *Lectures on the Tao Teh Ching*, by Man-jan Cheng, translated from the Chinese by Tam C. Gibbs. (Richmond, CA: North Atlantic Books, 1981).

1. The tao that can be said is not the everlasting Tao.
If a name can be named, it is not the everlasting Name.
That which has no name is the origin of heaven and earth;
That which has a name is the Mother of all things.
Thus, if always without desire, one can observe
        indescribable marvels;
If always desirous, one sees merest traces.
Those two come from the same source but are
        differently named.
Both are called Mysterious.
The mystery of the Mysterious is the gateway to all
        indescribable marvels.

3. Not honoring men of worth keeps the people from competing;
Not wanting rare things keeps the people from thievery;
Not paying attention to the desirable keeps the hearts of the people
        from disaster.
This is why the Sage governs himself by
        relaxing the mind,
        reinforcing the abdomen,
        gentling the will,
        strengthening the bones.
Always cause the people to be without knowledge or desires;
Cause the intelligent ones to not dare act.
Let there be Non-action
And there is nothing that will not be well-regulated.

5. Heaven and earth are not humane,
        treating the myriad things as straw dogs.
The Sage is not humane,
        treating the people as straw dogs.
The space between heaven and earth is like a bellows,
        empty and yet inexhaustible;
Move it and even more comes out.

Too many words quickly exhaust;
It is not as good as holding to the center.

7. Heaven is long lasting and earth is enduring.
The reason why heaven and earth can live long and endure
is that they do not live only for themselves.
Therefore, they can produce perpetually.
This is why the Sage puts himself behind yet ends up ahead,
Considers himself an outsider yet finds himself in the mainstream.
Is it not because he is selfless that his Self can be realized?

8. The best attitude is like water.
Water is a positive benefit to all things without
competing with them.
It seeks out those places abominated by man.
Thereby, it approaches the Tao.
For one's dwelling, choose ground well.
In cultivating one's mind/heart, search the deeps well.
In dealing with people, treat them well.
In speaking, know how to keep one's word.
In governing, rectify the self well.
In serving, do one's best.
In acting, choose the time well.
Only by not competing can one be without reproach.

13. Favor and disgrace are both alarming.
Treat great calamities as if they were happening to yourself.
What does "favor and disgrace are both alarming" mean?
When favor is conferred upon a lowly position,
it is like a shock.
And when it is taken away, it is like a shock.
This is what is spoken of as "Favor and grace are
both alarming."
What does this mean:
"Treat calamities as if they were happening to yourself"?
I am able to feel great calamities because I have a self.
If I have no self, what calamity is there?
Therefore, only one who values himself as he values the
world is fit to be entrusted with the world.
Only one who loves the world as he loves himself
is worthy of being the trustee of the world.

Attain utmost emptiness.

Maintain profound tranquility.
All things are stirring about.
I watch their cycle.
Things flourish, and each returns to its root.
Returning to the root is called tranquility;
This is what is meant by returning to one's basic nature.
Returning to one's basic nature is called constancy.
To understand constancy is called enlightening.
Not to understand constancy is blindly to do unfortunate things.
Understanding constancy, one gains a capacity for forbearance.
If forbearing, one can be impartial.
If impartial, one can, be a king.
If one is a king, he can communicate with heaven.
To communicate with heaven is to be in accord with the Tao.
If in accord with the Tao, one is everlasting.
And even though his body ceases to be, he is not destroyed.

19. Divorce wisdom and abandon intelligence,
And the people will benefit a hundred-fold.
Divorce humanity and abandon righteousness,
And the people will return to filial piety and compassion.
Divorce shrewdness and abandon profit,
And there will be no thieves.
I believe these three statements show that words are inadequate.
The people should be made to adhere to these principles:
"Look to simplicity; cleave to the uncarved block;
Diminish self and curb desires.

32. Tao is always without a name.
Small as it may be as the uncarved block,
It is inferior to no power in the world.
If a ruler can cleave to it,
All beings will pay homage to him.
Heaven and earth mingle in harmony and a sweet liquor
rains down.
Without command from above peace and order spread
among the people.
With the genesis of the world, names appeared.
There are so many names, is it not time to stop?
Knowing when to stop is to be free from danger.
Tao is to the world as rivers and oceans are to brooks
and valleys.

34. The great Tao is so all pervasive, how can we tell where its right or left is?

All things depend on it for growth, and it requires nothing from them.
It accomplishes its work, but makes no claim for itself.
It clothes and feeds all, but does not control them.
Everlasting Non-desire is called "the lesser."
That all things return to it and yet it does not control
them is called "the Greater."
Because it never insists on its greatness,
Its greatness becomes a reality.

The following translations are adapted from D.C. Lau, in *Lao Tzu: Tao Te Ching* (Harmondsworth: Penguin Books, 1963).

57. Govern the state by being straightforward; wage war
by being crafty; but win the empire by not being
meddlesome.
How do I know that it is like that? By means of this.
The more taboos there are in the empire
The poorer the people;
The more sharpened tools the people have
The more benighted the state;
The more skills the people have
The further novelties multiply;
The better known the laws and edicts
The more thieves and robbers there are.
Hence the sage says,
I take no action and the people are rectified of
themselves;
I prefer stillness and the people are rectified of
themselves;
I am not meddlesome and the people prosper of
themselves;
I am free from desire and the people of themselves
become simple like the uncarved block.

67. The whole world says that my way is vast and resembles nothing. It is because it is vast that it resembles nothing. If it resembled anything it would, long before now, have become small.

I have three treasures
Which I hold and cherish.
The first is known as compassion,
The second is known as frugality,

The third is known as not daring to take the
lead in the empire;
Being compassionate one could afford to be courageous;
Being frugal one could afford to extend one's territory;
Not daring to take the lead in the empire one could
afford to be lord over the vessels (i.e., officials).
Now, to forsake compassion for courage, to forsake
frugality for expansion, to forsake the rear for the
lead, is sure to end in death.
Through compassion, one will triumph in attack and be impregnable in defence. What heaven succors it protects with the gift of compassion.

## From the *Chuang Tzu*

The following translations are from Burton Watson in *The Complete Works of Chuang Tzu* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1968).

### A) "Free and Easy Wandering", from Chapter 1

1. Hui Tzu[*] said to Chang Tzu, "The king Wei gave me some seeds of a huge gourd. I planted them, and when they grew up, the fruit was big enough to hold five piculs. I tried using it for a water container, but it was so heavy I couldn't lift it. I split it in half to make dippers, but they were so large and unwieldy that I couldn't dip them into anything. It's not that the gourds weren't fantastically big-but I decided they were no use and so I smashed them to pieces."

Chuang Tzu said, "You certainly are dense when it comes to using big things! In Sung there was a man who was skilled at making a salve to prevent chapped hands, and generation after generation his family made a living by bleaching silk in water. A traveler heard about the salve and offered to buy the prescription for a hundred measures of gold. The man called everyone to a family council. For generations we've been bleaching silk and we've never made more than a few measures of gold," he said. "Now, if we sell our secret, we can make a hundred measures in one morning. Let's let him have it!" The traveler got the salve and introduced it to the king of Wu, who was having trouble with the state of Yueh. The king put the man in charge of his troops, and that winter they fought a naval battle with the men of Yueh and gave them a bad beating. A portion of the conquered territory was awarded to the man as a fief. The salve had the power to prevent chapped hands in either case; but one man used it to get a fief, while the other one never got beyond silk bleaching - because they used it in different ways. Now you had a gourd big enough to hold five piculs. Why didn't you think of making it into a great tub so you could go floating around the rivers and lakes, instead of worrying because it was too big and unwieldy to dip into things! Obviously you still have a lot of underbrush in your head!"

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[*] The logician Hui Shih who, as pointed out by Waley, in the *Chuang Tzu* "stands for intellectuality as opposed to imagination."

Hui Tzu said to Chuang Tzu, "I have a big tree of the kind men call **shu**. Its trunk is too gnarled and bumpy to apply a measuring line to, its branches too bent and twisty to match up to a compass or square. You could stand it by the road and no carpenter would look at it twice. Your words, too, are big and useless, and so everyone alike spurns them!"

Chuang Tzu said, "Maybe you've never seen a wildcat or a weasel. It crouches down and hides, watching for something to come along. It leaps and races east and west, not hesitating to go high or low - until it falls into the trap and dies in the net. Then again there's the yak, big as a cloud covering the sky. It certainly knows how to be big, though it doesn't know how to catch rats. Now you have this big tree and you're distressed because it's useless. Why don't you plant it in Not-Even-Anything Village, or the field of Broad-and-Boundless, relax and do nothing by its side, or lie down for a free and easy sleep under it? Axes will never shorten its life, nothing can ever harm it. If there's no use for it, how can it come to grief or pain?

B) "Discussion on Making all things Equal," from Chapter 2

2. What is acceptable we call acceptable; what is unacceptable we call unacceptable. A road is made by people walking on it; things are so because they are called so. What makes them so? Making them so makes them so. What makes them not so? Making them not so makes them not so. Things all must have that which is so; things all must have that which is acceptable. There is nothing that is not so, nothing that is not acceptable.

For this reason, whether you point to a little stalk or a great pillar, a leper or the beautiful Hsi-shih, things ribald and shady or things grotesque and strange, the Way makes them all into one. Their dividedness is their completeness; their completeness is their impairment. No thing is either complete or impaired, but all are made into one again. Only the man of far-reaching vision knows how to make them into one. So he has no use [for categories], but relegates all to the constant. The constant is the useful; the useful is the passable; the passable is the successful; and with success, all is accomplished. He relies upon this alone, relies upon it and does not know he is doing so. This is called the Way.

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But to wear out your brain trying to make things into one without realizing that they are all the same - this is called "three in the morning." What do I mean by "three in the morning"? When the monkey trainer was handing out acorns, he said, "You get three in the morning and four at night." This made all the monkeys furious. "Well, then," he said, "you get four in the morning and three at night." The monkeys were all delighted. There was no change in the reality behind the words, and yet the monkeys responded with joy and anger. Let them, if they want to. So the sage harmonizes with both right and wrong and rests in Heaven the Equalizer. This is called walking two roads.

The understanding of the men of ancient times went a long way. How far did it go? To the point where some of them believed that things have never existed - so far, to the end, where nothing can be added. Those at the next stage thought that things exist but recognized no boundaries among them. Those at the next stage thought there were boundaries but recognized no right and wrong. Because right and wrong appeared, the Way was injured, and because the Way was injured, love became complete. But do such things as completion and injury really exist, or do they not?

3. Chu Ch'ueh-tzu said to Chang Wu-tzu, "I have heard Confucius say that the sage does not work at anything, does not pursue profit, does not dodge harm, does not enjoy being sought after, does not follow the Way, says nothing yet says something, says something yet says nothing, and wanders beyond the dust and grime. Confucius himself regarded these as wild and flippant words, though I believe they describe the working of the mysterious Way. What do you think of them?"

Chang Wu-tzu said, "Even the Yellow Emperor would be confused if he heard such words, so how could you expect Confucius to understand them? What's more, you're too hasty in your own appraisal. You see an egg and demand a crowing cock, see a crossbow pellet and demand a roast dove. I'm going to try speaking some reckless words and I want you to listen to them recklessly. How will that be? The sage leans on the sun and moon, tucks the universe under his arm, merges himself with things, leaves the confusion and muddle as it is, and looks on slaves as exalted. Ordinary men strain and struggle; the sage is stupid and blockish. He takes part in ten thousand ages and achieves simplicity in oneness. For him, all the ten thousand things are what they are, and thus they enfold each other.

"How do I know that loving life is not a delusion? How do I know that in hating death I am not like a man who, having left home in his youth, has forgotten the way back?

"Lady Li was the daughter of the border guard of Ai.* When she was first taken captive and brought to the state of Chin, she wept until her tears drenched the collar of her robe. But later, when she went to live in the palace of the ruler, shared his couch with him, and ate the delicious meats of his table, she wondered why she had ever wept. How do I know that the dead do not wonder why they ever longed for life?

"He who dreams of drinking wine may weep when morning comes; he who dreams of weeping may in the morning go off to hunt. While he is dreaming he does not know it is a dream, and in his dream he may even try to interpret a dream. Only after he wakes does he know it was a dream. And someday there will be a great awakening when we know that this is all a great dream. Yet the stupid believe they are awake, busily and brightly assuming they understand things, calling this man ruler, that one herdsman - how dense! Confucius and you are both dreaming! And when I say you are dreaming, I am dreaming, too. Words like these will be labeled the Supreme Swindle. Yet, after ten thousand generations, a great sage may appear who will know their meaning, and it will still be as though he appeared with astonishing speed.

"Suppose you and I have had an argument. If you have beaten me instead of my beating you, then are you necessarily right and am I necessarily wrong? If I have beaten you instead of your beating we, then am I necessarily right and are you necessarily wrong? Is one of us right and the other wrong? Are both of us right or are both of us wrong? If you and I don't know the answer, then other people are bound to be even more in the dark. Whom shall we get to decide what is right? Shall we get someone who agrees with you to decide? But if he already agrees with you, how can he decide fairly? Shall we get someone who agrees with me? But if he already agrees with me, how can he decide? Shall we get someone who disagrees with both of us? But if he already disagrees with both of us, how can he decide? Shall we get someone who agrees with both of us? But if he already agrees with both of us, how can he decide? Obviously, then, neither you nor I nor anyone else can decide for each other. Shall we wait for still another person?

"But waiting for one shifting voice [to pass judgment on] another is the same as waiting for none of them. Harmonize them all with the Heavenly Equality, leave them to their endless changes, and so live out your years. What do I mean by harmonizing them with the Heavenly Equality? Right is not right; so is not so. If right were really right, it would differ so clearly from not right that there would be no need for argument. If so were really so, it would differ so clearly from not so that there would be no need for argument. Forget the years; forget distinctions.

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* She was taken captive by Duke Hsien of Qin (Chin) in 671 B.C., and later became his consort.

Leap into the boundless and make it your home!"

4. Once Chuang Chou dreamt he was a butterfly, a butterfly flitting and fluttering around, happy with himself and doing as he pleased. He didn't know he was Chuang Chou. Suddenly he woke up and there he was, solid and unmistakable Chuang Chou. But he didn't know if he was Chuang Chou who had dreamt he was a butterfly, or a butterfly dreaming he was Chuang Chou. Between Chuang Chou and a butterfly there must be **some** distinction! This is called the Transformation of Things.

5. Your life has a limit but knowledge has none. If you use what is limited to pursue what has no limit, you will be in danger. If you understand this and still strive for knowledge, you will in danger for certain! If you do good, stay away from fame, If you do evil, stay away from punishments. Follow the middle; go by what is constant, and you can stay in one piece, keep yourself alive, look after your parents, and live out your years.

Cook Ting was cutting up an ox for Lord Wen-hui. At every touch of his hand, every heave of his shoulder, every move of his feet, every thrust of his knee - zip! zoop! He slithered the knife along with a zing, and all was in perfect rhythm, as though he were performing the dance of the Mulberry Grove or keeping time to the Ching-shou music.

"Ah, this is marvelous!" said Lord Wen-hui. "Imagine skill reaching such heights!"

Cook Ting laid down his knife and replied, "What I care about is the Way, which goes beyond skill. When I first began cutting up oxen, all I could see was the ox itself. After three years I no longer saw the whole ox. And now - now I go at it by spirit and don't look with my eyes. Perception and understanding have come to a stop and spirit moves where it wants. I go along with the natural makeup, strike in the big hollows, guide the knife through the big openings, and follow things as they are. So I never touch the smallest ligament or tendon, much less a main joint.

"A good cook changes his knife once a year - because he cuts. A mediocre cook changes his knife one a month - because he hacks. I've had this knife of mine for nineteen years and have cup up thousands of oxen with it, and yet the blade is as good as though it had just come from the grindstone. There are spaces between the joints, and the blade of the knife has really no thickness. If you insert what has no thickness into such spaces, then there's plenty of room - more than enough for the blade to play about it. That's why after nineteen years the blade of my knife is still as good as when it first came form the grindstone.

"However, whenever I come to a complicated place, I size up the difficulties, tell myself to watch out and be careful, keep my eyes on what I'm doing, work very slowly, and move the knife with the greatest subtlety, until - flop! The whole thing comes apart like a clod of earth crumbling to the ground. I stand there holding the knife and look all around me, completely satisfied and reluctant to move on, and then I wipe off the knife and put it away."

"Excellent!" said Lord Wen-hui. "I have heard the words of Cook Ting and learned how to care for life!"

6. When Lao Tan* died, Ch'in Shih went to mourn for him; but after giving three cries, he left the room.

"Weren't you a friend of the Master?" asked Lao Tzu's disciples.

"Yes."

"And you think it's all right to mourn him this way?"

"Yes," said Ch'in Shih. "At first I took him for a real man, but now I know he wasn't. A little while ago, when I went in to mourn, I found old men weeping for him as though they were weeping for a son, and young men weeping for him as though they were weeping for a mother. To have gathered a group like **that**, he must have done something to make them talk about him, though he didn't ask them to talk, or make them weep for him, though he didn't ask them to weep. This is to hide from Heaven, turn your back on the true state of affairs, and forget what you were born with. In the old days, this was called the crime of hiding from Heaven. Your master happened to come because it was his time, and he happened to leave because things follow along. If you are content with the time and willing to follow along, then grief and joy have no way to enter in. In the old days, this was called being freed from the bonds of God.

"Though the grease burns out of the torch, the fire passes on, and no one knows where it ends."

## C) "The Great and Venerable Teacher," from Chapter 6

7. Master Ssu, Master Yu, Master Li, and Master Lai were all four talking together. "Who can look upon nonbeing as his head, on life as his back, and on death as his rump?" they said. "Who knows that life and death, existence and annihilation, are all a single body? I will be his friend!"

The four men looked at each other and smiled. There was no disagreement in their hearts and so the four of them became friends.

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* Lao Tzu, the reputed author of the *Tao-te-ching*

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All at once Master Yu fell ill. Master Ssu went to ask how he was. "Amazing!" said Master Yu. "The Creator is making me all crookedy like this! My back sticks up like a hunchback and my vital organs are on top of me. My chin is hidden in my navel, my shoulders are up above my head, and my pigtail points at the sky. It must be some dislocation of the yin and yang!"

Yet he seemed calm at heart and unconcerned. Dragging himself haltingly to the well, he looked at his reflection and said, "My, my! So the Creator is making me all crookedy like this!"

"Do you resent it?" asked Master Ssu.

"Why no, what would I resent? If the process continues, perhaps in time he'll transform my left arm into a rooster. In that case I'll keep watch on the night. Or perhaps in time he'll transform my right arm into a crossbow pellet and "I'll shoot down an owl for roasting. Or perhaps in time he'll transform my buttocks into cartwheels. Then, with my spirit for a horse, I'll climb up and go for a ride. What need will I ever have for a carriage again?"

"I received life because the time had come; I will lose it because the order of things passes on. Be content with this time and dwell in this order and then neither sorrow nor joy can touch you. In ancient times this was called the "freeing of the bound." There are those who cannot free themselves, because they are bound by things. But nothing can ever win against Heaven - that's the way it's always been. What would I have to resent?"

Suddenly Master Lai grew ill. Gasping and wheezing, he lay at the point of death. His wife and children gathered round in a circle and began to cry. Master Li, who had come to ask how he was, said, "Shoo! Get back! Don't disturb the process of change!"

Then he leaned against the doorway and talked to Master Lai. "How marvelous the Creator is! What is he going to make of you next? Where is he going to send you? Will he make you into a rat's liver? Will he make you into a bug's arm?"

Master Lai said, "A child, obeying his father and mother, goes wherever he is told, east or west, south or north. And the yin and yang - how much more are they to a man than father or mother! Now that they have brought me to the verge of death, if I should refuse to obey them, how perverse I would be! What fault is it of theirs? The Great Clod burdens me with form, labors me with life, eases me in old age, and rests me in death. So if I think well of my life, for the same reason I must think well of my death. When a skilled smith is casting metal, if the metal should leap up and say, "I insist upon being made into a Mo-yeh!,"* he would surely regard it as very inauspicious metal indeed. Now, having had the audacity to take on human form once, if I should say, "I don't want to be anything but a man! Nothing but a man!", the Creator would surely regard me as a most inauspicious sort of person. So now I think of heaven and earth as a great furnace, and the Creator as a skilled smith. Where could he send me that would not be all right? I will go off to sleep peacefully, and then with a start I will wake up."

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* A famous sword of King Ho-lu (r. 514-496 B.C.) of Wu.

## QUESTIONS FOR DISCUSSION

1. Much of the *Tao-te ching* seems to be concerned with offering advice to rulers about how to govern. If you were a ruler and followed Lao Tzu's advice, what kind of ruler would you be?

2. In Chapter 5 of the *Tao-te ching* we are told that the sage is "not humane." This suggests quite a different view of the sage from the one we saw in the *Analects*. Can you think of why a Taoist might think that a sage should not be humane?

3. How do you understand the idea of wu-wei or non-action? How and why does Lao Tzu believe it will work?

4. One of the central insights of the *Chuang Tzu* is that the distinctions that human beings regularly draw are based on confusion or ignorance. This goes for the distinctions usually made between right and wrong, good and evil, useful and useless, and even life and death. Chuang Tzu constantly urges us to shift viewpoints and to see things from another perspective - to consider the possibility of a different identity, to view life from the standpoint of death. Why do you think he recommends this course? Do you think he completely rejects morality in doing so? Why or why not?

5. What elements in Taoist thought seem to you most different from Confucianism? Are there areas of human life and experience which Confucianism might fail to deal with and which might be better dealt with by Taoism? If so, what are they?

6. From what you have read about Taoism, do you think Taoism itself could have existed as a complete philosophy of life if there had been no Confucianism to relate to and criticize?

## *Student Reading (Advanced)*

### LEGALISM

Though some of the Legalists borrowed certain ideas from the Taoists, they used Taoist ideas for completely different purposes, and the two philosophies were generally in conflict with one another. Most of the famous Legalists of ancient China were advisers to rulers who were bent on organizing society on a rational basis and finding means to strengthen their states agriculturally and militarily. Instead of being devoted to conformity to the processes of nature, the Legalists were interested in the deconformity which could be imposed through government institutions. They devised elaborate means for controlling people's lives and actions through laws and punishments.

The advice these Legalists gave tended in the direction of regulating every aspect of people's lives so that they would have the discipline to work hard in the fields and fight hard on the battlefields. Many of the laws they recommended were extremely harsh. In the state of Ch'in, where Legalist advisers were most influential, rewards might be generous, but death and mutilation wee often the order of the day.

You will read in other sections about the monumental achievements of the Ch'in dynasty in unifying China for the first time and extending its military influence over an enormous geographical area. When it comes to the influence of Legalist thinking, the striking thing is that the Chinese until recent times drew one historical lesson from the rise and fall of the Ch'in: the limits of force. It was widely recognized that force was necessary to unify the state and to mobilize society. Yet many people were convinced that the brutality of Ch'in rule was what undermined it in the end. Many of the Legalists presented law as an alternative to morality - a more reliable means of ensuring a disciplined and cohesive society. It was this resort to law as distinct from morality that aroused widespread misgivings in later times. As they reflected on the harshness of Ch'in rule and the bleakness of Legalist ideas about human nature, many Chinese were convinced that it is easier to make laws to compel people to behave in certain ways than to inspire them to behave morally but that, over the long run, law without morality is a weak basis for a stable society. Largely because of this experience in their early history, the relation between force and persuasion, between law and morality, has been for centuries a problem of intense interest to the Chinese people. It remains a central problem right down to the present day.

The Legalist tradition in ancient China culminated in the thought of Han Fei, who lived in the third century B.C. Han Fei served for a time at the Ch'in court but was put to death in 233 B.C. in a plot instigated by his one-time friend, Li Ssu, a chief minister to the first emperor of the Ch'in. As you read the following selections from his writings, try to assess the nature of his critique of Confucianism and to evaluate what elements in this brand of Legalism would have been most at odds with Confucian ideas.

## From the *Han Fei Tzu*

The following translation is from *Sources of Chinese Tradition* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1960).

### I. From Chapter 50: "On the Dominant Systems of Learning"

Those who are ignorant about government insistently say: "Win the hearts of the people." If order could be procured by winning the hearts of the people, then even the wise ministers Yi Yin and Kuan Chung would be of no use. For all that the ruler would need to do would be to listen to the people. Actually, the intelligence of the people is not to be relied upon any more than the mind of a baby. If the baby does not have his head shaved, his sores will recur; if he does not have his boil cup open, his illness will go from bad to worse. However, in order to shave his head or open the boil someone has to hold the baby while the affectionate mother is performing the work, and yet he keeps crying and yelling incessantly. The baby does not understand that suffering a small pain is the way to obtain a great benefit.

Now, the sovereign urges the tillage of land and the cultivation of pastures for the purpose of increasing production for the people, but they think the sovereign is cruel. The sovereign regulates penalties and increases punishments for the purpose of repressing the wicked, but the people think the sovereign is severe. Again, he levies taxes in cash and in grain to fill up the granaries and treasuries in order to relieve famine and provide for the army, but they think the sovereign is greedy. Finally, he insists upon universal military training without personal favoritism, and urges his forces to fight hard in order to take the enemy captive, but the people think the sovereign is violent. These four measures are methods for attaining order and maintaining peace, but the people are too ignorant to appreciate them.

The reason for the ruler to look for wise and well-informed men is that the intelligence of the people is not such as to be respected or relied upon. For instance, in ancient times, when Yu opened the rivers and deepened them, the people gathered tiles and stones (to hit him); when the prime minister of Cheng, Tzu Ch'an, cleared the fields and planted mulberry trees, the people of Cheng slandered and reviled him. Yu benefited the whole empire and Tzu Ch'an preserved the state of Cheng, but each incurred slander thereby. Clearly the intelligence of the people is not to be relied upon. Therefore, to seek for the worthy and the wise in selecting officials and to endeavor to suit the people in administering the government are equally the cause of chaos and not the means for attaining order.

## II. From Chapter 49: "The Five Vermin of the State"

In the age of remote antiquity human beings were few while birds and beasts were many, and men were unable to overcome birds, beasts, insects, and serpents. Thereupon a sage arose who fastened trees and branches together and made nests, and all harm was thereby avoided. At this the people were delighted and they made him ruler of the whole world, according to him the title "Nest-Builder." Again, the people in those days lived on the fruits of trees and seeds of grass as well as on mussels and clams which smelled rank and fetid and hurt the digestive organs, and many of the people were afflicted with diseases. Thereupon a sage arose who drilled a piece of wood and produced fire (for cooking), and the fetid and musty smell was thereby transformed. At this the people were delighted and they made him ruler of the whole world, according to him the title "Fire-Maker". In the age of middle antiquity, there was a great deluge in the world, and Kun and his son, Yu, opened channels for the water. In the age of recent antiquity, Chieh and Chou were wicked and disorderly, and T'ang and Wu punished them.

Now, if somebody tried to fasten the trees or drill a piece of wood in the age of the Hsia dynasty, he would certainly be ridiculed by Kun and Yu. Again, if somebody attempted to open channels for water in the age of the Yin and Chou dynasties, he would certainly be ridiculed by T'ang and Wu. For the same reason, if somebody in this present age should praise the ways of Yao and Shun, Kun and Yu, T'ang and Wu, he would certainly be ridiculed by contemporary sages. Hence the sage does not seek to follow the ways of the ancients, nor does he regard precedents as the rule. He examines the circumstances of his own time and plans his course of action accordingly.

There was once a man of Sung who tilled his field. In the midst of his field stood the stump of a tree, and one day a hare, running at full speed, bumped into the stump, broke its neck, and died. Thereupon the man left his plow and kept watch at the stump, hoping that he would get another hare. But he never caught another hare, and was only ridiculed by the people of Sung. Now those who try to rule the people of the present age with the conduct of government of the early kings are all doing exactly the same thing as that fellow who kept watch by the stump....

When Yao held the empire, his reed thatch was left untrimmed and his roof-beams were not planed. The unhusked kernels of cereals were his food and wild greens made his soup. In winter he wore deerskins, and in summer a garment of rough fiber-cloth. Even the food and clothing of a gate-keeper were no worse than his. When Yu held the empire, he worked with the plow and the spade personally so as to set an example to his people till his thighs were without fat and his shins without hair. Even the toil of the servant and slave was not more arduous than his. Such being the case, the ancient emperors who abdicated their thrones were, as a matter of fact, relinquishing but the lot of the gate-keeper and parting but with the toil of the slave. Therefore even though they gave up their empire, there was nothing especially praiseworthy. Nowadays, on the contrary, after even a mere district magistrate dies, his descendants can maintain private carriages for many generations. Hence people value such an office. Thus in the matter of giving up something, people found it easy to abdicate the throne in ancient times, yet find it hard to relinquish the post of a present-day district magistrate. This is because the advantages in each case are so different.

Now, people who dwell in the mountains and have to draw water from the gorges give water to each other as a gift at festivals; those who live in swamps and are troubled with too much water hire laborers to open channels for it. Likewise, in the spring following a year of famine one is unable to feed one's younger brother, while in the autumn of a year of plenty even casual visitors are offered food. Not that men neglect their blood relations and love passers-by, but that the material provisions on the respective occasions are so different. Hence the ancient indifference to goods was not due to humanity, but to the abundance of goods. Nor are the present-day struggles for possession due to niggardliness but to the scarcity of goods. Men used to decline the position of the emperor lightly, and this was not because of any inner nobility but because the power of the emperor was limited. Men now strive fiercely for the portfolios in government, and this is not because of any natural meanness but because the authority of the posts is great. Therefore the sage considers the condition of the times, whether it is one of plenty or scarcity, abundance or meagerness, and governs the people accordingly. Thus though penalties are light, it is not due to charity; though punishment is heavy, it is not due to cruelty. Whatever is done is done in accordance with the circumstances of the age. Therefore circumstances go according to their time, and the course of action is planned in accordance with the circumstances...

Indeed, ancients and moderns have different customs: the present and the past follow different courses of action. To attempt to apply a benevolent and lenient government to the people of a desperate age is about the same as trying to drive wild horses without reins or whips. This is the affliction of ignorance....

Now take a young fellow who is a bad character. His parents may get angry at him, but he never makes any change. The villagers may reprove him, but he is not moved. His teachers and elders may admonish him, but he never reforms. The love of this parents, the efforts of the villagers, and the wisdom of his teachers and elders - all the three excellent disciplines are applied to him, and yet not even a hair on his shins is altered. It is only after the district magistrate sends out his soldiers and in the name of the law searches for wicked individuals that the young man becomes afraid and changes his ways and alters his deeds. So while the love of parents is not sufficient to discipline the children, the severe penalties of the district magistrate are. This is because men became naturally spoiled by love, but are submissive to authority...

That being so, rewards should be rich and certain so that people will be attracted by them; punishments should be severe and definite so that the people will fear them; and laws should be uniform and steadfast so that the people will be familiar with them. Consequently, the sovereign should show no wavering in bestowing rewards and grant no pardon in administering punishments, and he should add honor to rewards and disgrace to punishment-- when this is done, then both the worthy and the unworthy will want to exert themselves....

The literati by means of letters upset laws; the cavaliers by means of their prowess transgress prohibitions. Yet the ruler treats them both with decorum. This is actually the cause of all the disorder. Every departure from the law ought to be apprehended, and yet scholars are nevertheless taken into office on account of their literary learning. Again, the transgression of every prohibition ought to be censured, and yet cavaliers are patronized because of their readiness to draw the sword. Thus, those whom the law reproves turn out to be those whom the ruler employs, and those whom the magistrates suppress are those whom the sovereign patronizes. Thus legal standard and personal inclination as well as ruler and ministers ar sharply opposed to each other and all fixed standards are lost. Then, even if there were ten Yellow Emperors, they would not be able to establish any order. Therefore, those who practice humanity and righteousness should not be upheld, for if upheld, they would hinder concrete accomplishments. Again, those who specialize in refinement and learning should not be employed, for if employed, they would disturb the laws. There was in Ch'u an upright man named Kung who, when his father stole a sheep, reported it to the authorities. The magistrate said: "Put him to death," as he thought the man was faithful to the ruler but disloyal to his father. Again, there was a man of Lu who followed his ruler to war, fought three battles, and ran away three times. Confucius interrogated him. The man replied: "I have an old father. Should I die, nobody would take care of him." Confucius regarded him as virtuous in filial piety, commended and exalted him.* From this we can see that the dutiful son of the father was a rebellious subject to the ruler. Naturally, following the censure of the honest man by the magistrate, no more culprits in Ch'u were reported to the authorities; and following the reward of the runaway by Confucius, the people of Lu were prone to surrender and run away. The interests of superior and subordinate being so different, it would be hopeless for any ruler to try to exalt the deeds of private individuals and, at the same time, to promote the public welfare of the state...

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* This story about Confucius is not recorded anywhere else and evidently is fabricated out of Confucius' teaching on filial piety.

Now the people in the state all talk about proper government. Practically every family keeps copies of the Laws of Shang Yang and Kuan Chung, and yet the state is becoming poorer and poorer. This is because many talk about farming but few follow the plow. Again, people in the state all talk about warfare. Practically every family keeps copies of the books of Sun Wu and Wu Ch'i on the art of war, and yet the army is becoming weaker and weaker. This is because many talk about warfare but few put on armor.

The enlightened sovereign therefore employs a man's energies but does not heed his words, rewards men with meritorious services but without fail bans the useless. Accordingly, the people exert themselves to the utmost in obeying their superiors. Farming is hard toil indeed. Yet people attend to it because they think this is the way to riches. Similarly, warfare is a risky business. Yet people carry it on because they think this is the road to honor. Now if one could just cultivate refinement and learning and practice persuasion and speech, and thereby obtain the fruits of wealth without the toil of farming and receive ranks of honor without the risk of warfare, then who would not do the same? Naturally a hundred men will be attending to learning where one will apply his physical energies. When many attend to learning, the law will come to naught; when few apply their physical energies, the state will fall into poverty. That is the reason why the world is in chaos.

In the state ruled by an enlightened sovereign, one would find no recorded literature and the law would supply the only instruction; one would find no injunctions from the early kings and the magistrates would serve as the only instructors; one would find no (esteem for) bravery in achieving private vengeance, and killing of the enemy would be regarded as the only courageous deed. As a result, the people in the state would all conform to the law in their discourse, would aim at meritorious achievement in their actions, and would offer their services to the army out of bravery. Therefore, in time of peace the state would be rich; in time of war the army would be strong. These might be called the "kingly resources." When the "kingly resources" were stored up, the sovereign could avail himself of any situation that might arise in the state of the enemy...

This then is the customary experience of a disorderly state: the learned men will exalt the ways of the early kings and make a show of humanity and righteousness. They will adorn their manners and clothes and embroider their arguments and speeches so as to scatter doubts on the law of the age and beguile the mind of the sovereign. The itinerant speakers will advocate deceptive theories and utilize foreign influence to accomplish their selfish purposes, being unmindful of the benefit of the state. The free-lance fighters will gather pupils and followers and set up standards of fidelity and discipline, hoping thereby to spread their reputation, but violating the prohibitions of the Five Ministries in the process. The courtiers will congregate in the powerful houses, use all kinds of bribes, and exploit their contacts with influential men in order to escape the burden of military service. The tradesmen and craftsmen will produce inferior wares and collect cheap articles, and wait for good opportunities to exploit the farmers. These five types of men are the vermin of the state. Should the ruler fail to eliminate such people as the five vermin and should he not uphold men of firm integrity and strong character, then he can hardly be surprised if within the seas there should be states that decline and fall, and dynasties that wane and perish.

## QUESTIONS FOR DISCUSSION

1. On the basis of what you have read, what do you think are the strengths of Legalism as a philosophy of life? What are its weaknesses? Are there aspects of human life where Legalism might be more practical or effective than Confucianism?

2. Do you think that the problems you find in the philosophy of Han Fei could be fixed by modification of his views in certain areas or does there seem to you to be some fundamental problem in his perspective? If you think his philosophy could be modified, how would you go about fixing it? If you think there is a fundamental flaw, how would you characterize it?

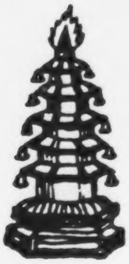
*Unit Consultant: Irene Bloom, Professor*
*Oriental Studies, Barnard College*

## *Unit 3*

# Buddhism

Following is a student reading on Buddhism, written by Lise F. Vail. The article was taken from *FOCUS Magazine*'s issue on Asian religions, Fall 1982. FOCUS is published by the Asia Society, 725 Park Avenue, New York, NY 10021.

*Student Reading*



# Buddhism

## The Origins of Buddhism

By Lise F. Vail

*Hobart and Wm. Smith Colleges*

Buddhism, founded in the late 6th century B.C. by Siddhartha Gautama (the "Buddha"), is an important religion in most of the countries of Asia. Buddhism has assumed many different forms, but in each case there has been an attempt to draw from the life experiences of the Buddha, his teachings, and the "spirit" or "essence" of his teachings (called *dhamma* or *dharma*) as models for the religious life. However, not until the writing of the *Buddha Charita* (life of the Buddha) by Ashvaghosa in the 1st or 2nd century A.D. do we have a comprehensive account of his life. The Buddha was born in North India (ca. 563 B.C.) at a place called Lumbini near the Himalayan foothills, and he began teaching around Benares (at Sarnath). His era in general was one of spiritual, intellectual, and social ferment. This was the age when the Hindu ideal of *renunciation* of family and social life by holy persons seeking Truth first became widespread, and when the Upanishads were written. Both can be seen as moves away from the centrality of the Vedic fire sacrifice.

Siddhartha Gautama was the warrior son of a king and queen. According to legend, at his birth a soothsayer predicted that he might become a renouncer (withdrawing from the temporal life). To prevent this, his father provided him with many luxuries and pleasures. But, as a young man, he once went on a series of four chariot rides where he first saw the more severe forms of human suffering: old age, illness, and death (a corpse), as well as an ascetic renouncer. The contrast between his life and this human suffering made him realize that all the pleasures on earth were in fact transitory, and could only mask human suffering. Leaving his wife and new son ("Rahula"—fetter) he took on several teachers and tried severe renunciation in the forest until the point of near-starvation. Finally, realizing that this too was only adding more suffering, he ate food and sat down beneath a tree to meditate. By morning (or some say six months later!) he had attained Nirvana (Enlightenment), which provided both the true answers to the causes of suffering and permanent release from it.

Now the Buddha ("the Enlightened or Awakened One") began to teach others these truths out of compassion for their suffering. The most important doctrines he taught included the *Four Noble Truths* and the *Eight-Fold Path*. His first Noble Truth is that life is suffering (*dukkha*). Life as we normally live it is full of the pleasures and pains of the body and mind; pleasures, he said, do not represent lasting happiness. They are inevitably tied in with suffering since we suffer from wanting them, wanting them to continue, and wanting pain to go so pleasure can come. The second Noble Truth is that suffering is caused by craving—for sense pleasures and for things to be as they are not. We refuse to accept life as it is. The third Noble Truth, however, states that suffering has an end, and the fourth offers the means to that end: the Eight-Fold Path and the Middle Way. If one follows this combined path he or she will attain Nirvana, an indescribable state of all-knowing lucid awareness in which there is only peace and joy.

The *Eight-Fold Path*—often pictorially represented by an eight-spoked wheel (the Wheel of Dhamma) includes: Right Views (the Four Noble Truths), Right Intention, Right Speech, Right Action, Right Livelihood/Occupation, Right Endeavor, Right Mindfulness (total concentration in activity), and Right Concentration (meditation). The Eight-Fold Path is pervaded by the principle of the *Middle Way*, which characterizes the Buddha's life. The Middle Way represents a rejection of all extremes of thought, emotion, action, and lifestyle. Rather than either severe mortification of the body *or* a life of indulgence in sense pleasures the Buddha advocated a moderate or "balanced" wandering life-style and the cultivation of mental and emotional equanimity through meditation and morality.

After the Buddha's death, his celibate wandering followers gradually settled down into monasteries that were provided by the married laity as merit-producing gifts. The laity were in turn taught by the monks some of the Buddha's teachings. They also engaged in such practices as visiting the Buddha's birthplace; and worshiping the tree under which he became enlightened (*bodhi* tree), Buddha-images in temples, and the relics of his body housed in various *stūpas* or funeral mounds. A famous king, named Ashoka, and his son helped to spread Buddhism throughout South India and into Sri Lanka (Ceylon) (3rd century B.C.).

Many monastic schools developed among the Buddha's followers. This is partly because his practical teachings were enigmatic on several points; for instance, he refused to give an unequivocal answer about whether humans have a soul (*atta/ātman*) or not. Another reason for the development of different schools was that he refused to appoint a successor to follow him as leader of the Sangha (monastic order). He told the monks to be lamps unto themselves and make the Dhamma their guide.

About the first century A.D. a major split occurred within the Buddhist fold—that between the *Mahāyāna* and *Hīnayāna* branches. Of the Hinayana ("the Lesser Vehicle"*) branch of schools, only the Theravada school (founded 4th century B.C.) remains; it is currently found in Sri Lanka and all Southeast Asian countries. This school stresses the historical figure of Gautama Buddha, and the centrality of the monk's life-style and practice (meditation). Theravada monks hold that the Buddha taught a doctrine of *anatta* (no-soul) when he spoke of the impermanence of the human body/form, perception, sensations/feelings, consciousness, and volition. They believe, however, that human beings continue to be "re-formed" and reborn, and to collect *karma* until they reach Nirvana. The Theravada school has compiled a sacred canon of early Buddhist teachings and regulations that is called the *Tripitaka*.

The Mahayana ("Greater Vehicle") branch of schools began about the 1st century A.D.; Mahayanists are found today especially in Korea, China, Japan, and Tibet. The three most prominent schools are Pure Land, Chan or Zen, and Tantra. Mahayana schools in general utilize texts called *sutras*, stressing that lay people can also be good Buddhists, and that there are other effective paths to Nirvana in addition to meditation—for instance the chanting and good works utilized in Pure Land. They believe that the Buddha and all human beings have their origin in what is variously called Buddha Nature, Buddha Mind, or Emptiness. This is not "nothing," but is the completely indescribable Source of all Existence; it is at the same time Enlightenment-potential. The form of the historical Buddha was, they say, only *one* manifestation of Buddha Nature. Mahayana thus speaks of many past and also future Buddhas, some of whom are "god-like" and preside over Buddha-worlds or heavenly paradises. Especially important are bodhisattvas—who are persons who have reached the point of Enlightenment, but turn back and take a vow to use their Enlightenment-compassion, -wisdom, and -power to help release others from *their* suffering. Mahayana canon says that finally there is no distinction between "self" and "other," nor between *samsāra* (transmigration, rebirth) and Nirvana! Because of this the bodhisattva is capable of taking on the suffering of others in *samsāra* and of transferring his own merit to them.

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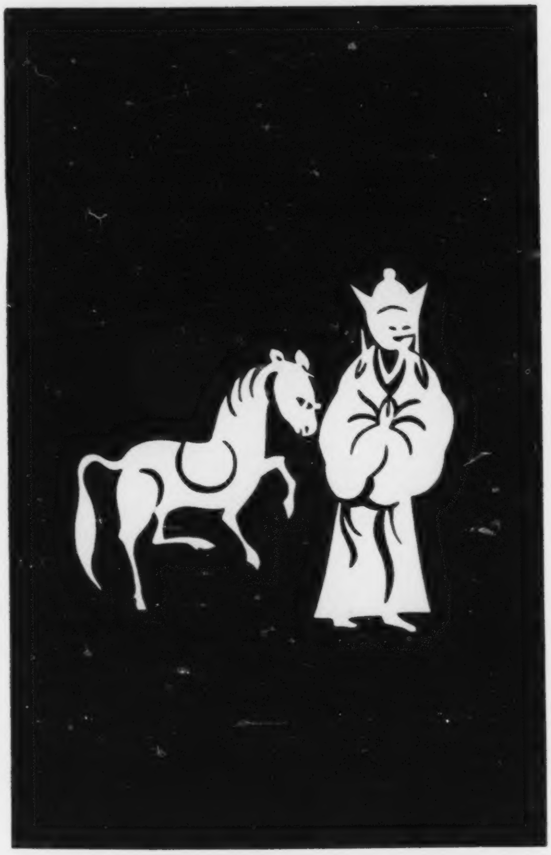
* This term, invented by Mahayana adherents, was originally pejorative. Today it is less so.

Although Buddhism became virtually extinct in India (ca. 12th century A.D.)—perhaps because of the all-embracing nature of Hinduism, Muslim invasions, or too great a stress on the monk's way of life—as a religion it has more than proved its viability and practical spirituality in the countries of Asia to which it has been carried. The many forms and practices that have been developed within the Buddhist fold have also allowed many different types of people to satisfy their spiritual needs through this great religion.



The monk *Hsüan-chuang* 玄奘 of the *T'ang* dynasty.
He made pilgrimages westward to get the Buddhist Sutras.

*FEATURED RESOURCE*

# Buddhism in China

(film, 16mm, 30 minutes)

A survey of the development of Buddhism in China from its introduction during the Han Dynasty in the first century, A.D., until the 20th century. Works of art, maps, animation, and live footage are used to show the historical evolution and the philosophical, artistic, and general cultural impact of Buddhism as a major world religion. Emphasizes the basic ideas of Buddhism and their influence on the character and life of the Chinese people. Produced in 1983 by Wan-go Weng for the China Institute in America, Subject: Buddhism. Level: Secondary, College, Adult.

Available from:
Audio-Visual Center
Indiana University
Bloomington, IN 47405
(812) 855-3087

Price: Inquire.

## *Unit 4*

# Muslims in China

Following is a student reading entitled "Muslims in China". It is reprinted with permission from *Aramco World Magazine*, July-August 1985.

## *Student Reading*

# MUSLIMS IN CHINA

# 回教徒在中國的

漢 In China today, the Islamic faith seems to be not only surviving, but gradually reviving:

- In Lanzhou (Lanchow), on the banks of the Yellow River, cradle of Chinese civilization, a Muslim mosque and *madrasa* seminary stand side by side with Buddhist shrines in White Pagoda Park. And in the park each morning, hundreds of rhythmically twisting Chinese do their daily *Tai Ji* workout – daily gymnastics – just as devout young Muslim clerics begin a day of study and prayer.

- At Xian (Sian), formerly Ch'ang-an, "City of Eternal Peace" and capital of 11 dynasties, the Great Mosque, the largest mosque in China, is proudly displayed to visitors as part of China's national heritage – along with the life-size terra cotta army of Emperor Qin Shi Huang-Ti.

- At Turpan oasis, on the edge of the Gobi Desert, teenagers turn their Mao-style peaked caps back-to-front to pray – foreheads to the ground, facing Makkah (Mecca) – in a mosque resembling a Qing (Ch'ing) Dynasty pavilion.

This unusual mixture of Islamic religious practice, ancient Chinese culture and modern Communist dedication may seem incongruous at first. But Islam, in fact, has been practiced in China since the seventh century when Arab traders, riding the monsoon winds across the Indian Ocean, began to introduce the new faith in the coastal cities of China. In the next 200 years, Islam spread through the interior too as other Muslim traders traveled along the old Silk Road. Today, it is the religion of 10 of China's 55 minority nationalities: the Uighur, Kazakh, Kirgiz, Uzbek, Tatar and Sala, all Turkic peoples; Tungxiang and Paoan, of Mongol origins; the Iranian Tajik and the Chinese Hui.

Government statistics for these minorities add up to about 14 million people – but some unofficial outside tallies put the Muslim population of China much higher. And while figures of all religious minorities in China are somewhat questionable, since they are usually computed based on ethnic origin rather than religious affiliation, there is no doubt that there *is* a substantial Muslim population in the Peoples Republic. Muslims, furthermore, along with other minorities living in China, seem to have regained a certain measure of religious and secular freedoms. Since 1966, when the Cultural Revolution began, mosques were often defaced, destroyed or closed, but today mosques have not only been reopened, but also renovated or rebuilt – partly at government expense – and copies of the Koran once destroyed by the rampaging Red Guards who spearheaded the revolution, have been reprinted and distributed, also with government help.

Last summer, for example, in the northwest provincial capital of Urumqi, three of the city's 20 mosques were being painstakingly restored and copies of the Koran – old and new – were on sale at a stall in one of its main squares. Lanzhou today boasts two new mosques, while China's oldest mosque – the Great Mosque in Xian – is currently undergoing major repairs, the first stage of which, renovation of the *minbar*, will cost about $179,000.

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

Under China's current leadership, in fact, Islam appears to be undergoing a modest revival. Religious leaders report more worshipers now than before the Cultural Revolution, and a reawakening of interest in religion among the young.

Imam Dawud Shi Kunbin, for example, says 500 to 600 worshipers attend Friday prayers at Niu Jie, the largest of the 40 mosques that serve Beijing's (Peking) 180,000-strong Muslim community. "At festivals we get over 2,000," he adds, proudly showing visitors around his recently repainted mosque – its ceiling decorated with pictures of fruit and flowers, its pillars lacquered in red and gold, and its walls covered with a mixture of Arabic and Chinese motifs.

Elsewhere, there are similar reports. Throughout China's vast Xinjiang (Sinkiang) region, the muezzin's call to prayer echoes in such desert oases as Kashi (Kashgar), Aksu, Kuga (Kucha), Hami, Turpan and Hotan (Khoton). Mosques too are well filled in the cities of the Gansu Corridor, (Kansu), once vital links in the old Silk Road between China and the West, while, in the walled city of Xian, Chinese guides respectfully detain tourists at the main gate of the much-visited Great Mosque until the numerous faithful finish one of the five daily prayer sessions.

Imam Dawud Shi Kunbin also says that "more and more" people – over 1,000 in 1983 – are making the annual Muslim pilgrimage to Makkah, despite normally severe restrictions on overseas travel for individual Chinese. He also reports a new influx of young men into the Islamic studies. At the Lanzhou *madrasa*, last summer, for example, all 20 places were filled, and at an Islamic college attached to Beijing's Dong Si mosque another 17 high school graduates were studying to be imams.

Muslims have also gained a measure of toleration from other religious practices. In areas where Muslims are a majority, the breeding of pigs by non-Muslims is forbidden in deference to Islamic beliefs. Muslim communities are allowed separate cemeteries; Muslim couples may have their marriage consecrated by an imam; and Muslim workers are permitted holidays during major religious festivals.

Recently, even the official organ of the Chinese Communist Party took up the cudgel on behalf of Muslims. Prompted by complaints from Muslim visitors, *Renmin Ribao* (People's Daily) urged the authorities to solve the problem of "getting a Muslim meal" in Beijing, where, it said, the 240 Muslim restaurants were no longer enough because "more non-Muslim residents are switching from a diet of pork to beef and mutton." The highlight, in fact, of a recent visit by one normally-chopstick-wielding Chinese to the Alpine-like Tian Shan (Celestial Mountains), was a hand-eaten mutton meal shared with Muslim herdsmen.

As well as religious gains, Muslims have also won significant secular concessions from China's Communist rulers; they are, for example, playing an increasingly important role in regional and local administration. In the Xinjiang region, which covers 16 percent of the total land area of China, Muslims now hold a majority of government posts; four of the seven members of the regional government and 26 of the 37 members of the Standing Committee of the People's Congress of Xinjiang are members of national minorities who mostly practice Islam. In the capital, Imam Dawud Shi Kunbin serves as a member of the Standing Committee of Beijing's Municipal People's Political Consultative Conference, and says "Muslims head all administrations in the street" where mosques are located.

Muslims, most of whom are farmers or herdsmen, seem to be prospering economically too since the Chinese government introduced more liberal agricultural policies and stepped up industrial investment in the under-developed – and relatively autonomous – outlying areas where they live. Capital investment by the central government in such autonomous regions – including the predominantly Muslim Xinjiang region – has totaled about $9.2 billion since 1978, and in 1983, when agricultural production peaked in China, farmers in the autonomous regions produced 39.7 million tons of grain and 180 million head of livestock.

The result of this increased prosperity was clearly visible last summer at Turpan, where Muslim farmers said they earned far more than the average city dweller and the sight of motorcycles parked in the vine shaded courtyards of their walled, mud-brick homes wrung looks of envy from visitors from Beijing.

Culturally too, Muslims seem to have gained more freedom. Newspapers and books, television programs and films are being printed and produced in their own languages; the *Xinjiang Daily*, for example, is published in Uighur and Kazakh as well as in Chinese. Minority students are able to go to school in their mother tongue and are also allowed to take university entrance examinations in their own language. At the same time, the government is taking special pains to preserve and promote the colorful folk dances and songs of the Muslim minorities of Xinjiang.

Most of these already-practiced privileges were recently confirmed in the "Law of Regional Autonomy for Minority Nationalities" adopted by the Sixth National People's Congress. The law stipulates that the administrative head of an autonomous region, prefecture or county – previously a member of the majority Han Chinese – should be picked from one of the nationalities exercising regional autonomy in the area.

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The newly enacted legislation also allows autonomous areas to develop their economies independently – within the framework of state plans, of course – and formulate their own laws according to the characteristics and needs of their locality. It also gives all minorities the freedom to use their own spoken and written languages, develop their own culture and education, and practice their own religion.

Such policies represent a dramatic reversal since the days of the "Great Leap Forward" and the Cultural Revolution, when, for example, the government attempted to dilute the Muslim population of Xinjiang by settling masses of Han Chinese there, and by replacing Muslim leaders.

This turnaround in policies probably reflects a more realistic attitude by China's government towards minorities who may make up no more than 10 percent of the population, but who occupy over 60 percent of the land of China – much of it strategically important and rich in natural resources. Predominantly Muslim Xinjiang, for example, borders the Soviet Union, Mongolia, Afghanistan, India and Pakistan and is rich in minerals, including oil. While Yunnan on the southwest frontier, which has a substantial Muslim population, borders Burma, Laos and Vietnam and has some of China's largest timber reserves. For the government, it may seem wiser to keep minorities there happily within the Chinese fold.

This, to be sure, may be a kind of tug-of-war for the hearts and minds of the Muslim minorities, but it cannot be denied that the Chinese Muslims are benefiting; whatever the motives, the new political realism translates into official tolerance. Those who lived through the repressive days of the Cultural Revolution are understandably skeptical about the future. But for the moment, at least, Islam is very much alive among peoples who have managed to practice their faith, sometimes against great odds, since the seventh century. ●

# *Resource List*

## Books

***Sources of Chinese Tradition***
Wm. Theodore de Bary

This informative volume is an excellent library resource and useful for teacher background. It consists of introductory essays and excerpts from a wide range of primary sources.

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| Available from: | Columbia University Press<br>136 South Broadway<br>Irvington, NY 10533 |
| Price: | Inquire. |

***A Short History of Chinese Philosophy.***
Yu-Lan Fung
Edited by Derk Bodde

This is a useful teacher background. It covers a number of traditions, and has chapters on the spirit of Chinese Philosophy, and Chinese philosophy in the modern world. Paperback edition, 1966.

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| Available from: | The Free Press<br>866 3rd Ave.<br>New York, N.Y. 10022 |

***Three Ways of Thought in Ancient China***
Arthur Waley

In the fourth century B.C., three conflicting prints of view in Chinese philosophy received classic expression: the Taoist, the Confucianist, and the "Realist." "Mr. Waley contrives, as is his wont, to extract savory and satisfying fare from the frequently dry bones of ancient Chinese philosophy...enhanced by the polished and lucid style of Mr. Waley's translations." - *The Times Literary Supplement*. "The book is full of memorable phrases and amusing aphorisms. It reveals a world at once close to us and very far away." - *New Statesman* and *Nation*, 1939.

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| Available from: | Stanford University Press |

Stanford, CA. 94305-2235

Price: $5.95.

***Values and Religion in China Today: A Teaching Workbook***
Mary Lou Martin, N.M. Donald MacInnis

This workbook, complete with lesson plans is meant to supplement textbooks on Chinese and Asian history and culture. Its goals is to stimulate American students to reflect on their own experience, by correlating and comparing it to the Chinese experience.

Available from:
Maryknoll Fathers and Brothers
Maryknoll, NY 10545

Price: Inquire.

***Religion in China***
Richard C. Bush

*FOCUS Magazine*: "For those struggling to comprehend what is probably the single most important aspect of Chinese culture, Richard Bush's brief guide remains the best available introduction to the subject."

Available from:
Argus Communications
Allen, Texas

Price: Inquire.

***"The Faith of China"***
Time Life Educational Project

A nice, easy to read magazine supplement produced by *Life*. Particularly good visuals. For a catalogue of this and other reprints, write to:

Available from:
Life Education Program
Box 834
Radio City Post Office
New York, NY 10019

## *Section V*
# Traditional China

*Teacher's Note:*

This section is divided into two parts. The first, Ancient History, focuses on the beginning of the dynastic system and China's early inventions. The first emperor of China, Qin Shihuangdi, is highlighted along with one of the major accomplishments of his reign, the construction of the Great Wall, and the life-size clay army found buried in his tombs.

The second part, Medieval History, concentrates on the many inventions and ideas that eventually found their way to the West. This was the "Golden Age" of China, during which the imperial structure matured and Chinese philosophy and society flourished. Featured in Part II are the travels and tales of Marco Polo.

Two booklets, *China's Gifts to the West* and *Chinese Ideas in the West* are provided to accompany the contents of this section, especially units 3 and 4. **They are in the APPENDIX.**

Teachers are referred to the section on **Art** for supplementary units which provide material on Chinese art as an expression of Chinese culture.

## Contents

Teacher's Background

**Part I: Ancient History**

Unit 1: ***Ancient China***
- Featured Resource: "*The Ancient Chinese*" (film)
  - Teacher's guide to film

Unit 2: ***Soldiers of the Qin***

- ♦ Teacher's Note
- ♦ Student Readings
  - *"The Qin Dynasty"*
  - *"Visitors to China Discover..."*
  - *"Life-Size Bronze Horses and Chariots Found in Chinese Tomb"*
- ♦ Featured Resources: "*Hundred Schools to One*" and "*The First Empires*" (films)
  - Overviews of films

Unit 3: ***Chinese Dynasties: Can You Name Them?***
- ♦ Teacher's Note
- ♦ Student Exercise

Unit 4: ***China's Gifts to the West: Inventions and Ideas***
- ♦ Teacher's Note
- ♦ Student Readings:
  - *"Chinese Inventions, Can You Name Them?"*
  - *New Yorker Magazine* cartoon
  - *"Chinese Scientists Seek to Regain Age-Old Eminence in Astronomy"*
- ♦ Discussion Questions

## Part II: Medieval History

Unit 5: ***China's Golden Age***
- ♦ Featured Resources: "*The Golden Age*" and "*The Heavenly Khan*" (films)
  - Overview of films

Unit 6: ***City of Cathay***
- ♦ Featured Resource: "*City of Cathay*" (film)
  - Background
  - Visual guide to film

Unit 7: ***Marco Polo in China***
- ♦ Teacher's Note
- ♦ Student Reading: *Marco Polo in China*
  - Discussion Questions

Resource Lists:
For Units ***Ancient China, Soldiers of Qin, Chinese Inventions, City of Cathay,*** and ***Marco Polo***

# China's Dynasties

| | | | Capitals |
|---|---|---|---|
| 1200 | 1122? | **Shang** | Zhengzhou/<br>Chengchow |
| | | | Anyang |
| | | **Zhou/Chou** | |
| 600 | | | |
| | | Confucius | |
| | | Warring States | |
| | 221 | **Qin/Ch'in** | Xi'an/Sian |
| | 206 | unification | |
| B.C./<br>A.D. | | **Han**<br>Confucianism est'd. | Xi'an |
| | | | Loyang |
| | 222 | | |
| | | **Six Dynasties**<br>central govt. decline<br>buddhism intro'd. | |
| 600 | 589 | **Sui** | Chang'an<br>(Xi'an) |
| | 618 | second unification | |
| | | **Tang/T'ang** | Chang'an |
| | 907 | | |
| | | **Song/Sung** | Kaifeng |
| | | Northern Song | |
| | 1127 | Southern Song | Hangzhou/<br>Hangchow |
| 1200 | 1279 | | |
| | | **Yuan** (Mongols) | Beijing |
| | 1368 | | |
| | | | Nanjing |
| | | **Ming** | |
| | | | Beijing |
| | 1644 | | |
| 1800 | | **Qing/Ch'ing** (Manchus) | Beijing |
| | 1912 | **Republic** | Nanjing |
| 2000 | 1949 | **People's Republic** | Beijing |

# Teacher's Background

*Teachers are also referred to the* ***Teacher's Background*** *at the beginning of* ***Philosophy and Religion*** *section for a discussion of the Confucian tradition and its importance to the traditional Chinese state.*

## Ancient Civilization and Dominant Cultural Center

Chinese civilization is one of the ***world's oldest continuous civilizations***. Civilization developed in China from earliest times in the ***valleys of three major rivers***, the Huang He (Yellow River), the Chang Jiang (Yangtze), and the Xi Jiang (West River). These river systems, running west-east, have shaped agricultural development and population growth throughout China's history (**THEME 1**). The Chinese coastline and the Grand Canal (first constructed in 605 A.D.) were important for providing north-south communication, furthering unification of the country, and mitigating the regionalism fostered by the intersection of mountain chains.

Mountains and deserts in the west of China ***limited its contact with other major centers of civilization in the Middle East and South Asia***. Elements of Chinese civilization - literary Chinese and its writing system, Confucian thought, and Buddhism (in forms developed and refined in China after its origination in India) - dominated the high culture of East Asia, creating a cultural sphere that encompassed what are today Japan, Korea, and Vietnam. China's traditional self-image was as a cultural center of the world. Zhongguo, which we pronounce "China" in English, means Middle Kingdom or Central Kingdom. The Chinese thought of their culture as universalistic, that is, outsiders could join or become assimilated into it. This strong ***identity as a universalistic civilization*** has been an important unifying factor throughout China's history, even during times when the country was divided. The Chinese ***written language***, which transcends dialects, has also been an important element fostering China's cultural unity throughout history.

China was unified by its first emperor, Qin Shihuangdi (Ch'in Shih Huang-ti), who established the Qin (Ch'in) dynasty in 221 B.C. Consolidated under the Han dynasty (206 B.C.-222 A.D.), the empire was comparable in dates, size, and strength with the Roman Empire. The Roman and Chinese empires traded through intermediaries on an overland route through Central Asia; Chinese silk was an especially prized commodity in Rome.

Poetry, fine porcelain, calligraphy, landscape painting, philosophy, political thought, historical writing, scientific advances in astronomy, chemistry, and medicine, and the production of fine silks and teas all flourished in China from earliest times, but particularly during the 7th to 12th centuries, China's "***golden age***," under the Tang and Song (Sung) dynasties.

### *Medieval China*

China's stable social and political institutions spawned great scientific achievements, intellectual and artistic developments. The "golden age" of the Tang (618-907) and Song (Sung) (907-1127/1279) dynasties was followed by the commercial expansion and economic prosperity of the Ming (1368-1644) and early Qing (Ch'ing) (1644-1912) dynasties. Marco Polo, travelling to China during the Yuan dynasty when the Mongols controlled China (1279-1368, between the Song and Ming) commented with amazement on the contrast between its civilization and that of Venice, an advanced enclave in Europe at the time. His tales of the Chinese cities were dismissed as fantasy by most Europeans.

### *China in the 18th and 19th Centuries, at the Time of European Economic Expansion*

In the 16th century, the Chinese economy was still the most sophisticated and productive in the world, and the Chinese probably enjoyed a higher standard of living than any other people on earth. The Qing (Ch'ing) or Manchu dynasty (1644-1912) continued this splendor. Contemporary Chinese called the 18th century, when all aspects of culture flourished, "unparalleled in history." China was a prosperous state with abundant natural resources, a huge but basically contented population, and a royal house of great prestige at home and abroad.

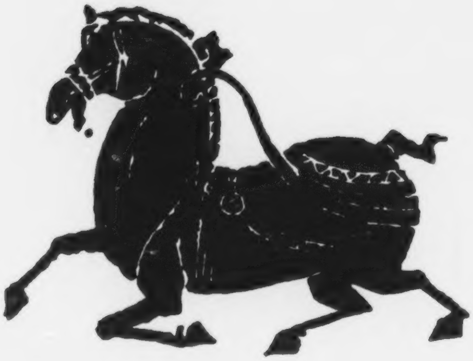
The Chinese state, responsible for popular welfare, controlled commercial development and emphasized the production of staple food crops; merchants were viewed as unproductive and constituted the lowest class in the traditional Confucian hierarchy. From the Tang dynasty (618-907) onward, however, with growing population and expansion of territory, state control of the economy was gradually reduced. Except for strategic goods like salt and certain metals like copper and lead needed for currency, the state did little to control commerce. (*This contrasts with European states, where cities were required to be chartered by the royal house, and with Japan, where cities were allowed to develop only in the castle towns of the daimyo and in Osaka, Kyoto and Tokyo, which had special functions in the central government.*) Moreover, the Chinese government did not rely very heavily on commercial taxation; its main sources of income were land and salt taxes. (*This contrasts with Western Europe, where government taxes on commerce were heavy.*) This environment fostered the development of an ***intricate market network which extended deep into the countryside*** and which was comprised of periodic village markets with links to regional markets. A number of factors, including China's size, the difficulties involved in conducting long-distance trade using metal currencies, and the minor role played by government in regulating the economy, help explain why China was the first country to develop paper money, sophisticated brokerage practices, and banking institutions.

### *Individual and Society*

The relation between the ***individual and the state*** was understood not in adversarial terms, as is characteristic of the modern West, but in ***consensual terms***. Therefore, China did not develop an elaborate system of civil law. Instead, ***mediation*** between aggrieved parties was prescribed, with local leaders emphasizing negotiation, compromise, and change through education rather than

Neo-Confucian ideals held that: 1) ***the educated individual had a responsibility to serve the state***; 2) a morally upright official should courageously remonstrate with the ruler if his policies are damaging to the state; 3) the state could prosper only if the people prospered; and 4) any disruption in the economy or social order was probably due to corrupt political institutions. These ideas contributed to the longevity, strength, and adaptability of traditional Chinese political institutions. The best people were motivated to serve in government. While corruption was not uncommon, the ideal of public service and responsibility for the people's welfare remained strong. A powerful ***tradition of remonstrance and reform*** helped to insure that the system adapted to change. In fact, this tradition has been carried through, in a somewhat different form, to the communist era.

# *Part I: Ancient History*



## *Unit 1*
# Ancient China

*FEATURED RESOURCE*

## The Ancient Chinese: An Introduction

This is an excellent introduction to China, providing an overview of Chinese historical development from the Shang dynasty (the first dynasty recorded in history) to the Yuan dynasty under the Mongols.

Its two strongest points are that it a) compares developments in China with those in Europe and b) uses maps to place periods or trade routes geographically.

Teachers might wish to use this film as an introduction and then use the more detailed and shorter films in the China History Series to elucidate developments in particular periods and to provide more complete discussion of Chinese philosophies. Optionally, this film could be used to trace history through the Yuan and then the films on the Ming and Qing dynasties from the Chinese History Series could be used to present modern Chinese history, the impact of the West, and the republican revolution of 1911.

The tone of the film is light and it is fairly entertaining, particularly for younger audiences. The film is in color, 16mm format, and 24 minutes long.

Available from:

International Film Foundation, Inc.
200 West 72nd Street
New York, NY 10023
(212) 580-1111

Purchase: $450
Rental: $45

## *Teacher's Guide to Film: Ancient China*

Note the following for students while watching the film:

- The Shang dynasty and China's bronze age (at the time of the Trojan War)

- The Chou dynasty

- The Feudal States and the blossoming of many philosophic schools:
  - Confucianism
  - Taoism
  - Yin and Yang and the eight basic trigrams

- The Chinese language

- Calligraphy as an art form

- The Qin dynasty under Qin Shihuangdi (and the attempt to assassinate him)

- The Han dynasty
  - invention of paper and silk, which was transported to the Roman Empire

- The whole process of silkworm cultivation and silk manufacture is shown visually and it is fascinating

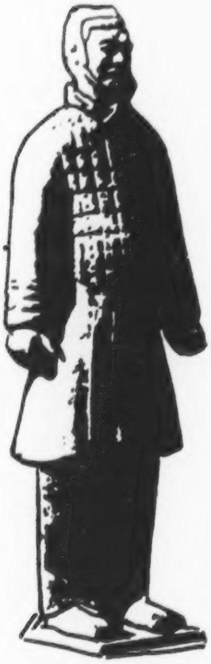
- The entry of Buddhism into China from India, its popularity, and the attack on the power of the Buddhist clergy in the 9th century A.D. during the Tang dynasty; the lasting influence of Buddhism on Chinese philosophy and art

- The Tang dynasty, China's "golden age" which paralleled the dark ages in Europe
  - plan of the capital city of Chang-an is shown, laid out to reflect the cosmos (the Imperial Palace/City in Beijing follows the same plan)
  - the cosmopolitan nature of Tang society is discussed, and animals and games introduced from other societies pointed out

- Song dynasty: growth of new merchant class and more inventions of note occur (the compass, the abacus, gunpowder)
  - Song painting is world renowned

- Mongol Empire attacks, establishing the Yuan dynasty
  - Marco Polo visits China and reports to Europe on what he has seen

The film ends here, with pictures of celebration and parades in China today, making the point of cultural continuity and the fact of China's very long and remarkable history.



## *Unit 2*

# Soldiers of the Qin

### *Teacher's Note*

One of the most impressive and intriguing discoveries in recent Chinese archaeological work has been the army of 7,500 life-size clay warriors and horses buried to protect the tomb of the Qin (**pronounced "Chin"**) emperor in 206 B.C. This army provides an excellent focus for a discussion of China's history. The very short-lived Qin dynasty (221-206 B.C.), ruled by the Qin emperor, unified China for the first time and established the centralized, bureaucratic system that is the hallmark of the Chinese governmental system. In the succeeding Han dynasty (206 B.C. - 220 A.D.), the Confucian philosophic system affected the development and conduct of this centralized imperial bureaucracy.

During the reign of this emperor, old segments of wall were connected to form the Great Wall - one of the wonders of the world and a model of the massive public works carried out under the Chinese rulers.

Attached are three student readings to introduce ancient China. The first is an overview of the Qin dynasty. The second is a shorter version of China under Qin Shihuang. The third is a New York Times article on the discovery of the Soldiers of the Qin.

# The Qin Dynasty: The Great Wall and the Unification of China

by Wang Peijin

CHINA STUDY SERIES
6

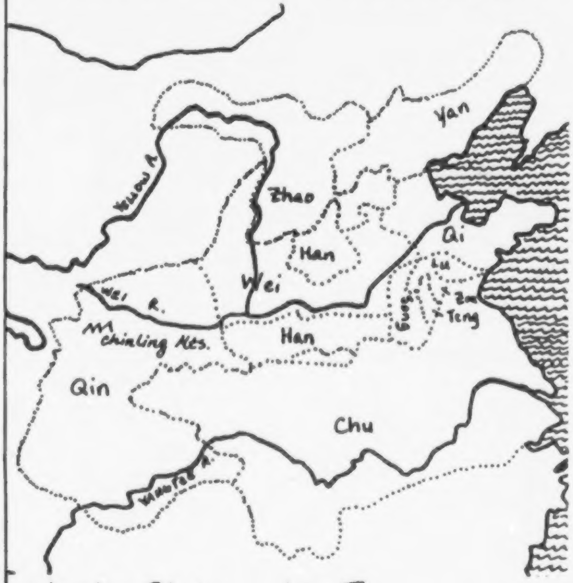
It was during the Qin (Chin) Dynasty (221-207 B.C.) that the protective walls of preceeding states were linked, repaired and extended to form the Great Wall of China. The Wall is a very tangible symbol of the significance of the Qin. The great importance of the dynasty lay in its unification of China and the establishment of central administrative rule.

To see just how important the Qin Dynasty was, we must look back to the time before the Qin. Beginning with the Zhou (Chou) Dynasty in 1027 B.C., about the time David was said King of Israel, China consisted of an amalgam of feudal states loyal to a supreme Zhou king. The rulers of these states were originally related to the king through birth or marriage but over the course of several centuries these kinship ties became increasingly weak. The weakening ties and the decline of the Zhou administrative and military authority combined and the feudal states, in which lords had control over their land but owed loyalty to the Zhou king, gradually evolved into semi-independent states. This created a political and military situation similar to Europe in the 15th and 16th century A.D. In Europe, this situation eventually resulted in the establishment of individual, smaller countries as we know them today. In China, however, this did not happen and therein lies the significance of the Qin.

By the 5th century B.C. in China, seven major states vied for control of the country. They were the states of Qi (Chi), Yan (Yen), Zhao (Chao), Wei, Qin (Chin), Chu and Han. The period of fighting from the 5th century B.C. to the establishment of the Qin in 221 was known as the "Warring States Period." The conflict among the states increased in severity over the years and individual states took measures to consolidate their internal authority and external defenses. Some important measures included an overall strengthening of central administration, political division into counties and prefectures to facilitate rule, and a move towards a relationship between king and official based on a system of wages rather than patronage. Feudal ranks were weakened as states became more autocratic in nature with one supreme ruler who held equal authority over all. External defensive measures consisted of the establishment of fixed boundaries between states along which walls were constructed.

For two centuries, a stalemate among the seven states existed. No one state had enough power to overcome all others. It was a time of shifting alliances, complicated diplomacy and intrigue. A turning point, however, came in about 300 B.C. when the most powerful state in the east - Qi - was surprised by its northern neighbor - Yan - and virtually destroyed. The Qin in the far west was able to take advantage of the resulting imbalance and confusion and it attained a measure of ascendancy in the fighting. While there were setbacks over the next 50 years, the Qin gradually overcame the other states one by one. By 249 B.C. it had conquered the armies of Han, Wei, Chu and Zhao, and between 230 and 221 it annexed the states of Yan and Qi, emerging undisputed victor.

The Warring States Period was one of incredible drain and hardship as individual states were depleted more and more of men for armies and resources to feed, clothe and equip them.

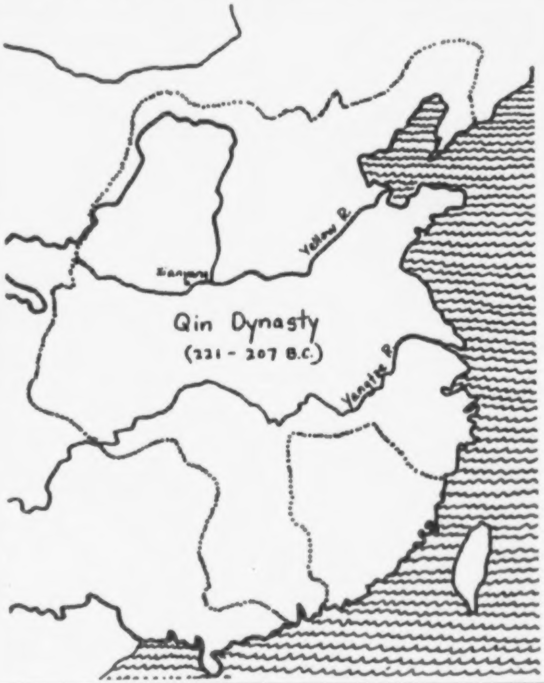


Warring States 战国

After 300 B.C. and the defeat of Qi, however, the fighting took a particularly vicious turn that ranks with the most intense warfare in the history of mankind. After 300 B.C., states no longer sought to assume the status of a Zhou king as they once had - that is, of a supreme ruler among other, lesser feudal rulers. They sought instead to gain undisputed control over their opponents and to establish a different kind of order. One example of the scale and brutality of conflict is seen in the battle of Chanping, located in present day Shanxi (Shansi) province. The primary protaganists in the battle which lasted from 262 to 259 B.C. were the states of Qin and Zhao. In this extended period of fighting and after prolonged stalemate, Qin was able to deceive an inexperienced young Zhao commander into leading his forces into a trap. The entire Zhao army, surrounded and in defeat, surrendered to the Qin commander, Bo Qi (Bo Chi). But Bo Qi showed no mercy. Except for a very small number of the youngest recruits, the entire Zhao force of 400,000 men was buried alive. It is difficult to imagine, in view of the lack of modern communications techniques, how a state in this time could have fielded and supplied an army of this size. That such armies existed is an indication of the scale of organization possessed by these early Chinese conquerers. It is also an indication of the organization that must have existed during the Qin Dynasty to carry out projects like the construction of the Great Wall. The Battle of Chanping is an almost unbelievable example of the scale of organization and warfare that existed during the end of the Warring States Period. The ruthless prosecution of this war by the Qin state led to the eventual elimination of rivals and the founding of a completely different kind of dynasty.

There were several noteworthy characteristics of the Qin state. Militarily, the Qin held certain advantages over its opponents in geographic location which may have been a factor in its success. The Qin was located on the westernmost edge of China at that time, or present day central China around Shaanxi (Shensi) and Siquan (Szechuan) provinces (see map). A major threat was from the nomadic peoples to the north and it built defensive walls to keep them out. If attack came from the other states it would be from the east or south. Both east and south were well protected, however, by the Yellow River, the Wei River and the Qinling (Chinling) Mountains. The most important break in this natural protection is the Hangu Pass where the Yellow River flows between the mountains. There are also smaller passes in the mountains and this area has always been a strategic one in Chinese history. Whatever state held this area was at an advantage over others. The area is called "guan nei" or "Land within the Passes". Its importance was well realized by the Qin, for even after its conquest the imperial capital was maintained in this area and the imperial troops were stationed there. The Qin was guided in administrative structure by the reforms of its 4th century prime minister, Shang Yang. Shang Yang was of the Legalist school of thought and under his advisement and 359 B.C. reforms, the Qin state regulated its economy, strenghtened central administration, eliminated powerful local rulers who were seen to threaten the Qin internally, and developed an ultra-efficient military machine. Laws were stringently enforced, systems of weights, measures, currency and taxation were standardized, and the Qin prospered under a tightly controlled central government.

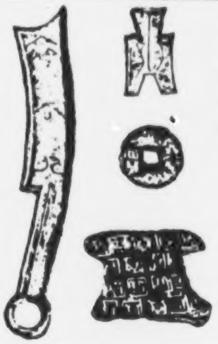
At its point of undisputed victory, the Qin could have re-established feudal states along the lines of the Zhou Dynasty but with strengthened central controls. Instead, it embarked on a totally unprecedented path — that of total unification into one political and administrative entity. Though this unification was accomplished by the sword, it ended the drain on life and resources that had resulted from the Warring States Period and established conditions for the improvement of production, transportation, communications, administration, and cultural mingling among the different parts of the country. The Qin achieved the unification of China and the dynasty which followed it, the Han (206 B.C.-



220 A.D.) is considered the height of ancient Chinese civilization, much as we consider Imperial Rome to have been the height of ancient Western culture.

The rule of the state of Qin from 246 on had belonged to a man named Ying Zheng. After the conquest of the other states, Ying Zheng declared himself emperor of the Qin empire embracing the former seven states and, hoping that the rule of his dynasty would be long-lived, gave himself the title Qin Shihuang (Chin Shih-huang) or "First Emperor of Chin."

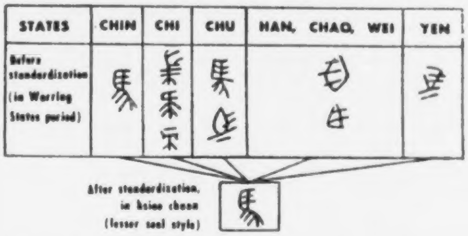
As the first step in the plan for unification, defensive wall structures between states were destroyed. Only the northernmost walls which were protection against the nomadic tribes were retained. Weapons were confiscated and feudal lords of the former states were brought to live in the Qin capital of Xianyang (Hsienyang), northwest of present-day Xian (Sian) in Shaanxi province. The Qin emperor pursued a policy of national integration and for the first time in Chinese history, administration was centralized and standardised from the Qin capital to the remotest regions. The prime minister and other ministers, censors who handled important documents and supervised other officials, military commanders and governors of jails were all appointed by the emperor and absolute obedience was demanded of them. Local government structure was standardized. The country was divided into 36 (later 40) prefectures with counties below each. The prefects and county magistrates were directly appointed by the emperor. Thus tax collection and conscription of men for the army and labor on government projects and all other important functions were centralized. Taxes were systematized by requiring landlords and landholders to register the size of their holdings and pay accordingly. The individual systems of weights, measures and currency which had existed in each of the Warring States were changed to conform to the Qin state standard. Qin Shihuang had his government mint a round coin with a square hole in it as the official national currency, and this coin was to serve as a model for other dynasties in following centuries. He also standardized the written language on the basis of the script used in the former state of Qin, which later became known as xiao zhuan (lesser seal) style of writing. The official color of clothing was set at black, and even the axle length of carts was made uniform. This was to enable carts to travel in the wheel ruts made by others when travelling in more remote areas of the country.



**The knife-shaped coin of the state of Chi, spade-shaped coin (top) of the State of Chao and coins of the State of Chu (several shown stamped on same piece of gold) were all superseded and the round-with-square-hole coin of the State of Chin became currency for the whole country after unification.**

**CHINA RECONSTRUCTS**
**FEBRUARY 1979**

**Standardization of the Character Ma (Horse)**


STATES
CHIN
CHI
CHU
HAN, CHAO, WEI
YEN
Before standardization (in Warring States period)
After standardization, in hsiao chuan (lesser seal style)

Many of Qin Shihuang's political measures were opposed by Confucian scholars. Many spoke against his laws and measures, especially those concerning central administration of local counties and prefectures, and wrote commentaries, poems and articles to criticize and satirize them. Qin Prime Minister Li Si (?-208 B.C.) contended that such activities would weaken the rule of the state and urged the burning of the histories of all the former states except Qin, folk collections of poetry and articles and books by scholars of schools with views different from those of the Qin. Qin Shihuang ordered this done, but books on medicine, agriculture, and copies of condemned books were preserved in the Imperial capital. A year later he arrested some 400 Confucian scholars, the most active of whom had continued to attack him, and had them buried alive.

Over the years when the states were conducting their endless wars, the nomadic people living on the Mongolian plateau to the north had been growing in strength. They were called the Xiongnu (Hsiungnu) and they are very probably related to the Huns who sacked Rome in the 5th century A.D. Xiongnu nobles often led their horsemen southward to plunder, seizing both captives and livestock. Threats like this had caused the states of Qi, Yan, Zhao and Qin to construct defensive walls along their northern borders as early as 450 B.C. to keep the Xiongnu out.

The Xiongnu continued to threaten the newly-unified country under the Qin by seizing the area where the Yellow River makes its northern bend. In response to this threat, Qin Shihuang sent General Meng Tian with an army of

300,000 to recapture the area. To strengthen this border region the Qin government set up an administration of 44 counties and moved many people from other areas to settle there. In a further defensive measure, Meng Tian's troops, reinforced by many more conscript laborers, were ordered to repair and connect previous built defensive walls, construct new walls where needed, and form one continuous defensive barrier over the northern border against the Xiongnu.

Although the Great Wall protected the Qin empire from attack from the outside, its construction and defence were causes of great discontent within the empire. Although the exact number of men conscripted to work on the Wall is not known, nor the method of conscription or the exact working conditions, it is very likely that many thousands died while building the Wall and other major projects of the Qin like the Emperor's 140 palaces north of Xianyang. In 209 B.C., one year after Qin Shihuang's death, the first Chinese peasant rebellion broke out and its immediate spark was supplied by work on the Wall.

Laws and punishments were extremely strict during the Qin and one of these was that if a work team did not arrive at the work site at an appointed time, all in the team would be put to death. In 209 B.C. a laborer named Chen Sheng was called up with a group of men to guard the Great Wall northeast of present-day Peking. On the way in Anhui (Anhwei) province, heavy rainfall made further travel impossible and the group knew it could not make the Wall on schedule. Knowing that they faced death no matter what they did, Chen Sheng and another man named Wu Guang killed the officials in charge of the group and called on the conscripts to revolt. The rebellion soon spread and the land which had constituted the old state of Chu was shortly re-captured by rebel forces. Although Chen Sheng and Wu Guang were both dead before the fall of the Qin, the rebellion continued and two of its military leaders, Liu Bang (Liu Pang) and Xiang Yu (Hsiang Yu) became the main forces in resisting the Qin armies. In 207 B.C. the Qin empire fell, and in 202 B.C. Liu Bang became the first emperor of the Han Dynasty.

The Qin was a short-lived yet highly important dynasty in Chinese history. It achieved the unification of China, and though the country would again go through periods of division, the Qin unification was significant because it was a truly unprecedented and therefore historic act. The Qin is also important for the administrative reforms and huge public works projects it undertook which resulted in a centralized state bureaucracy and development of communications, transportation and commerce throughout the country. And, of course, it is remembered for its construction of the Great Wall of China, a lasting reminder of the height and fall of the Qin Dynasty.

## A NOTE ON ROMANIZATION

The system of romanization for Chinese words used in this article is pinyin. Pinyin was developed by the People's Republic of China and is now used in all its official foreign language publications. Phonetic romanizations are provided in parentheses throughout the text.

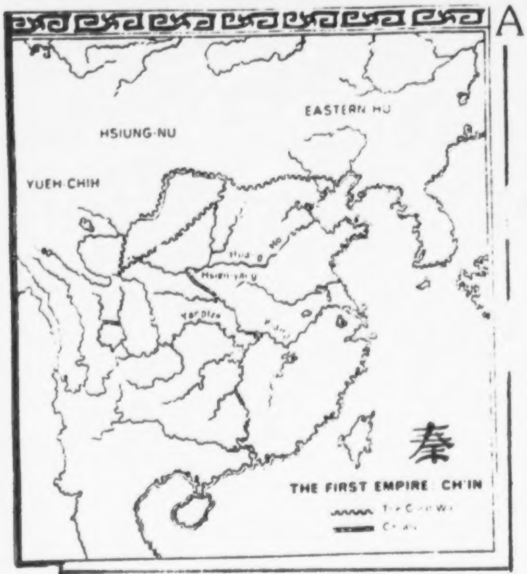
Questions:

1. When was the Warring States Period? When was the Qin Dynasty?
2. What events were happening in Europe and other parts of the world at this time?
3. Think about the construction of defensive walls starting in the fifth century B.C. What was the purpose of these walls?
4. How did the work on the walls done during the Qin differ from previous work? What do you think was the most significant aspect of this difference?
5. Describe some of the accomplishments of the Qin. Include a discussion of administrative practices.
6. What is the importance of the change from relationships between ruler and official based on patronage to relationships based on salaries? What do you think was the significance of the standardization of weights, measures, language, etc. that occurred during the Qin?
7. Do you think the Qin Dynasty was beneficial to China? Why do you suppose it lasted for only 14 years?

US-CHINA PEOPLES FRIENDSHIP ASSOCIATION
**The Center For Teaching About China**
**407 South Dearborn · Suite 945 · Chicago, IL 60605 · (312) 663-9608**

# —VISITORS TO CHINA DISCOVER...

## A GREAT WALL / A GUARDED TOMB



ONCE the battle cry was given, archers moved with speed. One by one the neighboring states fell to the wild charges of the Ch'in horsemen. At their head was a young prince who was later recognized as China's most brutal but powerful ruler.

WHO WAS HE?

The founder of the great Ch'in Dynasty was but a boy of thirteen when officials placed him on the throne in 247 BC. Twelve years later, his armies had massacred his most serious opponents and had received obeisance from all the nearby states.

Without further ado, the prince proclaimed himself not just King of Ch'in but Emperor, or huang-ti of the newly formed Chinese empire. Thereafter he was known as Ch'in, a family name, Shih, the first, and Huang-Ti, Emperor.

CH'IN SHIH HUANG-TI (chin sher hwang-dee)

CH'IN'S ACCOMPLISHMENTS WERE LEGION

Under his rule, forty provinces were organized. Each was to be administered by non-hereditary officials appointed by the Emperor: a civil governor, a military governor and a supervising official.

Under his rule, coins and other forms of money were made uniform. Weights and measures also had to conform to a single standard.

Under his rule, wide highways were constructed, all leading to the capital of Xianyang near today's city of Xian (Sian). The roads were raised at places where flooding might occur, bridged when possible and lined with shade trees. Along these sturdy throughways, couriers sped with their messages, and grain (taxes) was brought by carts to the imperial treasury.

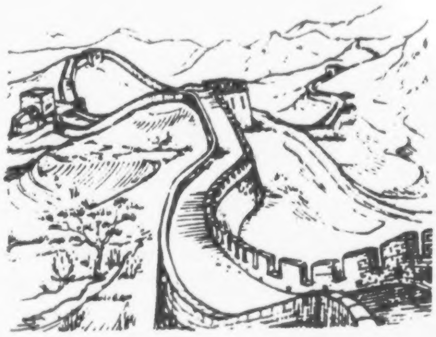
Under his rule, the written symbols then in use, were collected from each area. In time, a uniform system of writing was proscribed.

Under his rule, the GREAT WALL was constructed, linking former walls which had protected separate states. Artisans flocked to the capital, which soon lay resplendant with fine palaces, gardens and great public halls.

BUT.....HIS TYRANNY DESTROYED THE DYNASTY

Following the advice of the Legalists, books were burned. The single copies remaining in the State Library were destroyed in the disorder which followed the dissolutionment of the Dynasty.

To pay for the extravagances of the Emperor, taxes were raised. Soon the peasants faced poverty which they could not endure. The Dynasty was doomed.



*The Great Wall, built by Shih Huang-Ti*

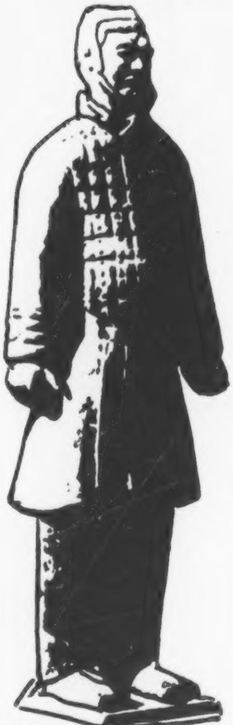
Sketches by Elizabeth Hammond from ANCIENT CHINA by Cornelia Spencer. Courtesy of Thomas Y. Crowell, Publishers.

## DEATH AND BURIAL

Several years before his death in 210 BC, Emperor Ch'in provided himself with a massive tomb and a clay army to protect him in afterlife. His constant search for eternal life had failed and so he prepared to enter an unseen realm entombed befitting an emperor.

THE TOMB itself has not been excavated, though its mound and four mile long wall, 25 miles east of Xian, is highly visible.

Near the TOMB are three pits, where 7,500 LIFE-SIZED FIGURES have been found. Though somewhat crushed by the fallen mat ceiling and the huge planks which supported both ceiling and seven feet of soil, the figures are being reconstructed and replaced to form a sunken, silent, underground army. There is evidence of former looting, possibly in 206 BC, for weapons which had been placed in the hands of kneeling archers, or fierce charioteers are missing and no longer do the infantry clasp crossbows.



THE CLAY ARMY was not made of one mold. Each figure has been individually shaped of coiled clay. Each hollow torso stood or knelt on solid columnar legs. Both through sculpturing and by the addition of fine, wet clay, features had been marked and impressive details added.

ONCE FORMED, the figures were fired, cooled, painted and placed in position. Two thousand years later, they can be seen, noiselessly proclaiming the vigor, the wealth and the fearlessness of that past age.

NOT UNTIL 1974, when workmen searched for water deep in the earth, were these warriors found. Today they are under sheds where visitors may wonder as they wander.

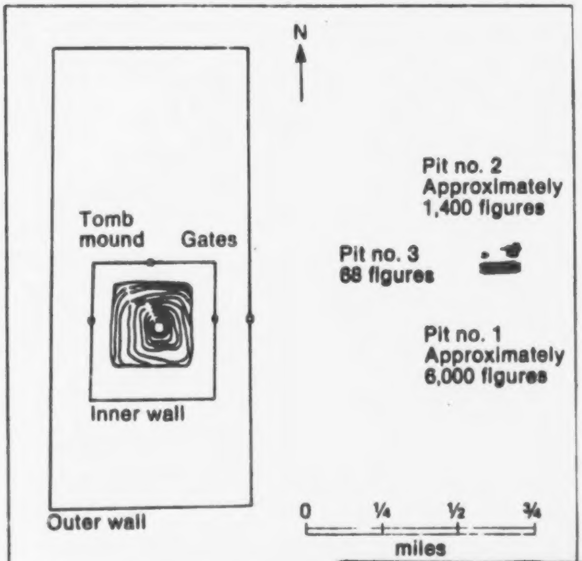
FOR MORE DETAILS READ:

Maxwell K. Hearn's article in: Smithsonian November 1979

Ancient China by Cornelia Spencer

National Geographic April 1978 Vol. 153

ACKNOWLEDGMENT: Bobbie Carlson, ed., Newsletter, Vol. 4, No. 3 (March 1980) East Asian Studies Center, Oberlin College, Oberlin, Ohio 44074.



*THE NEW YORK TIMES, TUESDAY, MAY 26, 1981*

# Life-Size Bronze Horses and Chariots Found in Chinese Tomb

Miles
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500
SOVIET UNION
MONGOLIA
Urumqi
CHINA
Peking
N. KOREA
S. KOREA
SHAANXI PROVINCE
Xian
Shanghai
Canton
TAIWAN
VIET.
LAOS
THAILAND
HONG KONG

"Outline of Chinese History" / New York Times / May 26, 1981

**The tomb of Emperor Qin Shi Huang was found near Xian in Shaanxi province in China's Yellow River valley.**

By AUDREY TOPPING

The continuing excavation of the tomb of China's first emperor, which startled the archeological world in 1974 with the discovery of the ruler's life-size pottery army, has yielded another spectacular find: two full-scale bronze chariots drawn by life-size bronze horses and driven by bronze charioteers.

Chinese archeologists estimate that the figures are only the vanguard of a chariot procession, perhaps containing hundreds, if not thousands, of replicas of ceremonial chariots carrying images of the crown prince, the empresses, royal concubines, noble families and court officials.

They were created 2,000 years ago to accompany the dead emperor on his celestial journey and were buried in an underground vault near a subterranean palace containing the magnificent sepulcher of Emperor Qin Shi Huang.

In 221 B.C. Qin unified China, built the Great Wall, burned the books valued by Confucius and declared himself China's first sovereign emperor. He asserted that his dynasty would rule for 10,000 years, but it turned out to be the shortest dynasty in the history of China. He ruled for only 14 years but in that time he accomplished sweeping changes that made his dynasty a turning point in history.

Not the least of his monumental projects was the building of his own tomb, which is said to have taken 700,000 conscripts 36 years to build. It lies near Xian in Shaanxi province in the Yellow River valley where China's earliest emperors lived and died.

Since the terra cotta figures of soldiers and horses that made up the emperor's legions were found entombed in a vault east of the tumulus where the emperor himself was buried, archeologists have speculated that in keeping with Chinese ideas of symmetry, an equally valuable treasure house may lie west of the tomb.

After some five years of searching, the discovery was made in December 1980. It was not made public until earlier this month after two chariots, eight horses and two drivers had been completely unearthed. The find proved to be beyond all expectations. Descriptions of the ancient figures were printed in the May issue of the Chinese magazine China Reconstructs.

The ceremonial procession contains the oldest bronze chariots and horses ever found in China. The horses are harnessed, four abreast, before their royal chariots. They have the same classic simplicity and smooth, pure lines as the military horses, but unlike their pottery counterparts, which had been broken by marauders, the bronze statues remained intact. In 22 centuries, their original coat of white paint has faded to gray but their bodies, including their halters decorated with gold and silver head ornaments, were all found in remarkably good condition.

Each chariot contained a bronze box about 39 inches wide, 47 inches long and 17 inches deep for the passenger to ride in. It was shaded by an awning made of thin sheet bronze, elaborately painted in color with symbolic cloud formations and geometric designs. The ornate, many-spoked bronze wheels are 23 inches in diameter.

## Guarding Emperor After Death

Like the horses, the charioteers were first modeled in clay, then cast in bronze with handcrafted overlays and painted. One of the men is kneeling with the reins in his hands while the other is standing. Their garments show them to be "dafu" or court officials of the ninth rank. Both faces have distinct characteristics, indicating that the artists had been ordered to model realistic portraits of each live person represented in the bronze procession.

This was also done with each soldier in the emperor's clay army, so they could continue to guard him after his death. Part of the sculptor's inspiration, and certainly the models' willingness to pose, must have lain in the knowledge that the finished creations would be buried, instead of the people themselves.

Skeletons found in royal tombs of the Shang dynasty (1,700-1,100 B.C.) show that live warriors, women, servants and horses had been buried with kings and high officials. Although this practice had been stopped for centuries, Qin Shi Huang revived it symbolically.

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

The similarity of artistic technique used in both the east and west vaults also leads to speculation that because the soldiers carried real swords, spears, crossbows and other weapons, the ladies and officials of the court will be realistically adorned with authehtic jewels, jades and other ceremonial paraphernalia.

It is not yet known how many figures will be found in the grand procession in the west vault but it is expected at least to equal the number in the east vault, which contained more than 6,000 statues of warriors, servants and horses interred standing in battle formation, 15 to 20 feet underground. They occupied a roofed-over area extending 700 feet east to west and 200 feet north to south. They were arrayed in the same way that the emperor's live honor guard used to line up before it set off on a military campaign.

The incredible size and magnificence of the tomb is documented by historical records that indicate that Qin Shi Huang began building his tomb when he became king of the warring state of Qin at the age of 13, 12 years before he unified China and declared himself emperor. He continued construction until his death in 210 B.C., when he was buried in his elaborate tomb.

It is situated under an earth mound, 15 stories high, called Mount Li. Today visitors see only a green hill, slightly off balance from perfect symmetry. It stands unimposingly in the middle of a millet field belonging to the Yen Tsai commune in Lin Tung county.

**Historian Describes Tomb**

The mound's exterior gives no hint of the mysterious interior, which was described by Ssu-ma Chien, China's great historian, about 100 B.C.:

"As soon as the First Emperor became king of Qin, excavations and building had been started at Mount Li, while after he won the empire, more than 700,000 conscripts from all parts of the country worked there. They dug through three subterranean streams and poured molten copper for the outer coffin, and the tomb was filled with models of palaces, pavilions and offices as well as fine vessels, precious stones and rarities. Artisans were ordered to fix up crossbows so that any thief breaking in would be shot. All the country's streams, the Yellow River and the Yangtze were reproduced in quicksilver and by some mechanical means made to flow into a miniature ocean. The heavenly constellations were above and the regions of the earth below. The candles were made of whale oil to insure the burning for the longest possible time."

Chen Hsueh-hua is one of the six archeologists directing work on the excavation site. During a visit to the site in 1975, Mr. Chen said the tomb mound was originally built in the center of an enclosed area, a "spirit city." It contained sacred stone tablets, inscribed soul towers and prayer temples. All these structures were deemed to be in the "inner city," within a walled square more than a quarter mile on each side. Beyond lay an "outer city," guarded by a high, rectangular stone wall, 23 feet thick at the base, with watchtowers at the corners. The total area enclosed was more than 500 acres.

The walls and temples have almost completely disappeared and the sacred objects above ground have long since been carried away by vandals and invading armies, but the earth still protects the silent splendor of the underground palace.

No one knows for certain if the huge tumulus still encloses this microcosm of China, where the emperor was interred in his dragon-shaped sarcophagus. The only recorded doubt is cast by Ssu-ma Chien, the historian, who wrote of a "desecration" of the emperor's grave four years after his death by troops of Gen. Hsiang Yu. It is known, however, that no excavation has been attempted before this one.

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*FEATURED RESOURCE*

# Hundred Schools to One (475-221 B.C.)
*and*
# The First Empires: Ch'in and Han (221 B.C.-220 A.D.)

These two films - numbers 3 and 4 of the China History Film Series, 19 and 16 minutes long, respectively - are an excellent resource unit on China, from the period of the great philosophic schools through the Qin and Han dynasties. While many of the films in this series are too detailed for the secondary level, these two are not if they are use used in conjunction with the workbook units "*Soldiers of the Qin*" and "What Did Confucius Say?". Outlines of the films' contents are given on the following page.

Available from:

Audio-Visual Center
Indiana University
Bloomington, IN 47405

Rental: $20.00 each
Sale: $305.00 film, $196 videocassette

## *China: Hundred Schools to One (475-221 B.C.)*

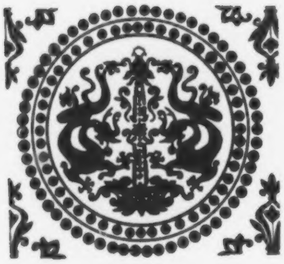
Not long after the death of Confucius in 479 B.C., China entered an era of "Warring States." Every lord called himself a king. States near the border extended outward and gathered large undeveloped areas into the Chinese cultural sphere. This expansion enriched most of the western state of Qin, laying the foundation for China's contact with Central Asia, and the southern state of Chu, opening up the vast Yangtze River Valley. The major changes of this period were social for ability came to count more than birth. Posts were no longer hereditary; men owed no fixed loyalty. Ideas and skill, eloquence and courage were sufficient to make a man a minister or a general. This climate spurred a "hundred schools of thought" including Militarists, Yang Chu, Confucianists, Taoists, Yin and Yang, and Legalists. The latter called for a disciplined state under an absolute ruler, resolute in war and orderly in peace. The triumph of this school set the stage for the establishment of China's first empire.

*16mm/19 min./color/order # CSC 2730*

## *China: The First Empires (221 B.C.-220 A.D.)*

From the founding of the Shang dynasty to the end of the Warring States, China had gone through 1,500 years of slave and feudal societies. China's first imperial age began in 221 B.C. with the Qin dynasty and continued for over 400 years from 202 B.C. with the Han dynasty. China, the name of the country known to the western world, comes from Qin; the name of the language and people, known to the Chinese themselves, is Han. In 221 B.C., the state of Qin reunified the country. The dynasty was short-lived due in part to its anti-humanitarian political system. After a period of unrest, which included China's first peasant rebellion, a leader reunited the empire in 202 B.C. and established the Han dynasty which was to achieve great glory on the foundation built by Qin. During the 400 years of Han rule the empire expanded southward to Vietnam and eastward to Korea; trade and cultural exchanges prospered; and the Silk Road linking China to the West was established. The Han dynasty based its rule on the practical application of the theories of Confucius and thus set the tone for China's ongoing political system.

*16mm/19min./color/order # 2731*



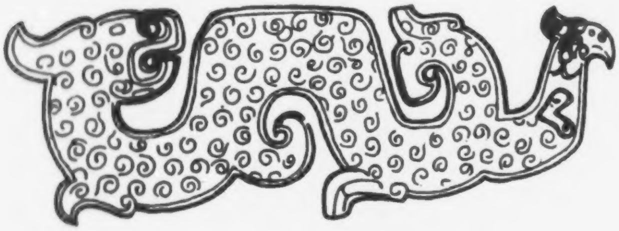
## *Unit 3*

# Chinese Dynasties: Can You Name Them?

### *Teacher's Note:*

**The wall chart recommended for this exercise is designed by the *Sunday Times of London*. It may be purchased from: China Books & Periodicals, Inc., 2929 24th Street, San Francisco, CA 94110, (Price: $7.50, #TC1001-M), Telephone (415) 282-0994.**

The exercises below to accompany the chart are designed with four objectives in mind: (1) to teach students how to read a graphic time chart; (2) to convey a sense of the independent historical development that occurred at the same time in two different civilizations, China and the West; (3) to convey a sense of interrelated developments - scientific or social - that were influenced by an exchange of ideas and the inventions between the two civilizations; and (4) to impart a sense of the evolution of Chinese history and to encourage an appreciation of the length and richness of the civilization. Following this exercise are specific exercises on Chinese inventions which also help orient the students towards historical sequences.



## *Student Exercise*

Begin by defining a **dynasty**. According to Webster's dictionary, a dynasty is "a succession of rulers of the same line of descent," or "a powerful group or family that maintains its position for a considerable period of time." Differentiate this from an **empire**: "a major political unit having a territory of great extent or a number of territories or peoples under a single sovereign authority...", especially one with an emperor as a chief of state.

Next, look at a time chart of China's dynasties and answer the following questions:

1) By looking at the time chart, how can you tell when China was united politically and when it was divided?

2) Look at the maps of China under various dynasties and at the side of the chart. Has China always been the same size as it is today? Is this true of other countries?

3) Using the time chart and any other chronologies available, compare developments in China with those in the West on the following items:

the use of the sword in warfare

the Bronze Age

the Iron Age

the development of paper

the use of silkworms for silk

the use of coal for fuel

iron stirrups

paper money

paddle wheel boats

block printing

moveable type

the military use of gunpowder

the rise of parliament

the introduction of Marxism

railroad construction

the telegraph and telegram

the computer

the atomic bomb

farm mechanization

Plato and Aristotle in the West and Confucius and his followers in China

the Han and Roman Empires (locate a map showing the territory of each)

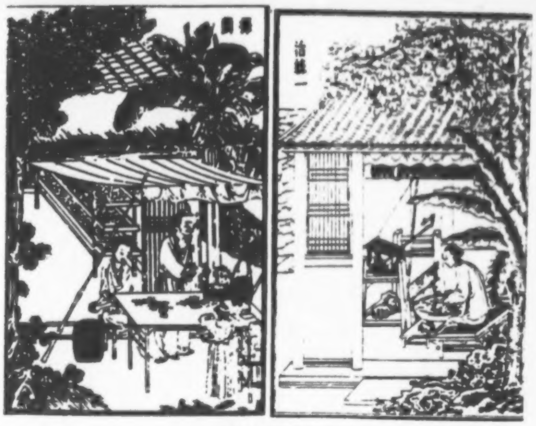
the French and American Revolutions

the Russian and Chinese Revolutions

4) Which developments came earlier in China and which came later? Which part of the world at any particular time was more "advanced"? More "modern"? Are these concepts of any use to us?

5) Compare the events that occurred under major dynasties (such as Han, Sui, Tang, Song, Yuan, Ming, Qing) with those under periods of relative dis-union (Eastern Chou, Period of Dis-union, 5 Dynasties). Do there seem to be any differences in the amount of intellectual ferment, artistic creativity, territorial expansion, military activity, or public works? Why?

*Unit Consultant: Sue Gronewald,*
*a specialist in Chinese history*



MAKING SILK

## *Unit 4*

# China's Gifts to the West: Inventions and Ideas

***Two booklets found in the APPENDIX of the workbook form the basis of this unit.***

### *Teacher's Note*:

An exercise identifying Chinese inventions that we use and enjoy in daily life provides an excellent starting point for discussing both the achievements of the Chinese civilization and China's influence on the West. The enclosed booklet, *China's Gifts to the West*, describes China's inventions of SILK, TEA, PORCELAIN ("china"), PAPER, PRINTING, GUNPOWDER, the MARINER'S COMPASS, PLANTS (including peaches, apricots, and citrus fruits), MINERALS (including coal and zinc), MEDICINE, LACQUER, GAMES (including cards, dominoes, and kites), and miscellaneous items such as UMBRELLAS. Attached is a list of Chinese inventions abbreviated from the two pamphlets by Derk Bodde accompanying the unit for student references.

In addition to material inventions that came to the West from China, Chinese "ideas" also influenced political and social development in the West. The enclosed booklet, *Chinese Ideas in the West*, discusses Chinese origins of and influence on: the civil service*, alchemy and chemistry, agricultural methods, thought in the Age of the Enlightenment, western literature, western political and economic theories.

The discussion in this booklet assumes a more advanced background in Western history than does the book on Chinese inventions. The material might best be assigned to selected students who would report back to the class, or it might be presented by the teacher.

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* Since the development of a civil service was a highlight of the Chinese political system, teachers might wish to draw upon the information in this section of the pamphlet when discussing Confucian China.

Lesson Ideas:

For homework, have the students look up several items on the above list in an encyclopedia to see if they can identify their origin. Then use the booklet *China's Gift to the West* to enrich the story of how each invention was brought to the West.

A second approach might be to assign individual students one invention to read about in *China's Gifts to the West* and report to the class. A separate chapter is devoted to each of the items listed above.

Longevity

## *Student Reading*

### CHINESE INVENTIONS - CAN YOU NAME THEM?

***Silk*** The Chinese knew how to produce silk at least by 1300 B.C., but not until the second century B.C. did it begin to export to Europe, and not until about 550 A.D., when monks who had travelled to China brought back silkworm eggs, did the West learn the Chinese secret of silk-making.

The Chinese traded silk with the Roman Empire and then with Byzantium. In return they received such items as wool, glass, and asbestos. Through the silk trade the world's two great empires in the first century A.D. - Rome and Han China - were linked, mainly because Roman women wore Chinese silks. The overland trade route between China and the Mediterranean was called the "Silk Road" because China exported so much of this fabric to the West.

***Tea*** Tea drinking originated in China and spread throughout the world. Whether a country calls the beverage "tea" (or some variant thereof) or "chai," as in Russia, depends on whether it came over the sea route or the land route from China. The sea route originated in Fukien province on China's coast, where the word for the drink in the Fukien dialect is "te." The land route originated to the north, where the term for the drink is "cha," Even today in northern England, people often speak of "having a cup of cha," although the more common term in England is "tea."

***Porcelain*** Porcelain, also called "china," is a type of clay pottery that was invented in China by using clay with special minerals. Chinese porcelain was exported throughout the world, and eventually the secret mineral ingredients were discovered by Europeans in 1709. Europeans began to experiment with porcelain-making only after they saw and admired the Chinese porcelains.

***Paper*** Paper was first invented in China about 105 A.C. Its use then spread to Chinese Turkestan in central Asia, the Arab world (c. 751 A.D.), Syria, Egypt, Morocco, Spain (c. 1150 A.D.), southern France, and the rest of Europe.

***Printing*** The Chinese invented both block printing, to reproduce the Confucian classics that had often been carved on stone, and moveable type. It appears that Europe learned about block printing from China and did not invent it separately.

One possible source of the spread of block printing from China is playing cards, which the Chinese also invented and introduced to Europe. Another source is paper money, first printed in China in the tenth century A.D. and later introduced to Europe.

***Gunpowder*** Gunpowder was invented in China c. 1000 A.D. and probably spread to Europe during the Mongol expansion of 1200-1300 A.D., but this has not been proven. The use of gunpowder in Europe was first recorded in 1313. Europeans used gunpowder for cannons, while the Chinese used it primarily for firecrackers. Despite such early knowledge of explosives and their use, China did not pursue the development of weaponry as did the West; ironically, it was through the use of cannons and guns that the Europeans were able to dominate China in the mid-to late-1800s.

***Compass*** Historians believe that the Chinese invented the magnetic compass and used it for navigation c. 1100 A.D. Arab traders sailing to China probably learned of the Chinese method of sailing by compass and returned to the West with the invention.

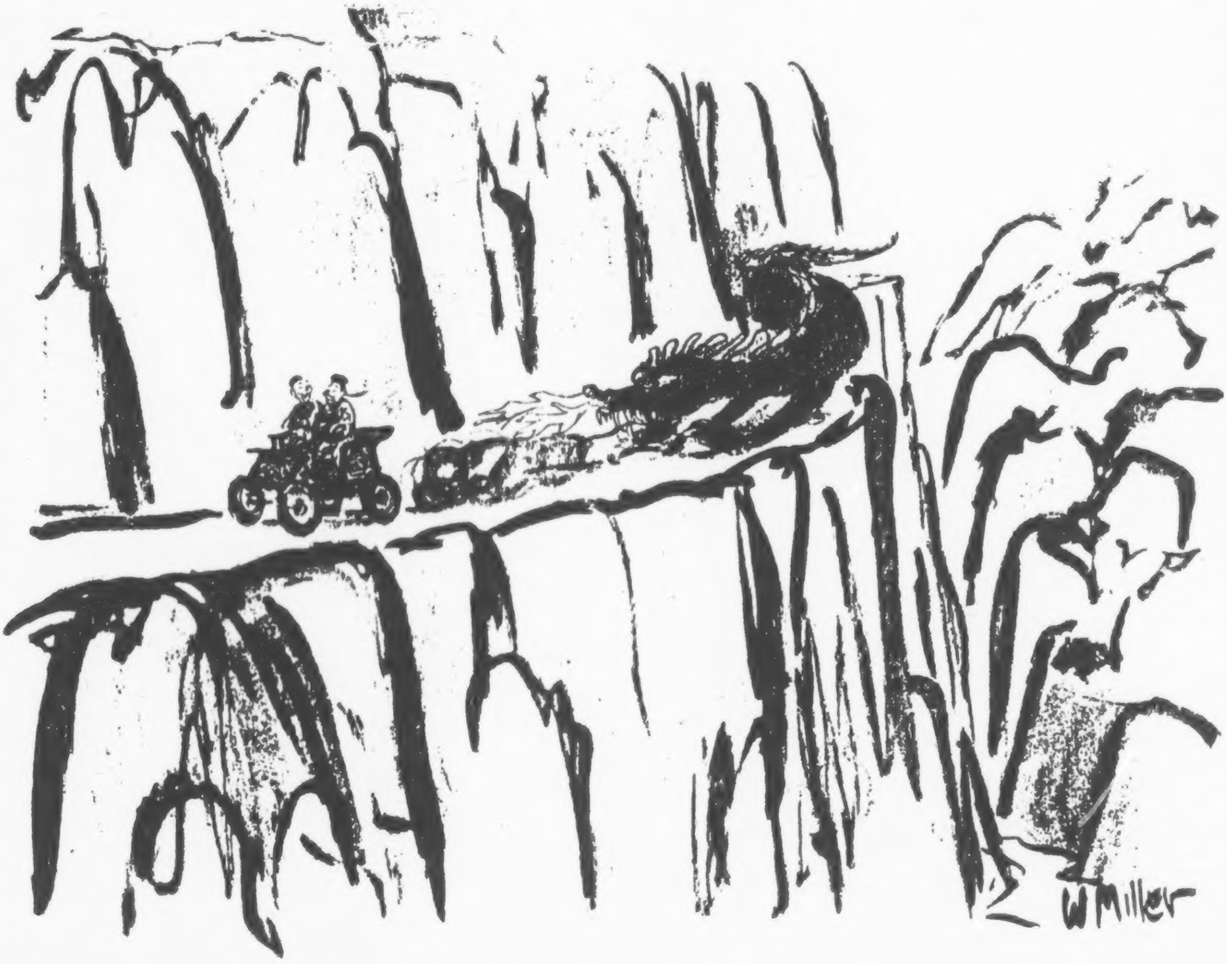
**Alchemy** (Chemistry) The Taoist search for the elixir of life (a life-extending potion) led to much experimentation with changing the state of minerals. The Chinese practice appears to have spread first to the Arab world and then to Europe. Chinese alchemy predates that of the Egyptians in Alexandria and other cities by about two centuries, beginning by 133 B.C.

***Civil Service*** Exams for government service were introduced in both France and England in the 1800s, apparently inspired by the Chinese practice instituted almost two thousand years earlier, in 154 B.C.

***Grain Storage*** Henry A. Wallace, the U.S. Secretary of Agriculture from 1933 to 1940, introduced governmental storage of excess grain after reading the dissertation of a Chinese student at Columbia University on Confucian economic policies. Wallace adapted the Confucian notion of government grain purchases to provide for times of scarcity, and he introduced the practice in the U.S. to deal with over-production due to mechanization and the resulting drop in agricultural prices.

***Other*** Some of the West's most popular fruits - peaches, apricots, and citrus fruits - came from China, as did some of the most common flowers, including chrysanthemums. The West also leaned of goldfish and wallpaper from China and may have adopted the Chinese idea of the folding umbrella.

Many Western political and social thinkers admired the Chinese bureaucratic system of government. In particular, the German philosopher and mathematician Leibnitz (1646-1716), the Frenchman Voltaire (1694-1778), and the French political economists of the late 1700s, known as the Physiocrats, were inspired by Chinese thought, as was America's Ralph Waldo Emerson.



*"The sad thing, if it catches us, is that no one will know we invented the motorcar in 1327."*

Drawing by W. Miller; c 1978
The New Yorker Magazine, Inc.

# Chinese Scientists Seek to Regain Age-Old Eminence in Astronomy

By WALTER SULLIVAN

After a hiatus of many centuries, China appears determined to regain a place in the forefront of celestial observation.

As part of the rehabilitation of basic research decreed by the Peking regime, a telescope mirror two meters (more than six feet) in diameter is being prepared at a specialized optical shop in Nanking. It will be installed at the Peking Observatory, north of the capital city.

Near Kunming in Yunnan, the mountainous province between Vietnam and Burma, a major observatory is in the making.

On the shore of a giant reservoir about 80 miles north of Peking, a radio astronomy center with about two dozen dish antennas is being upgraded to make it competitive with the best such observatories elsewhere.

These and other signs of a revival in Chinese astronomy have been reported by a delegation of 10 American astronomers who visited their Chinese counterparts for more than three weeks last month. The group, headed by Dr. Leo Goldberg, director of the Kitt Peak National Observatory in Arizona, included leading specialists in all major fields of astronomy.

### 'Accurate Observers'

Before the Renaissance, according to Dr. Joseph Needham, authority on the history of East Asian science at Cambridge, England, the Chinese were "the most persistent and accurate observers of celestial phenomena in any culture."

Chinese records of eclipses date back to 1361 B.C. They catalogue 90 stellar explosions, or supernovas, from 1400 B.C. to A.D. 1690. Unlike the astronomers of ancient Greece and Egypt, they did not believe the vault of heaven to be a crystalline sphere. They saw the stars as light sources dispersed through infinite space—a concept much closer to the truth.

Their chief contribution, however, as noted by Dr. Needham, was in devising instruments. These included the equatorial mount, now standard in most telescopes, introduced in the 1270's to support the astronomical instrument, or armillary sphere, of Peking Observatory. Early Chinese instruments were driven by a clock mechanism using an escapement invented in 723.

Now, according to Dr. Goldberg, because Chinese astronomy lags far behind in observing equipment, most talented astronomers there appear to be devoting themselves to theory at present. Meanwhile, a concerted effort is being made to catch up on instruments.

In interviews this week Dr. Goldberg and others of the group described a mood of exhilaration among Chinese astronomers who, they felt, are destined to make major contributions to world knowledge of the heavens.

Dr. Harlan Smith of the University of Texas likened the situation to the start of the Long March when the Chinese Communists, enduring great hardships, traveled from the south of China to a more hospitable environment in Yenan. The astronomers, he said, are now beginning their own "long march" and seem similarly determined to achieve their goal.

One handicap, he added, is the absence of qualified people in the age group below 35, since higher education largely came to a standstill during the Cultural Revolution of the late 1960's. New talent is feeding into the educational pipeline but will not be available for some years.

### Soviet Provided Material

The two-meter mirror for the Peking Observatory is being ground from a Pyrex-type blank that was apparently provided by the Soviet Union before the Sino-Soviet break. With the equipment for grinding it to a suitable parabolic shape, it had been gathering dust since the Cultural Revolution.

Dr. Smith believes the optical shop can be upgraded to handle mirrors twice that size, comparable to the larger ones of the United States. The two-meter mirror is now being milled to rough configuration before the final grinding.

The antennas of the radio astronomy observatory are being enlarged from six to nine meters in diameter and are being modified to make them fully steerable. Previously, while they could swing from east to west to follow the march of a target area across the sky, their elevation along the north-south meridian had to be set by hand.

The observatory is unusual, if not unique, in being capable of observations of wavelengths in the vicinity of one meter. The antennas are in fixed positions along a line about a kilometer long, or slightly more than a half-mile, but the length may be extended tenfold.

### New Observatory

At Kunming an area of 275,000 square yards has been allocated for buildings of the new observatory a few miles outside the city. Observing will presumably be done from field stations more remote from the city.

Each building will be devoted to one field, such as solar astronomy, radio astronomy, optical astronomy and a computer facility. Its optical observatory initially will be fitted with a one-meter mirror being made by the Zeiss factory in East Germany.

That the Chinese sought a serious exchange of ideas with the visitors was indicated by their detailed advance requests for presentations by each American. The Chinese, in turn, delivered papers of their own, notably in Nanking, where some did so in good English.

The visit was arranged through the Committee on Scholarly Communication with the People's Republic of China. The latter represents the National Academy of Sciences, the American Council of Learned Societies and the Social Science Research Council, whose president, Dr. Eleanor Sheldon, is acting as committee chairman.

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## QUESTIONS FOR DISCUSSION:

1) Which of these inventions do you think have been most important to the development of civilization throughout the world? Choose three.

2) Which is an example of the United States learning from a Chinese example in the twentieth century?

3) What is an "elixir"? How is it related to the development of science in China?

4) Using the example of tea, explain how trading patterns influence the names of new products brought from other countries.

## *Unit 5*

# China's Galden Age

*FEATURED RESOURCE*

## The Golden Age (581-907 A.D.)
*and*
## The Heavenly Khan (618-907 A.D.)

These two films (#6 and #7) from the China History Series – *The Golden Age* and *The Heavenly Khan* – form an excellent resource on traditional Chinese civilization during one of the most illustrious dynasties, the Tang. The Golden Age presents internal developments in China under the Tang, including intellectual life, art forms, political institutions, and religion. *The Heavenly Khan* gives a lively review of China's foreign relations under the Tang, demonstrating China's extensive contacts with many other areas at this time.

While other films in this series are too detailed for class use at the secondary level, these two films are recommended as a unit to teachers who wish to open a window on traditional China in the period referred to as China's "golden age."

Available from:

Audio-Visual Center
Indiana University
Bloomington, IN 47405

Price: rental $15.00 each
Sale: $305 film, $196 videocassette

## *China: The Golden Age (581 - 907 A.D.)*

After nearly four hundred years of turmoil and division, China was at the threshold of a new era. Just as the first empire of Qin in fourteen years laid the foundation for the durable Han empire, so the Sui dynasty of only 40 years preceded the brilliant Tang empire. The grandiose construction projects and foreign adventures of the second Sui emperor drained the treasury and helped cause the downfall of the dynasty. Seizing the opportunity presented by rebellion and assassination, a royal kinsman declared himself the first emperor of the Tang dynasty. By this time the union of the teachings of Confucianism, Taoism and Buddhism had become the Chinese way of thought. The imperial structure reached its maturity of Tang. A fully developed examination system was used to seek out talented individuals for government service. A lane equalization system gave farmers the incentive to better their own lot. Love of luxury stimulated the growth of industry and the advancement of the arts. Wood block printing and true porcelain were invented and poetry reached unparalleled heights. Taken as a whole, the three centuries of Tang set a high water mark in so many facets of Chinese life that the era richly deserves the title "The Golden Age."

*16mm/23 mins./color*

## *China: The Heavenly Khan (618 - 907 A.D.)*

For at least 120 years, (630-750) during the Tang dynasty China was probably the largest and strongest country on earth. At this time, the Central Kingdom was an open forum, a world market of ideas, people, and things. The capital was cosmopolitan; trade and foreign visitors were encouraged. The Tang empire was at its peak and the emperor was known as the "Heavenly Khan" to all neighbors in East, Central and South Asia. Satellite kingdoms were situated in and around Samarkand, Tashkent, Kashmir, Afghanistan and Persia. The Tang court sent military governors as far west as Teheran while garrisons along the East-West land link facilitated the flow of goods and people. At the same time, much trade with Persians and Arabs was conducted through sea routes. In the south, China traded with India and countries surrounding the subcontinent and received envoys from Nepal, Burma and islands in the South Seas as far as Java and Sumatra. A native Korean kingdom repulsed Japanese advances and united the peninsula with Tang assistance. Sinicization of Japan, begun during the Han dynasty, reached its apex during Tang. Tolerant toward all religions, the Tang court protected the Nestorian Christian faith which came to China in the 7th century. The Islamic religion also penetrated China during Tang, becoming dominant in the northwest; and during the period Buddhism developed into several major schools.

*16mm/22 mins./color*

## *Unit 6*
# City of Cathay

*FEATURED RESOURCE*

## City of Cathay

### A View of A Chinese City in the Era of Marco Polo

Available for free loan from:

Chinese Information Service
159 Lexington Avenue
New York, NY 10016
(212) 725-4950

A guide to using this film follows, pages 33-35.

# Background

The Song dynasty (960-1279) has been called the time of China's "ripe maturity." Although under constant external threat - its northern region was overrun in 1126-27 by the Jurchen, its southern section in 1276-77 by the Mongols - the Song has long been considered China's most glorious era. Briefly reunited under Chinese rule, China in the twelfth century was a thriving, commercial, culturally sophisticated civilization. In the cultural sphere its glories have never been matched; the standard of living was high for many and a new well-to-do class had greater leisure and wealth to be used on entertainment and life's pleasures. This comfortable style of life spread in the rapidly growing urban areas (by 1100, at least five cities had populations of over a million). Printing was invented and likewise spread widely. There was much external trade and flourishing domestic markets. More of the population was educated than ever before, especially in urban areas, and great works of history, natural science, politics and philosophy were written. Chinese civilization of the eleventh and twelfth centuries probably outdistanced that of the rest of the world.

Kaifeng was the imperial capital of China in the first period of the Song dynasty (960-1126), before the north was conquered by the Tang and the court fled to Nanjing and Hangzhou in the south. Kaifeng was a glorious city. As one Song author described it, its main thoroughfare, the Imperial Way, measured 300 yards wide (Marco Polo marvelled at even the 60-yard-wide avenue of Hangzhou). In Kaifeng, "two narrow canals ran alongside arcades. They had lotuses planted in them and were bordered by flowering trees - plum, peach, pear and apricot, so that in spring one had the impression of a brilliantly colored embroidery." Embroidery is certainly an apt description for the impression given by a famous Song scroll, "Qing (Ching) Ming Festival on the River," which conveys in minute detail the town and its environs, as well as the feelings of joy and well-being of a people on holiday.

# Visual Guide to *City of Cathay*

## *Teacher's Note*:

Note the following while watching the film:

- Scroll history
    - eighteenth century copy of a famous scroll
    - size
    - over 4,000 figures portrayed

- Approach to the city
    - wedding procession
    - outdoor opera
    - travellers, especially those in sedan chairs
    - boats being pulled upriver
    - other activities, e.g., man with monkey
    - junks unloading produce, perhaps soybeans or silk
    - spectators at sports competition

- Kaifeng proper *(eastern part)*
    - thick walls, water and land gates, inspection station
    - special home for scholar scoring highest on examination
    - people returning from spring grave-sweeping festival *(honoring ancestors)*
    - various stalls, including weaving, dying, drugstore, wine, art
    - glimpses of people indoors
    - animals used as beasts of burden *(camel, ox, donkey, horse)*
    - human power

- Kaifeng *(western part)*
    - type of residences with walled compounds
    - stalls and stands

- Forbidden City (Imperial Palace)
    - promenades and parks
    - contrast with other part of city *(no throngs, beautiful scenery, pavilions and lakes)*

***Lesson Recommendation:*** This film unit would best be used in conjunction with the workbook unit *"Marco Polo in China"*

## VOCABULARY

scroll
Chinese opera
Silk Route
elixirs and potions
eunuchs
Forbidden City
Song dynasty
sedan chair
junk
soothsayer
civil service examination
promenades and pavilions
Kaifeng

## QUESTIONS FOR DISCUSSION

1. List all the varieties of travel you observed in the film. Which social classes used each one?

2. What does the film suggest about China's place in the world at the time? In trade with the rest of the world? In internal trade?

3. Why is Kai-feng in the film called "the center of the center"?

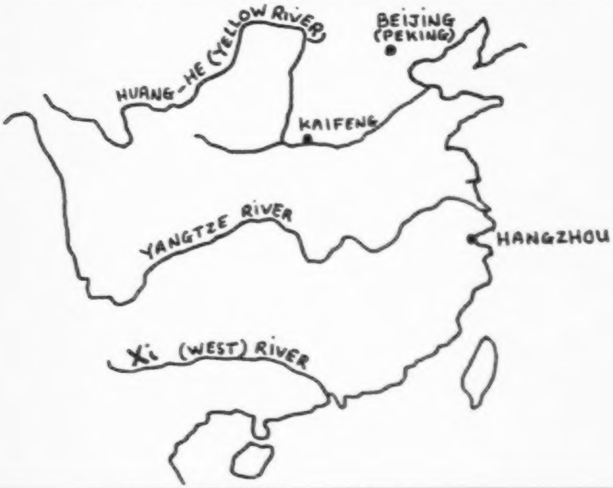
4. List various kinds of stalls and shops. What does this tell you about people's incomes? About manufacture and artists' production?

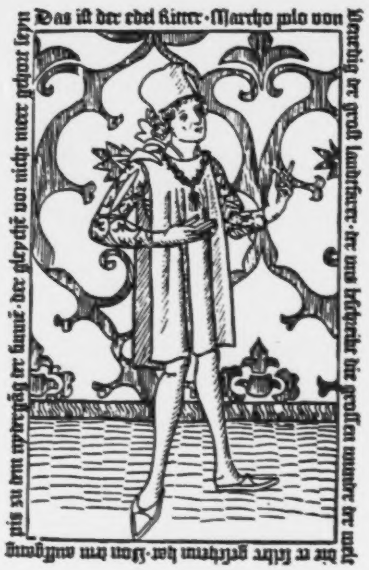
5. Contrast the eastern part of the city with the residential west.

6. Contrast the western part of the city with the emperor's residence.

7. Compare this scroll with a photograph. What does the painter not include? For example, what aspects of the "seamy side" of life do you see?

8. When speaking of the river, the narrator suggests that the "reality is all the same, it is one's viewpoint that makes the difference." How would various social groups see aspects of the city - stalls, river, bridge, entertainment, festivals, Forbidden City - differently?




Das iſt der edel Ritter · Marcho polo von
Venedig der groſt landtfarer · der uns beſchreibt die groſſen wunder der welt
die er ſelber geſehen hat · Von dem auffgang
pis zu dem nydergang der ſunnē · der gleychē vor nicht mer gehört ſeyn

## Unit 7

# Marco Polo in China

*Teacher's Note*:

Attached is a class reading unit on Marco Polo.

We recommend that you use the visual guide to the film "*City of Cathay*" (in the preceding lesson unit) in conjunction with "*Marco Polo in China*". The city pictured in the film, Kaifeng, was the capital of the Song dynasty (960-1126 A.D.) prior to the Mongol invasion. In the film a Song scroll depicts daily events in Kai-feng in the 11th century.

The unit was commissioned with four main objectives in mind:

1. To expose students to the advances of traditional Chinese civilization and to the position of this civilization in comparison with others, as seen by a contemporary observer. (Although China was under Mongol dominating when Marco Polo lived there, the Mongols ruled by adopting Chinese customs and institutions, and thus the description is primarily of a Chinese civilization.)

2. To provide details on China's population, products and centralized system of government.

3. To disabuse students of the notion that the aggressive Mongol tribes that occupied so much territory and threatened Europe were actually Chinese. Here China can be seen correctly as an occupied country just as others were.

4. To make Marco Polo's actual writings accessible to students as primary source readings.

**Lesson idea:**

The essay on Marco Polo contains several sections that might best be assigned individually to different members of the class:

· An Introduction which provides historical background on Europe and China.

- Beijing (Peking): with detail on the size, organization and splendor of the city. (*Suggestion:* Refer to a contemporary travel guide on China for a description of the Imperial Palace (Palace Museum) and Coal Hill to see the similarities between the places as Marco Polo described them as they are today.)

- Life-style: details on the splendor of court life, but also on Marco Polo's discovery of rice-wine and coal.

- System of Governing: a vivid description of China's centralized bureaucracy.

- Taxes: explanation of the revenue system of the Chinese empire.

- Suzhou (Soochow): a brief look at this lovely city. The description should be compared with that in a contemporary travel guidebook.

- Hangzhou (Hangchow): detail on the city that most impressed Marco Polo. Its population was indeed far greater than any European city at the time. Note the guild system; popular consultation with astrologers; paved streets; census system; and the peaceful character of the inhabitants, attributed by Marco Polo to education and the example of their kings - strikingly consistent with the Confucian prescription for ordering society!

- Newspaper article: (December 14, 1980) on the discovery of the wreck of Kublai Khan's fleet, which failed in a attempt to conquer Japan from China in 1281.

*Note: The wade-Giles system of romanization is used throughout this unit on Marco Polo, following the form of the translations from which the primary source passages are taken.*

*Student Reading*

Das iſt der edel Ritter · Marcho polo von

# Marco Polo in China

Marco Polo was born in the thirteenth century (1254 A.D.) in Venice, an Italian city-state, and he was very much a man of his time. He had the standard education for a young gentleman--knowledge of classical authors and the basic beliefs of the church, a good grasp of French and Italian, and skills in accounting. This combination is fortunate for us, since his writings offer a window onto the world of the thirteenth century. His knowledge of culture and business made Polo very observant of humans, animals, and plants, as well as anything that might touch upon commercial opportunities. He was observant about cultures that were very different from his own and able to describe them without much bias.

European nations and city-states at this time were very much divided, vigorously competing with each other for power and markets. The Venetians were probably the most aggressive of all. Young Marco Polo was born into a powerful Venetian merchant family with extensive trade contacts. The Polos had travelled as far as the Black Sea, in present-day Turkey. There they heard from Persian traders about the great Mongol empire that stretched west to today's Poland, east to Java and Korea, south to Turkey and Persia, and north to the frozen wastes of Siberia. Marco Polo's father and uncle travelled in 1260 through the Mongol empire, all the way to its capital in China. There they requested trade and missionary contacts; on a second trip in 1271, carrying messages from the Pope, they took along young Marco, age seventeen.

Marco was a shrewd businessman who won the Mongol emperor's favor and was sent on special missions all over the region. His stay in China lasted seventeen years, and by the time he returned home to Venice in 1297, twenty-six years had passed since his departure. On his return, Marco, a superb story-teller, was persuaded to write his memoirs. Relying on notes and memories he had stored during his years abroad, he set down his tale, entitled "The Travels of Marco Polo, or, A Description of the World." The book was written with the help of a romance writer, and it has been called one of the greatest ever written.

The Europe that Marco Polo knew was a collection of small nations and city-states constantly competing with one another. In the north the French empire was the strongest. To the east, northern German and Baltic city-states were united into a loose federation called the Hanseatic League. Scandanavian countries were relatively weak. In the south, southern German states were only loosely united and the Italian city-states were fiercely competitive, with Genoa and Venice especially bitter rivals.* Nearly all states were involved in wars with each other. Either the religious organization--the Roman Church--or the political entity--the Holy Roman Empire--could have been a unifying force, but they also were locked in competition for power. In Asia Minor, the power of the Byzantine empire was on the decline, and the power of the Turkish Ottoman Empire was increasing. In addition, Europe was still involved in its own Holy Wars against the "infidels," the Crusades.

By contrast, the Mongol empire presented for a brief time in the thirteenth century a model of unity. A loose federation of separate nomadic tribes in most times, the Mongols were a rough, horseback riding, yurt-dwelling barbarian group that had carried a dream of greatness until consolidation under Genghis (Chinggis) Khan. The word khan means ruler, so the name meant Ruler Genghis. Under his leadership the Mongols forged a new empire, which reached from the Pacific to the Mediterranean, the Arctic to the Persian Gulf. Genghis died in 1227 before he could realize his dream of conquest of the world. If it had not been for the death of his successor in 1241, the Mongols would probably have conquered Europe, and the history of western civilization would have been very different.

The Mongols' lightning swift horses, surprise attacks, skillful military tactics, and use of terror to subdue populations had made them the feared scourge of China as well as Europe. Genghis Khan is said to have remarked, "The greatest joy a man can know is to conquer his enemies and drive them before him. To ride their horses and take away their possessions. To see the faces of those who were dear to them wet with tears, and to clasp their wives and daughters in his arms." For centuries, Mongol-like tribes had settled near the northern border of China, attacking whenever the Chinese empire was weak. They had been able to win battles but could not succeed at prolonged sieges of strong, walled Chinese cities. Yet in 1126 another tribe of "barbarians," the Jurchen, were able to defeat the Chinese in the north and set up their own independent rule, forcing the Chinese leaders to flee southward to establish a new capital at Hangchow. The Mongols realized they could use this split to gain territorial advantage over the Chinese. In 1237 North China fell to the Mongols, but the whole of China was not united under Mongol rule until a forty-year series of grueling campaigns ended under Genghis Khan's grandson, Kubilai Khan. Finally, in 1279, Kubilai won his stubborn struggle with the Southern

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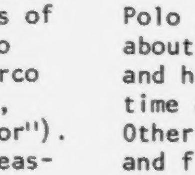
*After Marco Polo returned to Venice from China, he participated in a sea battle between Venice and Genoa. He was captured and imprisoned in Genoa, and it was during his imprisonment that he dictated his book!

Sung dynasty and was lord over all China, with loose control over the vast Mongolian empire to the east that had been handed down from his grandfather.

By the time of Kubilai a significant change had occurred in the Mongol leaders. Each successor to Genghis had been influenced by the regions he controlled. To the west, the ruler of Persia resembled the Persian shah; in the north, the ruler was Russian; in the east, Kubilai was under the sway of the great civilization he long had battled, the Chinese of the Sung. *Chung kuo*, the "Middle Kingdom" or China, was the most splendid civilization of its time, outshining even Persia and the Ottoman Empire, and certainly outdistancing poor, divided Europe. Kubilai had moved his capital from the ancient tribal headquarters of Karakorum in the Gobi Desert to the Chinese city of Peking (Marco Polo's Cambulac or Khan Bhalik, meaning "The City of the Emperor"). This change signified the increasing Chinese influence over the khan, for by this time Kubilai regarded himself not as a nomadic barbarian but as a civilized, elegant Chinese gentleman. True, he still had a hunting tent like Genghis Khan's made of leopard skin, but its inside was trimmed with ermine and sable. Like Genghis he had a pleasure house which was also a tent, but its roof was made of gilded bamboo and its tent poles were painted with Chinese dragons. And his palace was magnificent, as Marco Polo described. The Chinese were famous for their ability to absorb their conquerors who tried, in ancient times, to emulate Chinese culture. Kubilai Khan was one example of this.

Before Marco Polo returned and set down his memoirs, most Europeans were ignorant of the great civilizations to their east. The Chinese, for their part, called themselves the center of the earth (*chung-kuo*). Other than establishing trade contacts and securing the defense of their borders, they had little interest in dealing with other peoples and scornfully labelled them all "barbarians."

It was through the eyes of Marco Polo that many Europeans first learned about those cvilizations to the east, and his book was popular in his own time and for centuries thereafter. Other explorers in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, the "age of exploration," all confessed that they were inspired by the great world Polo had described. Two hundred years after Marco Polo, another Italian seaman, Christopher Columbus, carried a well-worn copy of Polo's travels when he set out west for a new route to the fabled Indies. Let us now turn to the world Marco Polo saw, and let him tell us about the marvelous civilizations to which he journeyed.



# PEKING

## CONCERNING THE PALACE OF THE GREAT KHAN

You must know that for three months of the year, December, January, and February, the Great Khan resides in the capital city of Cathay (China), which is called CAMBALUC (Peking), and which is at the north-eastern extremity of the country). In that city stands his great palace, and now I will tell you what it is like.

It is enclosed all round by a great wall forming a square, each side of which is a mile in length. It is also very thick, and a good ten paces in height, whitewashed and loop-holed all round. At each angle of the wall there is a very fine and rich palace in which the war-harness of the Emperor is kept, such as bows and arrows, saddles and bridles, and bowstrings, and everything necessary for an army. Also midway between every two of these corner palaces there is another of the like' so that in the whole enclosure you find eight vast palaces where the Great Lord's harness of war are stored. Only one kind of article is assigned to each palace; thus, one is stored with bows, a second with saddles, a third with bridles, and so on.

The great wall has five gates on its southern face, the middle one being the great gate which is never opened on any occasion except when the Great Khan himself goes forth or enters. Close on either side of this great gate is a smaller one by which all other people pass; and then towards each angle is another great gate, also open to people in general; so that on that side there are five gates in all.

Inside this wall there is a second wall. Inside this wall, there are eight palaces like those of the outer wall, and stored like them with the Lord's harness of war. This wall also has five gates on the southern face, and one gate on each of the other faces. In the middle of the second enclosure is the Lord's Great Palace.

This is the greatest palace that ever was. Towards the north it is in contact with the outer wall, whilst towards the south there is a vacant space which the barons and the soldiers are constantly traversing. The palace itself has no upper story, but is all on the ground floor, except the basement is raised a bit above the surrounding soil. The roof is very lofty, and the walls of the palace are all covered with gold and silver. They are also adorned with representations of dragons (sculptured and gilt), beasts and birds, knights and gods, and other subjects. And on the ceiling, too, you see nothing but gold and silver and painting. (On each of the four sides there is a great marble staircase leading to the top of the marble wall, and forming the approach to the palace.)

The hall of the palace is so large that it could easily dine 6,000 people; and it is quite a marvel to see how many rooms there are besides. The building is altogether so vast, so rich, and so beautiful, that no man on earth could design anything superior to it. The outside of the roof is all colored with vermillion and yellow and green and blue and other colors, which are fixed with a varnish so fine and exquisite that they shine like crystal, and lend a luster to the palace so it can be seen from a great distance. This roof is made too with such strength and solidity that it is fit to last forever.

On the interior side of the palace are large buildings with halls and chambers, where the emperor's private property is placed, such as his treasures of gold, silver, gems, pearls, and gold plate, and in which reside the ladies and secondary wives. These rooms are only for him, and no one else has access to them.

Between the two walls of the enclosure which I have described, there are fine parks and beautiful trees bearing a variety of fruits. There are beasts, such as white stags and fallow deer, gazelles and roebucks, and fine squirrels of various sorts, and all manner of other beautiful creatures, that the whole place is full of them. (The parks are covered with abundant grass; and since the roads through them are all paved and raised above the surface, they never become muddy.)

To the northwest there extends a fine lake, containing fish of different kinds which the emperor ordered put in there, so that whenever he desires any he can have them. A river enters this lake and flows from it, but there is a grating of iron or brass put up so that the fish cannot escape.

On the north side of the palace, there is a hill which has been made (from the earth dug out of the lake). It is a good hundred paces in height and a mile in compass. This hill is entirely covered with trees that never lose their leaves, but remain ever green. And I assure you that wherever a beautiful tree may exist, and the emperor gets news of it, he sends for it and has it transported with all its roots and the earth attached to them, and planted on that hill of his. No matter how big the tree may be, he gets it carried by his elephants; and in this way he has got together the most beautiful collection of trees in the whole world. He has also ordered the whole hill to be covered with green stones. Thus not only are the trees all green, but the hill itself is all green likewise; and there is nothing to be seen on it that is not green; and hence it is rightly called the GREEN MOUNT.

On top of the hill there is another fine big palace which is all green inside and out. Thus, the hill, the trees, and the palace form together a charming spectacle. It is marvelous to see them. Everybody who sees them is delighted. The Great Khan built this beautiful prospect for the comfort and solace and enjoyment of his heart.

Now I am going to tell you of the chief city of Cathay, in which these palaces stand; and why it was built, and how.

## CONCERNING THE CITY OF CAMBALUC (PEKING)

Now there was on that spot in old times a great and noble city called CAMBALUC, which is as much as to say in our words "The city of the Emperor." But the Great Khan was informed by his astrologers that this city would later be rebellious against his imperial authority. So he ordered the present city to be built close beside the old one, with only a river between them and he caused the people of the old city to be removed to the new town that he had founded.

As regards the size of this (new) city, it is 24 square miles, since each side is 6 miles long. It is walled around with walls of earth, 10 paces thick at bottom, and a height of more than 10 paces.

There are 12 gates, and over each gate there is a great and handsome palace, so that there are on each side of the square 3 gates and 5 palaces; for there is at each angle also a great and handsome palace. In the palaces there are vast halls in which are kept the arms of the city guard.

The streets are so straight and wide that you can see right along them from end to end and from one gate to the other. And up and down the city there are beautiful palaces, and many great and fine inns and fine houses in great numbers. (All the plots of ground on which the houses of the city are built are four-square, and laid out with straight lines; all the plots being occupied by great and spacious palaces, with courts and gardens of proportionate size. Each square plot is surrounded by handsome streets for the traffic. Thus the whole city is arranged in squares just like a chessboard.)

In the middle of the city there is a great clock--that is to say, a bell--which is struck at night. And after it has struck three times no one must go out in the city, unless it be for the needs of a woman in labour, or of the sick. And those who go about on such errands are bound to carry lanterns with them. Moreover, the established guard at each gate of the city is 1,000 armed men; not that you are to imagine this guard is kept up for fear of any attack, but only as a guard of honor for the sovereign, who resides there, and to prevent thieves from doing mischief in the town.

### CONCERNING THE CITY OF CAMBALUC, AND ITS GREAT TRAFFIC AND POPULATION

The city of Cambaluc has such a multitude of houses, and such a vast population inside the walls and outside, that it seems quite past all possibility. There is a suburb outside each of the gates, which are 12 in number, and these suburbs are so great that they contain more people than in the city itself. In those suburbs live foreign merchants and travellers, of whom there are always great numbers who have come to bring presents to the emperor, to sell articles at court, or because the city affords so good a market to attract traders. And thus there are as many good houses outside the city as inside, without counting those that belong to the great lords and barons, which are very numerous.

Guards patrol the city every night in parties of 30 or 40, looking out for any persons who may be abroad at unseasonable hours (i.e., after the great bell has struck three times). If they find any such person he is immediately taken to prison, and examined next morning by the proper officers. If these find him guilty of any misdemeanor they order him a beating with the stick.

To the city also are brought articles of greater cost and rarity, and in greater abundance of all kinds, than to any other city in the world. For people of every description, from every region bring things (including all the costly wares of India, as well as the fine and precious goods of Cathay itself), some for the sovereign, some for the court, some for the city which is so great, some for the crowds of barons and knights, some for the great hosts of the emperor which are quartered round about; and thus between court and city the quantity brought in is endless.

As a sample, I tell you, no day in the year passes that there do not enter the city 1,000 carts of silk alone, from which are made quantities of cloth of silk and gold, and of other goods.

Round about this city there are some 200 other cities, from which traders come.

## THE FASHION OF THE GREAT KHAN'S TABLE AT HIS HIGH FEASTS

Whenever the Great Khan sits at the table on any great court occasion, his table is elevated a good deal above the others, and he sits at the north end of the hall, looking towards the south, with his chief wife beside him on the left. On his right but lower sit his sons and his nephews, and other kinsmen of the Blood Imperial, with their heads on a level with the emperor's feet. The other barons sit at other tables lower still. The women--all the wives of the Lord's sons, and of his nephews and other kinsmen--sit at the lower table to his right; and below them again are the ladies of the other barons and knights, each in the place assigned by the Lord's orders. The tables are so disposed that the emperor can see all of them from end to end. Most of the soldiers and their officers sit at their meal in the hall on the carpets. Outside the hall are more than 40,000 people; for there is always a great crowd of folk bringing presents to the Lord, or coming from foreign countries with curiosities.

In a part of the hall near where the Great Khan holds his table, there is set a large and very beautiful piece of workmanship in the form of a square buffet, about three paces each way, exquisitely wrought with figures of animals, finely carved and gilt. The middle is hollow, and in it stands a great dish of pure gold. At each corner is one of smaller size and from the former the wine or beverage flavored with fine and costly spices is poured into the latter. On the buffet are placed all the Lord's drinking vessels, among which are certain pitchers of the finest gold, which are big enough to hold drink for eight or ten persons. And one of these is put between every two persons, besides a couple of golden cups with handles, so that every man helps himself from the pitcher that stands between him and his neighbor. Ladies are supplied in the same way. The value of these pitchers and cups is something immense. In fact, the Great Khan has such a quantity of this kind of plate, and of gold and silver in other shapes, as no one ever before saw or heard tell of, or could believe.

Certain barons are specially chosen to see that foreigners, who do not know the court customs, are given places. These barons are continually moving to and fro in the hall, looking out for the wants of the guests at the table, and ordering servants to supply them promptly with wine, milk, meat, or whatever they lack.

Those who wait upon the Great Khan with his dishes and his drink are some of the great barons. They have the mouth and nose muffled with fine napkins of silk and gold, so that no breath nor odor from their persons should taint the dish or the goblet presented to the Lord. And when the emperor is going to drink, all the musical instruments, of which he has vast stores of every kind, begin to play. When he takes the cup, all the barons and the rest of the company drop on their knees and make the deepest bow before him. Then the emperor drinks. Each time he does so the whole ceremony is repeated.

When all have dined and the tables have been removed, then come in a great number of jugglers and players, skilled at every sort of wonderful feat. They perform before the emperor and the rest of the company, creating great diversion and mirth, so that everybody is full of laughter and enjoyment. And when the performance is over, the company breaks up and everyone goes back to his quarters.

### CONCERNING THE RICE-WINE DRUNK BY THE PEOPLE OF CATHAY

Most of the people of Cathay drink wine of the kind that I shall now describe. It is a liquor which they brew of rice with a quantity of excellent spice, in such fashion that it makes better drink than any other kind of wine; it is not good, but clear and pleasing to the eye. And being very hot stuff, it makes one drunk sooner than any other wine.

### CONCERNING THE BLACK STONES DUG IN CATHAY AND BURNT FOR FUEL

All over the country of Cathay there is a kind of black stone existing in beds in the mountains, which they dig out and burn like firewood. If you supply the fire with them at night, and see that they are well kindled, you will find them still alight in the morning, and they make such fine fuel that no other is used throughout the country. It is true that they have plenty of wood also, but they do not burn it, because those stones burn better and cost less. Moreover, with the vast number of people and the number of baths they maintain--at least three times a week, and in winter if possible every day--wood would not suffice for the purpose.

# SYSTEM OF GOVERNING

## CONCERNING THE TWELVE BARONS WHO ARE SET OVER ALL THE AFFAIRS OF THE GREAT KHAN

The Great Khan chose 12 barons to whom he entrusted all the necessary affairs of 34 provinces of Cathay (China). These 12 barons reside all together in a very rich and handsome palace, which is inside the city of Cambaluc (Peking), and consists of a variety of buildings with many suites of apartments. To every province is assigned a judge and several clerks; and all reside in this palace, where each has his separate quarters. These judges and clerks administer all the affairs of the provinces to which they are attached, under the direction of the 12 barons. Howbeit, when an affair is of very great importance, the 12 barons lay in before the emperor, and he decides as he thinks best. But the power of those 12 barons is so great that they choose the governors for all those 34 great provinces that I have mentioned. Only after they have chosen do they inform the emperor of their choice. This he confirms, and grants to the person nominated a tablet of gold such as is appropriate to the rank of his government.

Those 12 barons also have such authority that they can send the armed forces wherever and in whatever strength they please. This is done of course with the emperor's awareness, but still the orders are issued on their authority. They are called "The Supreme Court," as is the palace where they abide. This body forms the highest authority at the court of the Great Khan; and indeed they can favor and promote whomever they wish.

## HOW THE KHAN'S POSTS AND RUNNERS ARE SPED THROUGH MANY LANDS AND PROVINCES

From this city of Cambaluc proceed many roads and highways leading to a variety of provinces, one to one province, another to another; and each road receives the name of the province to which it leads. The travelling messengers of the emperor find at every 25 miles of the journey a station called a "Horse Post-House." At each of those stations used by the messengers, there is a large and handsome building for them to stay at, in which they find all the rooms furnished with fine beds and all other necessary articles in silk, and where they are provided with everything they can want. Even if a king were to arrive at one of these, he would be pleased with his lodgings. At some of these stations, there are some 400 horses standing ready for the use of the messengers; at others there are 200. Even when the messengers have to pass through a roadless expanse where there are neither houses or hostels, the station houses have been established there just the same.

And this is done on the greatest scale of magnificence that ever was seen. It is a fact that if all these posts are taken together there are more than 300,000 horses kept up specially for the use of the messengers. And the great buildings are over 10,000 in number, all richly furnished. Yet all these numbers of post-houses cost the emperor nothing at all. Every city, or village, or hamlet that stands near one has a fixed demand made on it for as many horses as it can supply. Only in uninhabited tracts the horses are furnished at the expense of the emperor himself.

# TAXES

## THE GREAT YEARLY REVENUE THE GREAT KHAN RECEIVES FROM HANGCHOW

Now I will tell you about the great revenue the Great Khan draws every year from the said city of Kinsay (Hangchow) and its territory, which forms a ninth of the country.

First there is the salt, which brings in a great revenue. For its produces every year, in round numbers, a vast sum of money! (This province, you see, adjoins the ocean, on the shores of which are many lagoons or salt marshes, in which the sea-water dries up during the summer time; and thence they extract such a quantity of salt as suffices for the supply of five of the kingdoms of Manzi (South China) besides this one.)

In this city and its dependencies they make great quantities of sugar, as indeed they do in the other eight divisions of the country; so that I believe the whole of the rest of the world together does not produce such a quantity, at least, if that be true which many people have told me; and the sugar alone again produces an enormous revenue. All spices pay three and a third percent on the value; and all merchandise likewise pays three and a third percent. (But sea-borne goods from India and other distant countries pay 10 percent.) The rice-wine also makes a great return, as does coal, of which there is a great quantity; and so do the twelve guilds of craftsmen that I told you of, with their 12,000 stations apiece, for they must pay tax on every article they make. The silk which is produced in such abundance brings an immense return since they must pay 10 percent on it or more as on many other articles.

Marco Polo, who relates all this, was several times sent by the Great Khan to inspect the amount of his customs and revenue from this ninth part of the country, and he found it to be one of the most enormous revenues that ever was heard of. And if the ruler has such a revenue from one-ninth of the country, you may judge what he must have from the whole of it! However, this part of the country is the greatest and most productive; and because of the great revenue that the Great Khan derives from it, it is his favorite province, and he takes all the more care to watch it well, and to keep the people contented.

# SOOCHOW

ON THE NOBLE CITY OF SOOCHOW

Soochow is a very great and noble city. The people are subjects of the Great Khan, and have paper money. They possess silk in great quantities, from which they make gold brocade and other stuffs, and they live by their manufactures and trade.

The city is very great, as large as 60 square miles. It contains merchants of great wealth and an incalculable number of people. Indeed, if the men of this city and of the rest of the country had the spirit of soldiers they would conquer the world; but they are not soldiers at all, only accomplished traders and most skilled craftsmen. There are also in this city many great philosophers and others who do not appear to work.

In this city there are 6,000 bridges, all of stone, and so lofty that two ships together could pass underneath them.

In the mountains belonging to this city, rhubarb and ginger grow in great abundance. The city has 16 other great trading cities under its rule.

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# HANGCHOW

DESCRIPTION OF THE GREAT CITY OF KINSAY (Hangchow) WHICH IS THE CAPITAL OF THE WHOLE COUNTRY OF MANZI (South China)*

When you have left the city of Soochow and have travelled for four days through a splendid country, passing a number of towns and villages, you arrive at the most noble city of KINSAY, which is in our language "City of Heaven." I will enter into particulars about its magnificence since the city is beyond dispute the finest and noblest in the world.

First and foremost, then, Kinsay is so great that it is 200 square miles. In it there are 12,000 bridges of stone, with most so lofty that a great fleet could pass beneath them. And let no man marvel that there are so many bridges, for you see the whole city stands as it were in the water and surrounded by water, so that a great many bridges are required to give free passage around it.

In this city there are 12 guilds of different crafts, and each guild has 12,000 houses in the occupation of its workmen. Each of these houses contain at least 12 men, while some contain 20 and some 40, including the apprentices who work under the masters. All these craftsmen had full employment since many other cities of the kingdom are supplied by this city.

Inside the city there is a lake of some 30 miles: and all round it are beautiful palaces and mansions, of the richest and most exquisite structure that you can imagine, belonging to the nobles of the city. There are also two islands, on each of which stands a rich, beautiful, and spacious edifice, furnished in such style fit for the palace of an emperor. And when anyone of the citizens desire to hold a marriage feast or to give any other entertainment, it is done at one of these palaces. And everything would be found there ready to order, such as silver plate, trenchers, and dishes (napkins and table cloths), and whatever else was needed. The king made this provision for the gratification of his people, and the place was open to everyone who desired to give an entertainment. (Sometimes there would be at these palaces a hundred different parties; some holding a banquet, others celebrating a wedding; and yet all would find good accommodations in the different apartments and pavilions, and that all was so well ordered that one party was never in the way of another.)

The houses of the city are provided with lofty towers of stone in which articles of value are stored for fear of fire; for most of the houses themselves are of timber and fires are very frequent in the city.

Both men and women are fair and comely, and for the most part clothe themselves in silk, so vast is the supply of that material, both from the whole district of Kinsay and from the imports by traders from other provinces.

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*Kinsay, or Hangchow, was the capital of the Southern Sung dynasty when the Mongols captured it, thereby taking over all of China and establishing the Yuan dynasty in 1279. Hangchow, with a population of more than a million, was indeed the largest city in the world at the time, several times larger than the cities of Europe. It greatly impressed Marco Polo, as we shall see. Today Hangchow is still one of the most beautiful cities in all China, with its West Lake. Can you find it on the map?

Since the Great Khan occupied the city he has ordained that each of the 12,000 bridges be provided with a guard of ten men, in case of any disturbances or of any being so bold as to plot treason or rebellion against him.

Part of the watch patrols the quarter, to see if any light or fire is burning after the lawful hours; if they find any they mark the door, and in the morning the owner is summoned before the magistrates, and unless he can plead a good excuse he is punished. Also if they find anyone going about the streets at unlawful hours they arrest him, and in the morning they bring him before the magistrates. Likewise if in the daytime they find any poor cripple unable to work for his livelihood, they take him to one of the hospitals, of which there are many, founded by the ancient kings, and endowed with great revenues. Or if he be capable of work they oblige him to take up some trade. If they see that any house has caught fire they immediately beat upon that wooden instrument to give the alarm, and this brings together the watchmen from the other bridges to help extinguish it, and to save the goods of the merchants or others, either by removing them to the towers or by putting them in boats and transporting them to the islands in the lake. For no citizen dares leave his house at night, or to come near the fire; only those who own the property, and those watchmen who clock to help of whom there shall come one or two thousand at least.

The Khan watches this city with special diligence because it forms the head of this part of China and because he has an immense revenue from the taxes levied on the trade here, the amount of which is so high no one would believe it.

All the streets of the city are paved with stone or brick, as indeed are all the highways throughout this area so that you ride and travel in every direction without inconvenience. Were it not for this pavement you cannot do so, for the country is very low and flat, and after rain deep in mud and water.

The city of Kinsay has some 3,000 baths, the water of which is supplied by springs. They are hot baths, and the people take great delight in them, frequenting them several times a month, for they are very cleanly in their persons. They are the finest and largest baths in the world; large enough for 100 persons to bathe together.

This city of Kinsay is the seat of one of the kings who rules over 100 great and wealthy cities. For in the whole of this part of the country, there are more than 1,200 great cities, without counting the towns and villages, which are also in great numbers. In each of those 1,200 cities the Great Khan has a garrison, and the smallest of such garrisons musters 1,000 men; while there are some of 10,000, 20,000, and 30,000; so that the total number of troops is something scarcely calculable. You must not suppose they are by any means all cavalry; a very large proportion are foot-soldiers, according to the special requirements of each city. And all of them belong to the army of the Great Khan.

The people of this country have a custom, that as soon as a child is born they write down the day and hour and the planet and sign under which its birth has taken place; so that everyone knows the day of his birth. And when anyone intends a journey he goes to the astrologers, and gives the particulars of his birth in order to learn whether he shall have good luck.

Sometimes they will say no, and in that case the journey is put off till such day as the astrologer may recommend. These astrologers are very skillful at their business, and often their words come to pass, so the people have great faith in them.

It is also the custom for every burgess of this city, and in fact for every person in it, to write over his door his own name, the name of his wife, and those of his children, his slaves, and all in his house, and also the number of animals that he keeps. And if anyone dies in the house then the name of that person is erased, and if any child is born its name is added, so in this way the ruler is able to know exactly the population of the city. And this is the practice also throughout the country.

In this part are the ten main markets, though besides these there are a vast number of others in the different parts of town. They are all squares of half a mile to the side, and along their front passes the main street, which is 40 paces in width, and runs straight from end to end of the city, crossing many bridges. At every four miles of its length comes one of those great squares of two miles in compass. In each of the squares is held a market three days a week, frequented by 40,000 or 50,000 persons, who bring there for sale every possible necessity of life, so that there is always an ample supply of every kind of meat and game, as of roebuck, red-deer, fallow-deer, hares, rabbits, partridges, pheasants, quails, fowls, ducks and geese. Then there are the buildings where the large animals are slaughtered, such as calves, beef, kids, and lambs, the flesh of which is eaten by the rich and the great dignitaries.

Those markets make a daily display of every kind of vegetable and fruit; and among the latter there are in particular certain pears of enormous size, weighing as much as ten pounds apiece, and pulp of which is white and fragrant like a confection, besides peaches in their season both yellow and white, of every delicate flavor.

Neither grapes nor wine are produced there, but very good raisins are brought from abroad, and wine likewise. The natives, however, do not much care about this wine, being used to that kind of their own made from rice and spices. From the Ocean Sea also come daily supplies of fish in great quantity, brought 25 miles up river, and there is also great store of fish from the lake, which is the constant resort of fishermen, who have no other business. Their fish is of sundry kinds, changing with the season; and it is remarkably fat and tasty. Anyone who should see the supply of fish in the market would suppose it impossible that such a quantity could ever be sold; and yet in a few hours the whole shall be cleared away; so great is the number of inhabitants who are accustomed to delicate living. Indeed they eat fish and flesh at the same meal.

All the ten market places are encompassed by lofty houses, and below these shops where all sorts of crafts are carried on, and all sorts of wares are on sale, including spices and jewels and pearls. Some of these shops are entirely devoted to the sale of wine made from rice and spices, which is constantly made fresh.

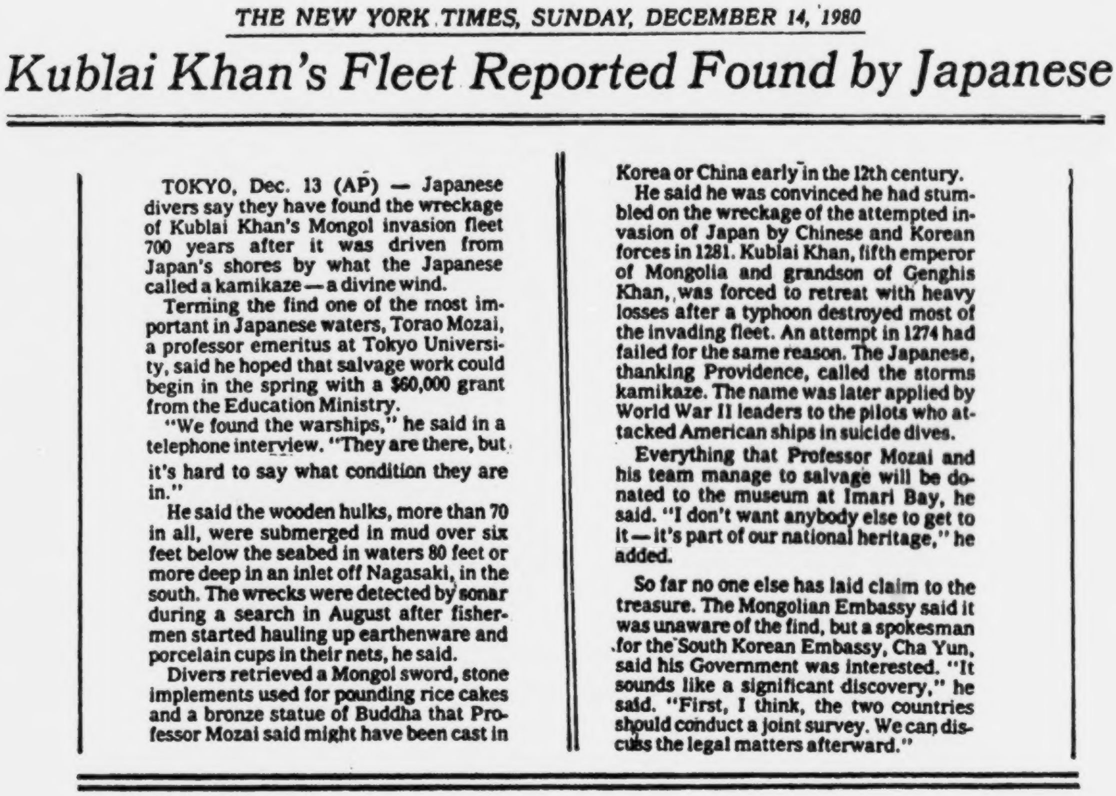
The houses of the citizens are well built and elaborately finished; and the delight they take in decoration, in painting and in architecture, leads them to spend in this way sums of money that would astonish you.

The natives of this city are men of peaceful character, both from education and from the example of their kings, whose disposition was the same. They know nothing of handling arms, and keep none in their houses. You hear of no feuds or noisy quarrels or dissensions among them. Both in their commercial dealings and in their manufactures, they are thoroughly honest and truthful, and there is such a degree of good will and neighborly attachment among both men and women that you would take the people who live in the same street to be all one family.

They treat the foreigners who visit them with great politeness and entertain them in the most winning manner, offering advice on their business.

On the lake there are numbers of boats and barges of all sizes for parties of pleasure. These will hold 10, 15, 20, or more persons, and are from 15 to 20 paces in length, with flat bottoms and ample breadth of beam, so that they always keep afloat. Anyone who desires to go with the women or with a party hires one of these barges which are always to be found completely furnished with tables and chairs and all the other apparatus for a feast. The roof forms a level deck, on which the crew stands and poles the boat along whithersoever may be desired for the lake is not more than two paces in depth. The inside of this roof and the rest of the interior is covered with ornamental painting in gay colors, with windows all round that can be shut or opened, so that the party at table can enjoy all the beauty and variety of the prospects on both sides as they pass along. The lake is never without a number of other such boats, laden with pleasure parties, for it is the great delight of the citizens here, after they have finished the day's business, to pass the afternoon in enjoyment with their ladies, either in these barges or in driving about the city in carriages.

*Unit Consultant: Sue Gronewald, a specialist in Chinese history.*
*The selections, edited by Ms. Gronewald, are from* *The Book of Marco Polo, translated and edited by Col. Sir Henry Yule*
*(New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1903), vols. 1 and 2.*



THE NEW YORK TIMES, SUNDAY, DECEMBER 14, 1980

# Kublai Khan's Fleet Reported Found by Japanese

TOKYO, Dec. 13 (AP) — Japanese divers say they have found the wreckage of Kublai Khan's Mongol invasion fleet 700 years after it was driven from Japan's shores by what the Japanese called a kamikaze — a divine wind.

Terming the find one of the most important in Japanese waters, Torao Mozai, a professor emeritus at Tokyo University, said he hoped that salvage work could begin in the spring with a $60,000 grant from the Education Ministry.

"We found the warships," he said in a telephone interview. "They are there, but it's hard to say what condition they are in."

He said the wooden hulks, more than 70 in all, were submerged in mud over six feet below the seabed in waters 80 feet or more deep in an inlet off Nagasaki, in the south. The wrecks were detected by sonar during a search in August after fishermen started hauling up earthenware and porcelain cups in their nets, he said.

Divers retrieved a Mongol sword, stone implements used for pounding rice cakes and a bronze statue of Buddha that Professor Mozai said might have been cast in Korea or China early in the 12th century.

He said he was convinced he had stumbled on the wreckage of the attempted invasion of Japan by Chinese and Korean forces in 1281. Kublai Khan, fifth emperor of Mongolia and grandson of Genghis Khan, was forced to retreat with heavy losses after a typhoon destroyed most of the invading fleet. An attempt in 1274 had failed for the same reason. The Japanese, thanking Providence, called the storms kamikaze. The name was later applied by World War II leaders to the pilots who attacked American ships in suicide dives.

Everything that Professor Mozai and his team manage to salvage will be donated to the museum at Imari Bay, he said. "I don't want anybody else to get to it — it's part of our national heritage," he added.

So far no one else has laid claim to the treasure. The Mongolian Embassy said it was unaware of the find, but a spokesman for the South Korean Embassy, Cha Yun, said his Government was interested. "It sounds like a significant discovery," he said. "First, I think, the two countries should conduct a joint survey. We can discuss the legal matters afterward."

NOTE: Kubilai Khan's effort to attack Japan from China failed. Here is some very recent evidence. (The attack occurred seven hundred years ago, in 1281.)

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## VOCABULARY

Mongols
Kubilai Khan
city-state
pavilion
nomad
ethnocentrism
courier system
Genghis (Chingis) Khan
Marco Polo
Silk Route
Khan
barbarian
astrologer/soothsayer
guilds

## QUESTIONS FOR DISCUSSION

1. Using a map, put modern place names along Marco Polo's route.

2. Where was Cathay? Cambaluc?

3. What most impressed Marco Polo in the Chinese cities?

4. What clues are there in Marco Polo's descriptions that the Mongols were military rulers and kept tight military control over the populace?

5. Describe the life style of Kubilai Khan. Do you think this life style was available to all in the empire?

6. How did the Chinese officials keep a census of the population in Hangchow?

7. Who ran the empire? How were they chosen?

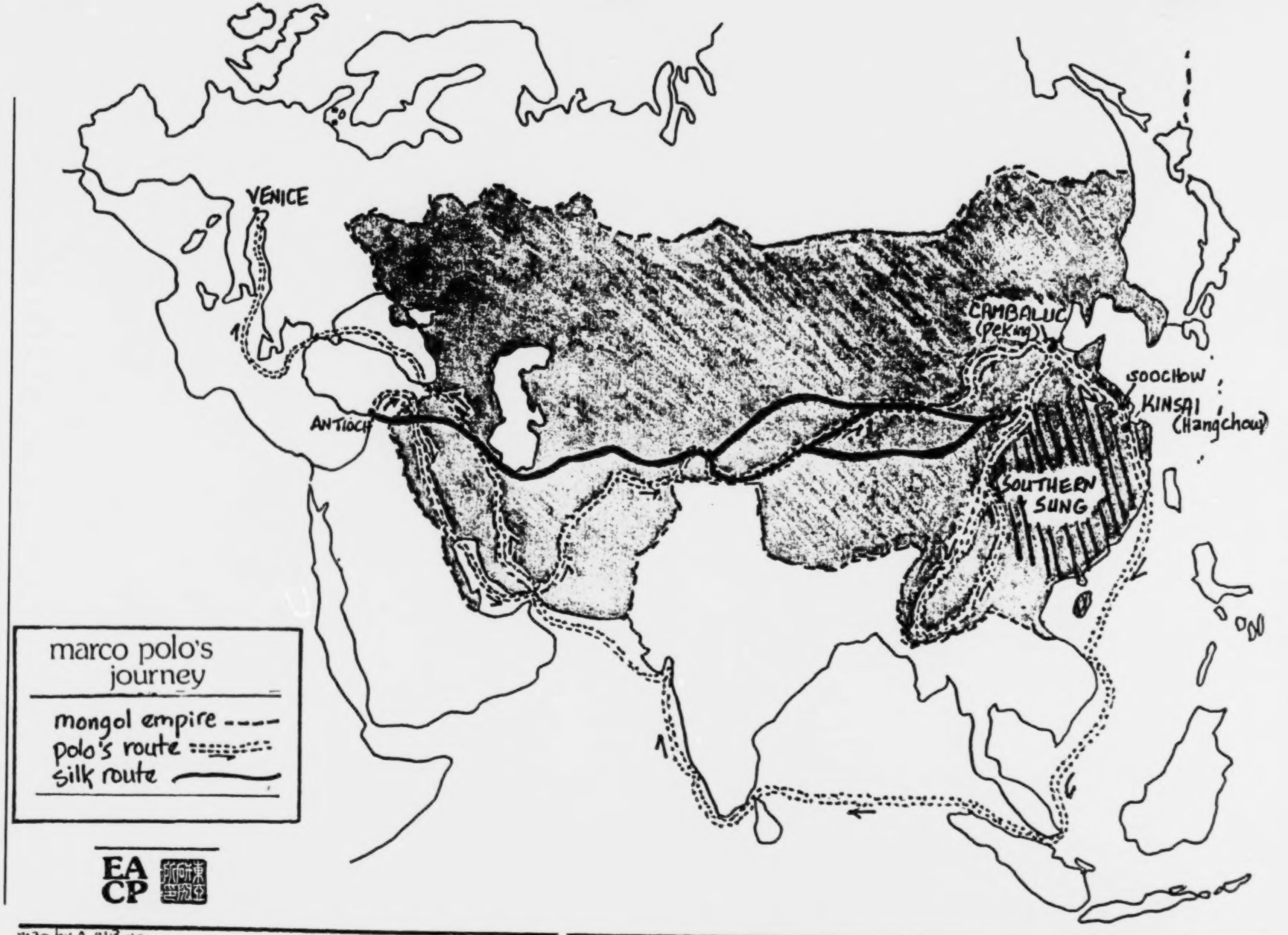
8. What were the "black stones" Marco Polo found in China?

9. What does Marco Polo say about the people of Hangchow? About their kings? What would Confucius have said about the example of these rulers?

10. What would you predict would eventually happen to a ruler like Kubilai?

11. Locate Marco Polo on the time chart. What is the relationship of the time he lived to the discovery of printing? To the time of Confucius? To the Opium War? To Christopher Columbus?

12. Marco Polo's memoirs were written 150 years after the events portrayed on the great Song scroll of the capital city of Kai-feng, which you saw in the film *"City of Cathay"*. How does Polo's description of the capital of the Southern Song compare to what you saw on the Northern Song scroll? In what was had the Mongols changed the character of the daily life? In what ways were they not able to affect it?


VENICE
ANTIOCH
CAMBALUC (Peking)
SOOCHOW
KINSAI (Hangchow)
SOUTHERN SUNG
marco polo's journey
mongol empire
polo's route
silk route

map by A. O'Brien

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# Resource Lists: Traditional China

## Unit: *Ancient China*

***Children of the Yellow River: A Legendary History of the Chinese People***
Arts, Inc.

Thirty-four pages - the legends of China's formation, from the creation of the universe through the first dynasties.

Available from:
ARTS, Inc.
32 Market Street
New York, NY 10002
(212) 962-8231

Price: $1.25

***A Lady From China's Past: A Noblewoman's Last Day, 2,100 Years Ago Seems to Dawn Again with the Discovery of Her Richly Furnished Tomb***
National Geographic

Magnificent photos of ancient musical instruments, clothing, kitchen ware and the very well-preserved body of a noblewoman buried during China's Han Dynasty c. 150 B.C.

Available in:
NATIONAL GEOGRAPHIC, May 1974
(Vol. 145, No. 5)
17th and M Street NW
Washington, DC 20036

Price: $3.00 (back issue)

***Traditional China***
by Islay Doncaster
Greenhaven World History Program

Part of a larger series, the short (32 pp) pamphlet provides a good basic overview with added excerpts from primary source documents which make it a valuable addition to a library.

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Greenhaven Press, Inc.
577 Shoreview Park Road
St. Paul, Minnesota 55112
(612) 482-1582

Price: $1.95

## Unit: *Soldiers of Qin*

***"An Ancient Chinese Army Rises from Underground Sentinel Duty"***
Maxwell Hearn, *Smithsonian Magazine*, Vol. 10, No. 8 (November 1979)

***"Masterworks of China's Bronze Age Begin a Tour of the U.S."***
Robert W. Bagley, *Smithsonian Magazine*, Vol. 11, No. 1 (April 1980)

Both of the above are available from your local library or directly from:

Smithsonian Back Issues
900 Jefferson Drive S.W.
Washington, DC 20560

Price: $3.00 each.

***"China's Incredible Find"***
Audrey Topping, *National Geographic*, Vol. 153, No. 4 (April 1978)

Available from: Your local library.

*Wonders from the Earth: The First Emperor's Underground Army*
Fu Tianchou, editor
China Books/ New World Press

With expressions as inscrutable as the past over which they stand guard, a silent army of thousands of life-size warriors has been protecting the tomb of the Emperor Qin Shihuangdi in Xian for over 2,200 years. This spectacular archaeological find of the 20th century is presented here in full color, with articles detailing the historical background and the artistic techniques.

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Price: $19.95

*The First Emperor of China: The Greatest Archeological Find of Our Time*
Arthur Cotterell

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New York, NY 10017
(407) 345-2500 (for inquiries)

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## Unit: *Chinese Inventions*

*Ancient China*
Great Ages of Man Series, Vol. 17.
TIME-LIFE Books

A beautifully illustrated demonstration of many Chinese inventions. Especially noteworthy is the section on the invention of printing.

Available from: TIME-LIFE Books
Time-Life Building
Chicago, IL 60611

Price: $9.95

*Chinese Secrets: 7,000 Years of Discovery*
Sharon Avrutick, *Museum Magazine*, Vol. 3, No. 2 (May/June 1982)

A short article with lovely pictures of ancient Chinese scientific inventions that were included in an exhibition that travelled through Canada and the U.S. in 1982-83.

Available from: Your local library, or:

Museum Magazine
720 White Plains Road
Scarsdale, NY 10583

Price: Inquire.

*The Genius of China: 3,000 Years of Science, Discovery, and Invention*
by Robert Temple

Available from: Simon and Schuster

Price: $14.95

*How Paper Came to America*
America Paper Institute

A free wall chart depicting the historical migration of paper to all parts of the world. Printed on parchment, the chart explains how an official in the Chinese imperial court first made paper in 105 A.D.

Available from:
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American Paper Institute, Inc.
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New York, NY 10016
(212) 340-0600

*Science in Traditional China: A Comparative Perspective*
by Joseph Needham

Available from:
Harvard University Press
79 Garden Street
Cambridge, MA 02138

Price: Inquire.

## Unit: *City of Cathay*

***A Chinese Village***
Metropolitan Museum of Art

A miniature village, adapted from a scene on the scroll "Ching Ming Festival on the River" (also called "Spring Festival on the River"), which students punch-out, color, and assemble. THe final result is a walled village with stores, a temple, and a family compound.

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| Available from: | Metropolitan Museum of Art<br>Fifth Avenue at 82nd Street<br>Bookstore<br>New York, NY 10028<br>(212) 570-3726 |
| Price: | Approximately $10.00; consult bookstore before ordering. |

***Slides of "Spring Festival on the River"***

A set of 29 slides made from the handscroll "Spring Festival on the River," each slide shows an individual scene from the scroll.

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|---|---|
| Available from: | Chinese Ethnic Heritage Studies Committee<br>Greater Boston Chinese Cultural Committee<br>P.O. Box 142<br>Newton Center, MA 02159 |
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***Postcards of "Spring Festival on the River"***

A set of 17 postcards of different scenes. The packet reproduces the entire handscroll if placed side-by-side so that students can examine it in its entirety.

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This is an actual copy of the handscroll which students can hold, unroll, and study - as would have been done in traditional China.

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## Unit: *Marco Polo*

***Discovering Marco Polo: A Resource Guide for Teachers***
SPICE

Initially produced to accompany the NBC series on Marco Polo in 1982, this guide contains a wealth of class exercises and readings, maps and other background material for teachers. Students use primary resources to analyze different perspectives and develop geography skills and media literacy.

Available from:
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300 Lausen St.
Stanford University
Stanford, CA 94305-5013
(415) 723-1114.

Price: $12.95

***The Travels of Marco Polo***
Penguin Books (1981)

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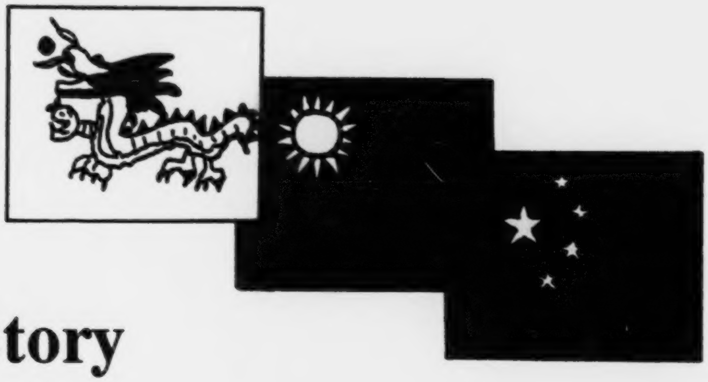

## *Section VI*
# Modern History

## *Teacher's Note:*

This section has three parts. The first part addresses China's conflict with the West in the 1800s: the unequal treaties and the cultural challenge they posed for China. The second part presents the internal developments that were occurring simultaneously in China, giving students an introduction to the rebellions, famine and explosive population growth of the late nineteenth century. The third part describes China on the eve of the 1911 revolution, the establishment of the Republican era, and the rise of the Communist Party.

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## *Unit 1*

# Background For Teachers

## *Background Reading*

By the late 18th century, the strong Chinese state contained seeds of its own destruction, particularly its expanding population. Having remained at 100 million through much of history, under the peaceful Qing (Ch'ing), the population doubled from 150 million in 1650 to 300 million by 1800, and reached 450 million by the late nineteenth century (cf. population of the U.S. was 200 million in the 1980s). By then, there was no longer any land in China's southern and central provinces available for migration: the introduction of New World (American) crops through trade – especially sweet potatoes, peanuts, and tobacco, which required different growing conditions than rice and wheat – had already claimed previously unusable land. With only 1/10 of the land arable, farmers had an average of only three (3) acres, with many having only one acre. The right of equal inheritance among sons (versus primogeniture as practiced in Japan) only hastened the fragmentation of land holdings. To compound these problems, the state was losing its control in much of the country. By the 19th century, district magistrates at the lowest level of the Chinese bureaucracy were responsible for the welfare, control, and taxation of an average of 250,000 people. This left control and responsibility for government increasingly in the hands of local leaders whose allegiances were to their localities and families, rather than to the state.

### The West in China

When the industrializing European states attempted to entice China into the newly forming world economy in the late 1700s and early 1800s, their overtures were rebuffed by the Chinese, who quite rightly felt that they had little to gain from trade with these states. Western military power was far superior to that of the Chinese, however, and China was defeated in a series of military confrontations and forced to sign **"unequal treaties"** that opened Chinese ports (known as **"treaty ports"**), first to European, and then to American and Japanese traders. The Chinese were further humiliated by having to relinquish legal jurisdiction over sections of these port cities and over foreigners residing in China. Chinese were even excluded from facilities and areas controlled by foreigners. The Chinese were also forced under the treaties to allow Western Christian missionaries to proselytize in the interior of the country. Between the first major confrontation, the Opium War of 1839-42, and the early 1900s, the British, French, Germans, Americans, and Japanese competed for "spheres of influence" within China until it was at risk of being "carved up like a melon."

When a series of natural catastrophes (especially drought and famine) and man-made disasters (especially floods from deteriorating water-control works, made worse by over-reclamation of the wetlands, lowlands, and mountain slopes that were necessary to control water runoff) hit China in the late 19th century, the weakness of the state and the disruption of the economy due to the Western presence found China unable to provide for its huge population faced with a series of rebellions across the country. The Taiping (1851-1864), Nian (Nien) (1853-1868), Moslem (1855-1873), and Boxer (1898-1901) rebellions all occurred in the latter part of the 19th century. During the Taiping Rebellion, rebel forces controlled a large portion of China, and established their capital in the city of Nanking. The power of the central government was further weakened as military power was delegated to the provinces to control these rebellions.

## China's Response to Imperialism

The ability of the Western nations and then Japan to impose their economic demands on China by force of arms was **jarring to the Chinese view of themselves as a highly developed civilization**. Moreover, the Western notion of a system of international relations conducted among sovereign nation-states challenged Chinese identity as an advanced, universalistic civilization. It was also difficult for the Chinese, whose emperor had been recognized as the supreme authority by countries bearing tribute to the Chinese court, to adapt to the system that had evolved in Europe by the 1800s whereby sovereign nation-states interacted as equals.

Much of the intellectual history of the late Qing (Ch'ing) and Republican periods (1912-1949) centers around the conflicting views within China of how it should respond to foreign pressures. These fall roughly into three categories: 1) anti-traditionalism, which rejected the traditional claims of cultural superiority, dismissed Chinese culture as sick, corrupt, and useless, and advocated complete Westernization; 2) pro-traditionalism, which sought to completely reject any import of Western culture and to strengthen the country through reform-within-tradition and cultural revival; and 3) the idea of adopting Western technology in order to preserve the essence of Chinese civilization (**"Western learning for application, Chinese learning for essence"**: see the unit on **"What it Means to be Chinese"** for greater detail and student exercises on this important issue). The Chinese emphasis on the moral role of government, the perfectibility of man, and the belief that moral qualities and not technical expertise merited reward and ultimately benefited society, led to an unwillingness to cultivate a class of technical experts-- in industry or in government. This was in part at the root of China's inability to repulse the military and political incursions of the West and Japan in the late 19th and early 20th centuries.

## Revolution and War

The combination of internal upheaval and foreign aggression led to the **collapse of the Qing (Ch'ing) or Manchu dynasty in 1911** and calls for the establishment of a republic. Sun Yat-sen led the forces calling for a republican government and established the Kuomintang (KMT) or Nationalist Party in 1912. The collapse of the dynastic system ushered in the turbulent "warlord period," however, with regional power centers competing for control. The country was partially reunited under the army of Chiang Kai-shek and the Nationalist Party in 1928, but it was invaded by Japan in 1937 and subsequently engulfed by **World War II**.

In the 1920s some Chinese found an explanation for China's subjugation by the imperialist powers in Marxism, a scientific method to achieve economic prosperity for all, and a means of defeating the imperialist powers through a revolution led by the working class. The Chinese Communist Party (CCP) was formed in 1921. During the Japanese occupation, the CCP established rural (as opposed to urban) bases in peasant areas, following the Long March of 1935-36 into the remote mountainous area of Yenan. The CCP gained strength by calling for united resistance against the Japanese and experimenting with land reform and other policies to ease the plight of the peasants.

After W.W. II ended with the defeat of Japan in 1945, a **civil war** continued between the Nationalists and the Communists over the right to lead China's political and economic development and reestablish China's position in the world. On October 1, 1949, the Chinese Communist Party, under the leadership of Mao Zedong (Mao Tse-tung), proclaimed the establishment of the People's Republic of China (PRC). The Nationalist government evacuated to the island of Taiwan, where it established the Republic of China (ROC).

# Time Line

## 1. THE QING DYNASTY (1644-1911)

| | |
|---|---|
| 1792 | Novel, "The Dream of the Red Chamber" published. |
| 1793 | Macartney Mission from Great Britain. |
| 1839-1842 | Opium War between Great Britain and China. |
| 1842-1843 | Treaty of Nanking and Bogue Supplement fix tariff at 5 percent and establish extraterritoriality and most-favored-nation principle in China. Great Britain acquires Hong Kong. |
| 1850-1864 | Taiping Rebellion |
| 1860 | Treaty of Peking; Great Britain acquires Kowloon; Russia gets all lands north of Amur and east of Ussuri Rivers. |
| 1884-1885 | China defeated in war with France; establishment of French Indo-China. |
| 1894-1895 | China defeated by Japan; treaty of Shimonoseki. |
| 1895-1900 | Scramble for concessions. |
| 1898 | Hundred Day's Reform attempted by the Guangxu Emperor on advice of Kang Youwei (1823-1901); halted by Empress Dowager Zuxi. |

## 2. EARLY TWENTIETH CENTURY

| | |
|---|---|
| 1900-1901 | Boxer Rebellion; allied occupation of Peking; indemnity of 450 million taels (Chinese silver coins). |
| 1905 | Abolition of the civil service examination system. Sun Yat-sen (1866-1925) founds Revolutionary Alliance in Tokyo. |
| 1912 | China declared a republic; Sun Yat-sen first President, but resigns in favor of Yuan Shihkai (1859-1916); formation of Nationalist Party. |
| 1915-1920 | New Culture Movement: Chen Duxiu (1879-1942), Hu Shi (1891-1962), Lu Xun (1881-1936). |
| 1916-1926 | Warlord period. |
| 1917 | Sun Yat-sen sets up rival government in Canton. |

| | |
|---|---|
| 1919 | May Fourth Incident. |
| 1921 | Founding of Chinese Communist Party in Shanghai. |
| 1926-1927 | Northern Expedition led by General Chiang Kai-shek (1884-1975) reunifies China under Nationalist government. |
| 1931 | Mukden Incident; Japanese expansion in Manchuria. |
| 1934 | Chiang Kai-shek's New Life Movement. |
| 1934-1935 | Long March; Communist headquarters established in Yenan under leadership of Mao Zedong (1893-1976). |
| 1938 | Chiang Kai-shek moves capital to Chungking. |
| 1941 | New Fourth Army Incident causes rupture in Communist and Nationalist united front. United States enters war with Japan. |
| 1945 | Soviet Union enters war against Japan, invading Manchuria. United States attempts to mediate an accord between Communists and Nationalists. |
| 1946-1949 | Civil War between Communists and Nationalists results in Communist victory. |

Adapted from Patricia Buckley Ebrey, ed., *Chinese Civilization and Society: A Sourcebook*, New York: Free Press, 1981. Reprinted with permission.

*FEATURED RESOURCE*

# China: The Coming of the West

Beginning its narrative with the sixteenth century, the film *China: The Coming of the West* notes that the rise of Western Europe during the Italian Renaissance coincided with the last Chinese voyages under the Ming. For students, the film presents maps of the New World, showing that the Portuguese were the first to travel to the East by sea for spices, eventually taking over Goa, Malacca (a Chinese trading post at the time), and Macao. The attitudes held by Europeans and Chinese toward one another are said to have been negative on both sides, and characterized by misunderstanding.

The film provides a broad overview of this age of European exploration and commercial expansion, which brought Europe and America into greater contact with China. Visual props are excellent.

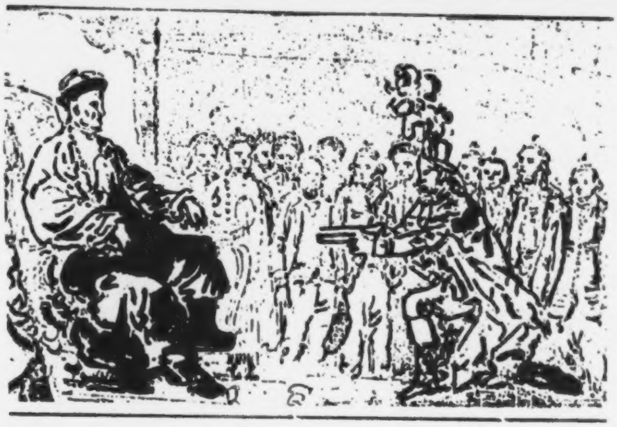
Points included in the film narrative:

- Protestant Reformation occurs in Europe; Galileo propounds his theory against that of an earth-centered universe.
- Ricci (The Jesuit) brings scientific knowledge and new maps to China; he brings to Europe reports on Chinese civilization.

Available from:

Audio-Visual Center
Indiana University
Bloomington, Indiana 47405

Price: rental $15.00
sale $305 film; $196 videocassette



### *Unit 2*

# Macartney and the Emperor

## *Teacher's Note:*

It is highly recommended that the two units "Macartney and the Emperor" and "The Opium War and the Treaty of Nanking" be used in tandem. Once students have read about China's negative response to Great Britian's demands for the expansion of trade and exchange of ambassadors ("Macartney and the Emperor"), they will be prepared to appreciate more fully the Chinese perception of the Opium War and the conditions imposed upon the country in the "unequal treaties" that followed. China's experience of Western aggression in the 1800s continues to be an important factor shaping both that nation's foreign policy and its drive for modernization.

The primary source readings in "Macartney and the Emperor" provide students with an eloquent statement by the Chinese emperor of how the Chinese view their civilization and position in the world. (Please note for students that King George III of Great Britian, who dispatched Macartney to China, was the same king against whom the American colonies rebelled in 1776.)

In "The Treaty of Nanking," students will find several clauses that forced the Chinese to grant to the British precisely those rights they had denied them fifty years earlier.

*Note:The Wade-Giles system of romanization is used in both of these units, following the form of the translation from which the primary source reading was taken.*

*Canton = Guangdong*
*Ch'ien-lung = Qianlong Emperor (1736-1795)*
*Lin Tse-hsu = Lin Zexu (1785-1850)*

*Student Reading*

# Macartney and the Emperor

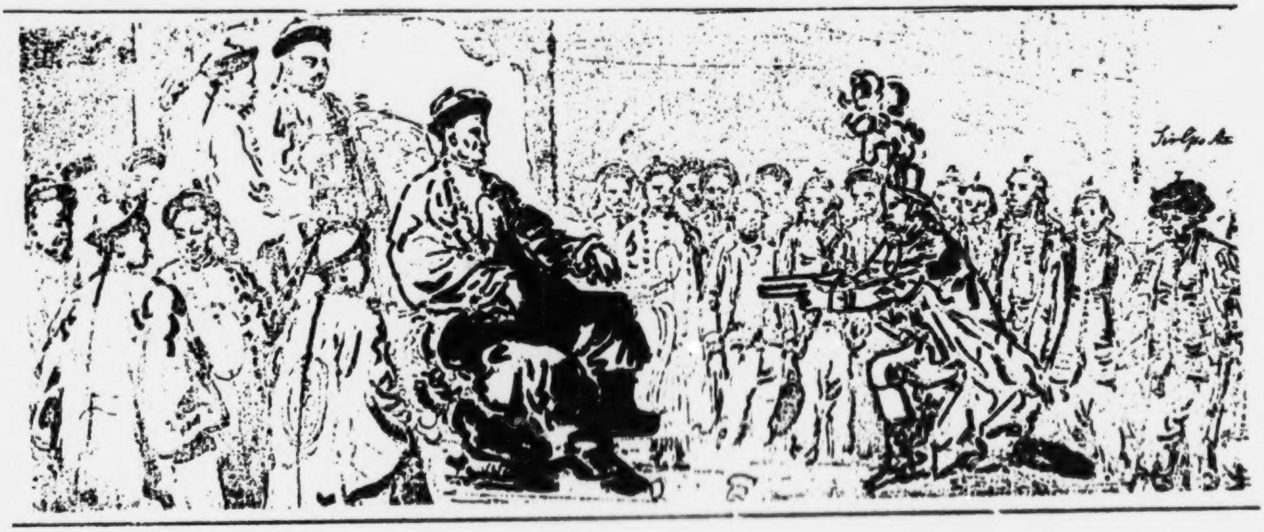
Many Europeans had contact with China over the centuries. When Marco Polo travelled to China in the thirteenth century, he found European artisans already at the court of the Great Khan. In the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, priests such as the Italian Matteo Ricci journeyed to China, learned Chinese, and tried to make their religion more acceptable to the Chinese. But these contacts were made usually by individual entrepreneurs or solitary missionaries, and eventually most of the ideas introduced by the westerners were rejected by the Chinese state.

Oceanic trade between China and Europe began during the sixteenth century. At first it was dominated by the Portuguese and the Spanish, who brought silver from the Americas to exchange for Chinese silks. Later they were joined by the British and the Dutch. Initially trading took place at several ports along the Chinese coast, but gradually it became most convenient to trade at the southern port of Canton. Here there were wealthy Chinese merchants who had been given monopoly privileges by the emperor to trade with foreigners. They were also among the only Chinese merchants with enough money to buy large amounts of goods produced inland and have them ready for the foreign traders when they came once a year to make their purchases. The Chinese court also favored trading at one port because it could more easily collect taxes on the goods traded if all trade was carried on in one place under the supervision of an official appointed by the emperor. Such a system would make it easier to control the activities of the foreigners as well. So in the 1750s trade was restricted to Canton, and foreigners coming to China in their sail-powered ships were allowed to reside only on the island of Macao as they awaited favorable winds to return home.

For many years this system was acceptable to both the Chinese and the Europeans. As the demand for tea increased, however, and the Industrial Revolution led them to seek more markets for their manufactured goods, the British began to try to expand their trade opportunities in China and establish Western-style diplomatic relations with the Chinese. This brought them immediately into conflict with the Chinese government, which was willing to allow trade without diplomatic relations, but would only allow diplomatic relations within the traditional tribute system that had evolved out of centuries of Chinese cultural leadership in Asia. In exchange for trading privileges in the capital and recognition of their ruler, neighboring states would send so-called tribute missions to China. These envoys brought gifts for the emperor and performed a series of bows called the "kow-tow." Aside from a handful of foreigners who lived permanently in Peking and served the emperor, foreigners only visited the capital on such tribute missions. Therefore, when British citizens came to Peking in the late eighteenth century, their purpose was misunderstood. When they refused to follow the centuries-old system of tribute relations and began demanding expanded trade and the establishment of embassies in the capital, they were immediately resisted and seen as challenging the Chinese way of life.

One of the most famous British attempts to enlarge trade with China demonstrates the miscommunication between the two nations. Lord Macartney led a mission in 1793 to the court of the Ch'ien-lung emperor of China. This emperor reigned over perhaps the most luxurious court in all Chinese history. He had inherited a full treasury, and his nation seemed strong and wealthy enough to reach its greatest size ever and also to attain a splendor that outdazzled even the best Europe could then offer.

King George III of England sent Macartney to convince the Chinese emperor to open northern port cities to British traders and to allow British ships to be repaired on Chinese territory. Macartney arrived in North China in a warship with a retinue of 95, an artillery of 50 redcoats, and 600 packages of magnificent presents that required 90 wagons, 40 barrows, 200 horses, and 3,000 coolies to carry them to Peking. Yet the best gifts the kind of England had to offer--elaborate clocks, globes, porcelain--seemed insignificant beside the splendors of the Asian court. Taken on a yacht trip around the palace, Macartney stopped to visit 50 pavilions, each "furnished in the richest manner . . . that our presents must shrink from the comparison and hide their diminished heads," he later wrote.* Immediately the Chinese labeled his mission as "tribute," and the emperor refused to listen to British demands. He also ordered Macartney to perform the kow-tow and dashed off the following reply to the British king.



ACKNOWLEDGMENTS: The consultants for this unit were Dr. Madeleine Zelin and Sue Gronewold, specialists in modern Chinese history. The edicts are from Changing China: Readings in the History of China from the Opium War to the Present, edited by J. Mason Gentzler. Copyright (c) 1977 by Praeger Publishers, a division of Holt, Rinehart and Winston. Reproduced by permission of Holt, Rinehart and Winston. *The above quote is from Frederick Wakeman, Jr., The Fall of Imperial China, p. 101. Picture of Macartney and the Ch'ien-lung emperor courtesy of the Picture Room, New York Public Library.

## *Student Reading*

# TWO EDICTS FROM THE EMPEROR

SEPTEMBER 1793, ON THE OCCASION OF
LORD MACARTNEY'S MISSION TO CHINA

## (a)

You, O King, live beyond the confines of many seas, nevertheless, impelled by your humble desire to partake of the benefits of our civilization, you have dispatched a mission respectfully bearing your memorial. Your Envoy has crossed the seas and paid his respects at my Court on the anniversary of my birthday. To show your devotion, you have also sent offerings of your country's produce.

I have perused your memorial: the earnest terms in which it is couched reveal a respectful humility on your part, which is highly praiseworthy. In consideration of the fact that your Ambassador and his deputy have come a long way with your memorial and tribute, I have shown them high favour and have allowed them to be introduced into my presence. To manifest my indulgence, I have entertained them at a banquet and made them numerous gifts. I have also caused presents to be forwarded to the Naval Commander and six hundred of his officers and men, although they did not come to Peking, so that they too may share in my all-embracing kindness.

As to your entreaty to send one of your nationals to be accredited to my Celestial Court and to be in control of your country's trade with China, this request is contrary to all usage of my dynasty and cannot possibly be entertained. It is true that Europeans, in the service of the dynasty, have been permitted to live at Peking, but they are compelled to adopt Chinese dress, they are strictly confined to their own precincts and are never permitted to return home. You are presumably familiar with our dynastic regulations. Your proposed Envoy to my Court could not be placed in a position similar to that of European officials in Peking who are forbidden to leave China, nor could he, on the other hand, be allowed liberty of movement and the privilege of corresponding with his own country; so that you would gain nothing by his residence in our midst.

Moreover, Our Celestial dynasty possesses vast territories, and tribute missions from the dependencies are provided for by the Department for Tributary States, which ministers to their wants and exercises strict control over their movements. It would be quite impossible to leave them to their own devices. Supposing that your Envoy should come to our court, his language and national dress differ from that of our people, and there would be no place in which he might reside. It may be suggested that he might imitate the Europeans permanently resident in Peking and adopt the dress and customs of China, but, it has never been our dynasty's wish to force people to do things unseemly and inconvenient. Besides, supposing I sent an Ambassador to reside in your country, how could you possibly make for him the requisite arrangements? Europe consists of many other nations besides your own: if each and all demanded to be represented at our Court, how could we possibly consent? The thing is utterly impracticable. How can our dynasty alter its whole procedure and regulations, established for more than a century, in order to meet your individual views? If it be said that your object is to exercise control over your country's trade, your nationals have had full liberty to trade at Canton for many a year, and have received the greatest consideration at our hands. Missions have been sent by Portugal and Italy, preferring similar requests. The Throne appreciated their sincerity and loaded them with favours, besides authorising measures to facilitate their trade with China. You are no doubt aware that, when my Canton merchant, Wu Chao-p'ing, was in debt to the foreign ships, I made the Viceroy advance the monies due, out of the provincial treasury, and ordered him to punish the culprit severely. Why then should foreign nations advance this utterly unreasonable request to be represented at my Court? Peking is nearly 10,000 li from Canton, and at such a distance what possible control could any British representative exercise?

If you assert that your reverence for Our Celestial dynasty fills you with a desire to acquire our civilisation, our ceremonies and code of laws differ so completely from your own that, even if your Envoy were able to acquire the rudiments of our civilisation, you could not possibly transplant our manners and customs to your alien soil. Therefore, however adept the Envoy might become, nothing would be gained thereby.

Swaying the wide world, I have but one aim in view, namely, to maintain a perfect governance and to fulfil the duties of the State; strange and costly objects do not interest me. If I have commanded the tribute offerings sent by you, O King, are to be accepted, this was solely in consideration for the spirit which prompted you to dispatch them from afar. Our dynasty's majestic virtue has penetrated unto every country under Heaven, and Kings of all nations have offered their costly tribute by land and sea. As your Ambassador can see for himself, we possess all things. I set no value on objects strange or ingenious, and have no use for your country's manufactures. This then is my answer to your request to appoint a representative at my Court, a request contrary to our dynastic usage, which would only result in inconvenience to yourself. I have expounded my wishes in detail and have commanded your tribute Envoys to leave in peace on their homeward journey. It behoves you, O King, to respect my sentiments and to display even greater devotion and loyalty in the future, so that, by perpetual submission to our Throne, you may secure peace and prosperity for your country hereafter. Besides making gifts (of which I enclose a list) to each member of your Mission, I confer upon you, O King, valuable presents in excess of the number usually bestowed on such occasions, including silks and curios--a list of which is likewise enclosed. Do you reverently receive them and take note of my tender goodwill towards you! A special mandate.

## (b)

You, O King from afar, have yearned after the blessings of our civilisation, and in your eagerness to come into touch with our converting influence have sent an Embassy across the sea bearing a memorial. I have already taken note of your respectful spirit of submission, have treated your mission with extreme favour and loaded it with gifts, besides issuing a mandate to you, O King, and honouring you with the bestowal of valuable presents. Thus has my indulgence been manifested.

Yesterday your Ambassador petitioned my Ministers to memorialize me regarding your trade with China, but his proposal is not consistent with our dynastic usage and cannot be entertained. Hiterto, all European nations, including your own country's barbarian merchants, have carried on their trade with Our Celestial Empire at Canton. Such has been the procedure for many years, although Our Celestial Empire possesses all things in prolific abundance and lacks no product within its borders. There was therefore no need to import the manufactures of outside barbarians in exchange for our own produce. But as the tea, silk, and porcelain which the Celestial Empire produces are absolute necessities to European nations and to yourselves, we have permitted, as a signal mark of favour, that foreign hongs* should be established at Canton, so that your wants might be supplied and your country thus participate in our beneficence. But your Ambassador has now put forward new requests which completely fail to recognise the Throne's principle to "treat strangers from afar with indulgence," and to exercise a pacifying control over barbarian tribes, the world over. Moreover, our dynasty, swaying the myriad races of the globe, extends the same benevolence towards all. Your England is not the only nation trading at Canton. If other nations, following your bad example, wrongfully importune my ear with further impossible requests, how will it be possible for me to treat them with easy indulgence? Nevertheless, I do not forget the lonely remoteness of your island, cut off from the world by intervening wastes of sea, nor do I overlook your inexcusable ignorance of the usages of Our Celestial Empire. I have consequently commanded my Ministers to enlighten your Ambassador on the subject, and have ordered the departure of the mission. But I have doubts that, after your Envoy's return he may fail to acquaint you with my view in detail or that he may·be lacking in lucidity, so that I shall now proceed to take your requests one by one and to issue my mandate on each question separately. In this way you will, I trust, comprehend my meaning.

1. Your Ambassador requests facilities for ships of your nation to call at Ningpo, Chusan, Tientsin and other places for purposes of trade. Until now trade with European nations has always been conducted at Macao, where the foreign hongs are established to store and sell foreign merchandise. Your nation has obediently complied with this regulation for years past without raising any objection. In none of the other ports named have hongs been established, so that even if your vessels were to proceed thither, they would have no means of disposing of their cargoes. Furthermore, no interpreters are available, so you would have no means of explaining your wants, and nothing but general inconvenience would result. For the future, as in the past, I decree that your request is refused and that the trade shall be limited to Macao.

2. The request that your merchants may establish a repository in the capital of my Empire for the storing and sale of your produce is even more impracticable than the last. My capital is the hub and centre about which all quarters of the globe revolve. Its ordinances are most august and its laws are strict in the extreme. The subjects of our dependencies have never been allowed to open places of business in Peking. Foreign trade has hitherto been conducted at Macao, because it is conveniently near the sea, and therefore an important gathering place for the ships of all nations sailing to and fro. If ware-

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*hongs--trading firms licensed by the Chinese government.

houses were established in Peking, the remoteness of your country lying far to the northwest of my capital, would render transport extremely difficult. Possessing facilities at Macao, you now ask for further privileges at Peking, although our dynasty observes the severest restrictions respecting the admission of foreigners within its boundaries, and has never permitted the subjects of dependencies to cross the Empire's barriers and settle at will amongst the Chinese people. This request is also refused.

3. Regarding your nation's worship of the Lord of Heaven, it is the same religion as that of other European nations. Ever since the beginning of history, sage Emperors and wise rulers have bestowed on China a moral system and inculcated a code, which from time immemorial has been religiously observed by the myriads of my subjects. There has been no hankering after heterodox doctrines. Even the European (missionary) officials in my capital are forbidden to hold intercourse with Chinese subjects; they are restricted within the limits of their appointed residences, and may not go about propagating their religion. The distinction between Chinese and barbarian is most strict, and your Ambassador's request that barbarians shall be given full liberty to disseminate their religion is utterly unreasonable.

It may be, O King, that the above proposals have been wantonly made by your Ambassador on his own responsibility, or perhaps you yourself are ignorant of our dynastic regulations and had no intention of transgressing them when you expressed these wild ideas and hopes. I have ever shown the greatest condescension to the tribute missions of all States which sincerely yearn after the blessings of civilisation, so as to manifest my kindly indulgence. I have even gone out of my way to grant any requests which were in any way consistent with Chinese usage. Above all, upon you, who live in a remote and inaccessible region, far across the spaces of ocean, but who have shown your submissive loyalty by sending this tribute mission, I have heaped benefits far in excess of those accorded to other nations. But the demands presented by your Embassy are not only a contradiction of dynastic tradition, but would be utterly unproductive of good result to yourself, besides being quite impracticable. I have accordingly stated the facts to you in detail, and it is your bounden duty reverently to appreciate my feelings and to obey these instructions henceforward for all time, so that you may enjoy the blessings of perpetual peace. If, after the receipt of this explicit decree, you lightly give ear to the representations of your subordinates and allow your barbarian merchants to proceed to Chekiang and Tientsin, with the object of landing and trading there, the ordinances of my Celestial Empire are strict in the extreme, and the local officials, both civil and military, are bound reverently to obey the law of the land. Should your vessels touch shore, your merchants will assuredly never be permitted to land or to reside there, but will be subject to instant expulsion. In that event your barbarian merchants will have had a long journey for nothing. Do not say that you were not warned in due time! Tremblingly obey and show no negligence! A special mandate!

## Vocabulary

tribute system

edict

envoy

mandate

Macartney

Chien-lung Emperor

## Questions

1. Locate specific phrases in the two edicts that show how the Chinese perceived the British.
2. Did the Chinese think all states were equal in international relations?
3. What did the Chinese emperor think China had to offer England? What did he feel England had to offer China?
4. Why do you think it is important for diplomats to understand the world view of the other party? Would it have been possible for the British in 1793 to change their request in order to get more of what they wanted? If so, how; if not, why not?

## Exercises

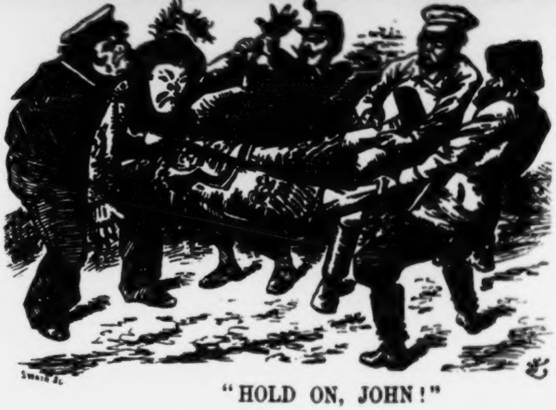
- After the class has read this selection, have two students volunteer to put on a skit, one playing the role of Macartney and the other the role of the emperor, each proclaiming his opinions on and interests in the situation.

- As a variation, choose two students to enact a skit before the students have read the selection. To emphasize the differences in worldview, both should be briefed on their side's perception of the world at the time. After each has acted out the situation from that point of view, discuss the skit with the whole class, trying to understand what went wrong in the attempt at communication.

## BACKGROUND

Frederic Wakeman, Jr., The Fall of Imperial China (New York: The Free Press, 1975), chapter 7.

John K. Fairbank, Edwin O. Reischauer, and Albert M. Craig, East Asia: The Modern Transformation (Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1965), pp. 68-72.



"HOLD ON, JOHN!"

*Britain, France, Germany, and Russia fight for spheres of influence in China, 1898.*

## *Unit 3*

# The Opium War and the Treaty of Nanking

## *Student Reading*

### The Opium War and Treaty of Nanking

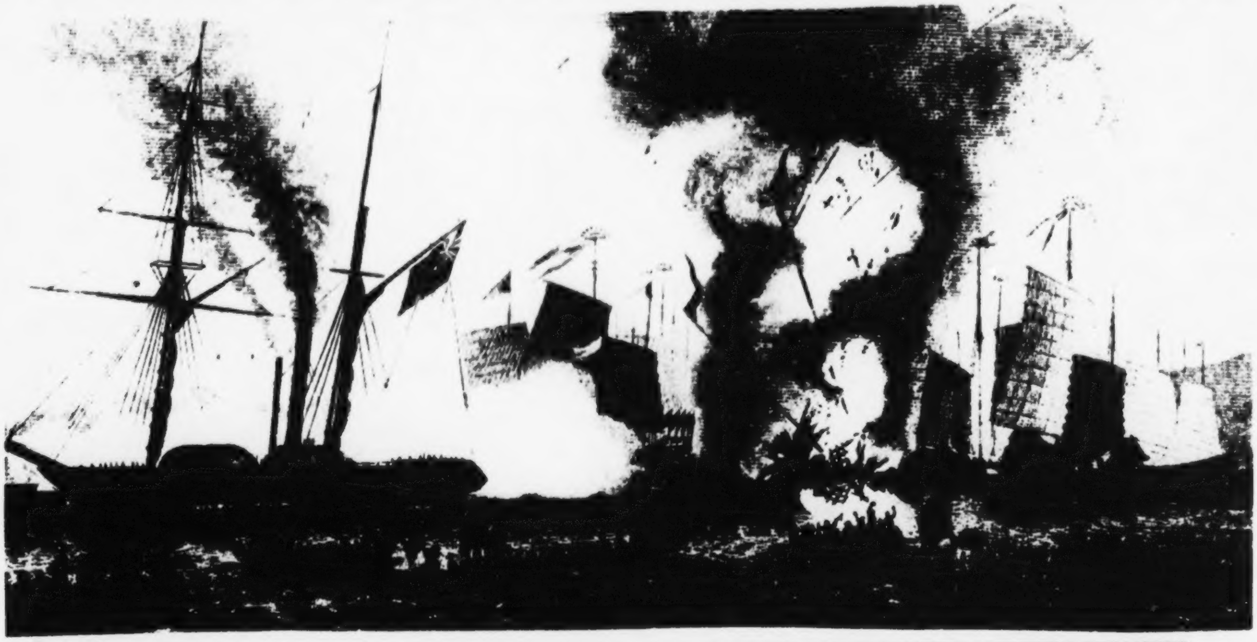
Two things happened in the eighteenth century that made it difficult for England to balance its trade with the East. First, the British became a nation of tea drinkers and the demand for Chinese tea rose astronomically. It is estimated that the average London worker spent five percent of his or her total household budget on tea. Second, northern Chinese merchants began to ship Chinese cotton from the interior to the south to compete with the Indian cotton that Britain had used to help pay for its tea consumption habits. To prevent a trade imbalance, the British tried to sell more of their own products to China, but there was not much demand for heavy woolen fabrics in a country accustomed to either cotton padding or silk.

The only solution was to increase the amount of Indian goods to pay for these Chinese luxuries, and increasingly in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries the item provided to China was Bengal opium. With greater opium supplies had naturally come an increase in demand and usage throughout the country, in spite of repeated prohibitions by the Chinese government and officials. The British did all they could to increase the trade: They bribed officials, helped the Chinese work out elaborate smuggling schemes to get the opium into China's interior, and distributed free samples of the drug to innocent victims.

The cost to China was enormous. The drug weakened a large percentage of the population (some estimate that 10 percent of the population regularly used opium by the late nineteenth century), and silver began to flow out of the country to pay for the opium. Many of the economic problems China faced later were either directly or indirectly traced to the opium trade. The government debated about whether to legalize the drug through a government monopoly like that on salt, hoping to barter Chinese goods in return for opium. But since the Chinese were fully aware of the harms of addiction, in 1838 the emperor decided to send one of his most able officials, Lin Tse-hsu, to Canton to do whatever necessary to end the traffic forever.

Lin was able to put his first two proposals into effect easily. Addicts were rounded up, forcibly treated, and taken off the habit, and domestic drug dealers were harshly punished. His third objective--to confiscate foreign stores and force foreign merchants to sign pledges of good conduct, agreeing never to trade in opium and to be punished by Chinese law if ever found in violation--eventually brought war. Opinion in England was divided: Some British did indeed feel morally uneasy about the trade, but they were overruled by those who wanted to increase England's China trade and teach the arrogant Chinese a good lesson.

Western military weapons, including percussion lock muskets, heavy artillery, and paddlewheel gunboats, were far superior to China's. Britain's troops had recently been toughened in the Napoleonic wars, and Britain could muster garrisions, warships, and provisions from its nearby colonies in Southeast Asia and India. The result was a disaster for the Chinese. By the summer of 1842 British ships were victorious and were even preparing to shell the old capital, Nanking, in central China. The emperor therefore had no choice but to accept the British demands and sign a peace agreement. This agreement, the first of the "unequal treaties," opened China to the West and marked the beginning of western exploitation of the nation.



ACKNOWLEDGMENT: The consultant for this unit was Sue Gronewold, a specialist in Chinese history. The text of the Treaty of Nanking is from Changing China: Readings in the History of China from the Opium War to the Present, edited by J. Mason Gentzler. Copyright (c) 1977 by Praeger Publishers, A Division of Holt, Rinehart and Winston. Reproduced by permission of Holt, Rinehart and Winston. (Photographs courtesy of Culver Pictures Inc.; reprinted by permission.)

***Student Reading***

# THE TREATY OF NANKING • Aug. 1842

ARTICLE I

There shall henceforth be Peace and Friendship between...(England and China) and between their respective Subjects, who shall enjoy full security and protection for their persons and property within the Dominions of the other.

ARTICLE II

His Majesty the Emperor of China agrees that British Subjects, with their families and establishments, shall be allowed to reside, for the purpose of carrying on their commercial pursuits, without molestation or restraint at the Cities and Towns of Canton, Amoy, Foochow-fu, Ningpo, and Shanghai, and Her Majesty the Queen of Great Britain, etc., will appoint Superintendents or Consular Officers, to reside at each of the above-named Cities or Towns, to be the medium of communication between the Chinese Authorities and the said Merchants, and to see that the just Duties and other Dues of the Chinese Government as hereafter provided for, are duly discharged by Her Britannic Majesty's Subjects.

ARTICLE III

It being obviously necessary and desirable, that British Subjects should have some Port whereat they may careen and refit their Ships, when required, and keep Stores for that purpose, His Majesty the Emperor of China cedes to Her Majesty the Queen of Great Britain, etc., the Island of Hong-kong, to be possessed in perpetuity by her Britannic Majesty, Her Heirs and Successors, and to be governed by such Laws and Regulations as Her Majesty the Queen of Great Britain, etc., shall see fit to direct.

ARTICLE V

The Government of China having compelled the British Merchants trading at Canton to deal exclusively with certain Chinese Merchants called Hong merchants (or Cohong) who had been licensed by the Chinese Government for that purpose, the Emperor of China agrees to abolish that practice in future at all Ports where British Merchants may reside, and to permit them to carry on their mercantile transactions with whatever persons they please, and His Imperial Majesty further agrees to pay to the British Government the sum of Three Millions of Dollars, on account of Debts due to British Subjects by some of the said Hong Merchants (or Cohong) who have become insolvent, and who owe very large sums of money to Subjects of Her Britannic Majesty.

ARTICLE VII

It is agreed that the Total amount of Twenty-one Millions of Dollars, described in the three preceding Articles, shall be paid as follows:

Six Millions immediately.
Six Millions in 1843...
Five Millions in 1844...
Four Millions in 1845...

ARTICLE IX

The Emperor of China agrees to publish and promulgate, under his Imperial Sign Manual and Seal, a full and entire amnesty and act of indemnity, to all Subjects of China on account of their having resided under, or having had dealings and intercourse with, or having entered the Service of Her Britannic Majesty, or of Her Majesty's Officers, and His Imperial Majesty further engages to release all Chinese Subjects who may be at this moment in confinement for similar reasons.

ARTICLE X

His Majesty the Emperor of China agrees to establish all the Ports which are by the 2nd Article of this Treaty to be thrown open for the resort of British Merchants, a fair and regular Tariff of Export and Import Customs and other Dues, which Tariff shall be publicly notified and promulgated for general information, and the Emperor further engages, that when British Merchandise shall have once paid at any of the said Ports the regulated Customs and Dues agreeable to the Tariff, to be hereafter fixed, such Merchandise may be conveyed by Chinese Merchants, to any Province or City in the interior of the Empire of China on paying further amount as Transit Duties which shall not exceed _____ percent on the tariff value of such goods. (Note: Tariff schedules were not settled at this time. The tariff rates on various goods were fixed after further discussions; they averaged about five percent.)

## Vocabulary

Opium War

unequal treaties

"country" trade

balance of trade

extraterritoriality

most favored nation status

IMPORTANT ADDITIONAL PRIVILEGES GRANTED TO FOREIGNERS IN SUBSEQUENT TREATIES

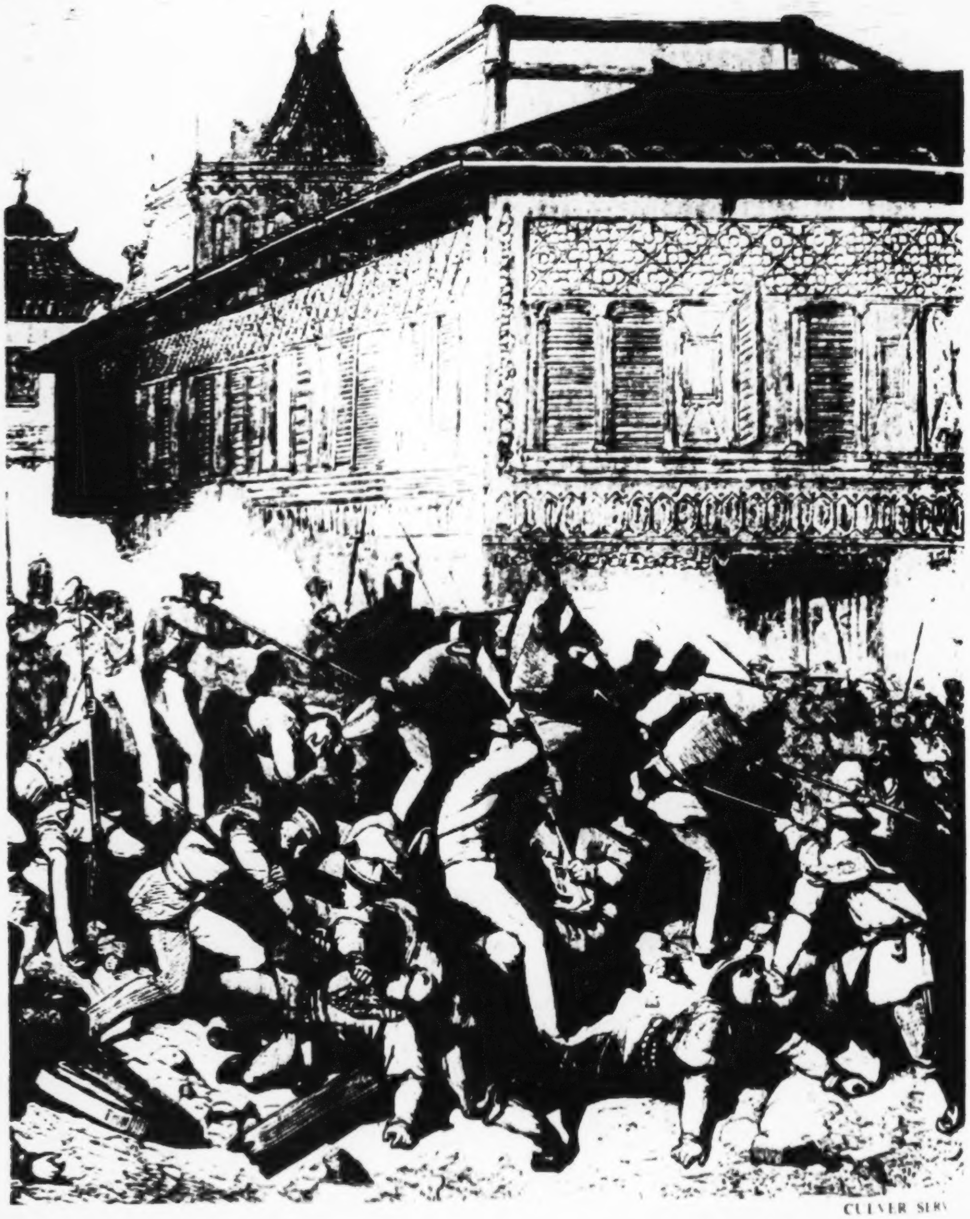
Most Favored Nation Status (Article VIII of the Supplementary Treaty of the Bogue, between China and Great Britain, signed October 8, 1843)

The Emperor of China, having been graciously pleased to grant to all foreign Countries whose Subjects, or Citizens, have hitherto traded at Canton the privilege of resorting for purposes of Trade to the other four Ports of Fuchow, Amoy, Ningpo, and Shanghai, on the same terms as the English, it is further agreed, that should the Emperor hereafter, from any cause whatever, be pleased to grant additional privileges or immunities to any of the Subjects or Citizens of such Foreign Countries, the same privileges and immunites will be extended to and enjoyed by British Subjects; but it is to be understood that demands or requests are not, on this plea, to be unnecessarily brought forward.

## Questions

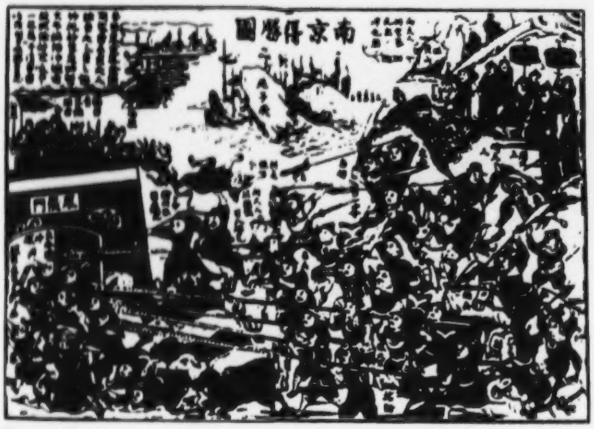
1. Compare the Treaty of Nanking with the Chinese emperor's reply to Lord Macartney. What sort of rights did the Chinese give to the British that they had not wanted to give?

2. If the word "imperialism" is defined as "the policy of seeking to dominate the affairs of weaker countries," do you think Chinese today are justified in saying that China suffered from Western "imperialism" begun by the British? Discuss.



CULVER SERV

IN 1857 DURING THE ARROW WAR *the allied French and British captured Canton. Only fifteens years after the humiliating Opium War, China was again defeated by Western powers in the so-called Arrow War, precipitated by the hauling down of a British flag from the lorcha "arrow."*



## *Unit 4*
# Rebellions and Revolts

### *Teacher's Note*:

Throughout history, China was plagued by internal revolts and rebellions. Often these revolts were movements that gave people hope for a different life and offered an end to their suffering. For this reason, the Chinese authorities were always suspicious and alert for the development of any group that challenged traditional beliefs in family and state. The 1800s were no different. What was striking, however, was the kind of rebellion that occurred and the extent of the upheavals.

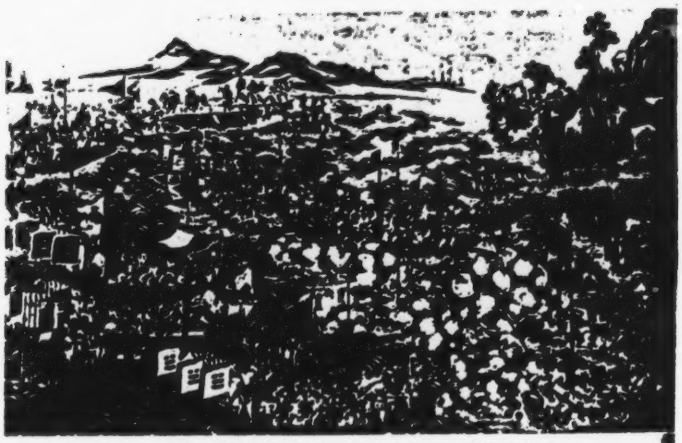
No other event devastated China as much in the 19th century as the Taiping (pronounced tie ping) Rebellion (1850-64). It was sparked by the leadership of one man, Hong Xiuquan (pronounced-shiou chuan), from the south of China, who in 1847 flunked the imperial examinations for the third time and was delirious for 30 days. When he recovered, he believed that he and his band of believers had been chosen to conquer China, destroy the demon Manchu rulers, and establish the Taiping Tianguo --the Heavenly Kingdom of Great Harmony. Gathering followers first from the poor and outcast, he and his recruits gradually built up an army and political organization that swept across China. They made their way to central China and by the late 1850's controlled over 1/3 of the country. Their movement was so strong and so popular that it took the central government millions of dollars and 15 years to defeat them. Not until 1864 was the rebellion brutally put down. It is estimated that the entire rebellion cost over 20 million lives (twice that of World War I). Even by the 1950's, some parts of central China had not yet fully recovered from the destruction of the Taiping era.

### Taiping beliefs

The Taipings took their beliefs from many different sources. Some of these beliefs reflected traditional Confucianism and some were from ancient writings that described ideal systems that had never been practiced. Other ideas were western in origin. Clearly this blend of ideas was very &powerful. Because they introduced ideas never discussed before, the Taiping for the first time could promise their followers a totally new system.

Their revolutionary program was very wide-ranging. It introduced notions of common property, land reform, equal position of women, abstinence from opium, tobacco and alcohol, calendar reform, literary reform, and above all, a new political-military organization of society.

***Unit Consultant:** Sue Gronewold, specialist in Modern History*



*Defeat of Taiping forces by superior firepower of Ch'ing inland navy (on left).*

## *Student's Note*

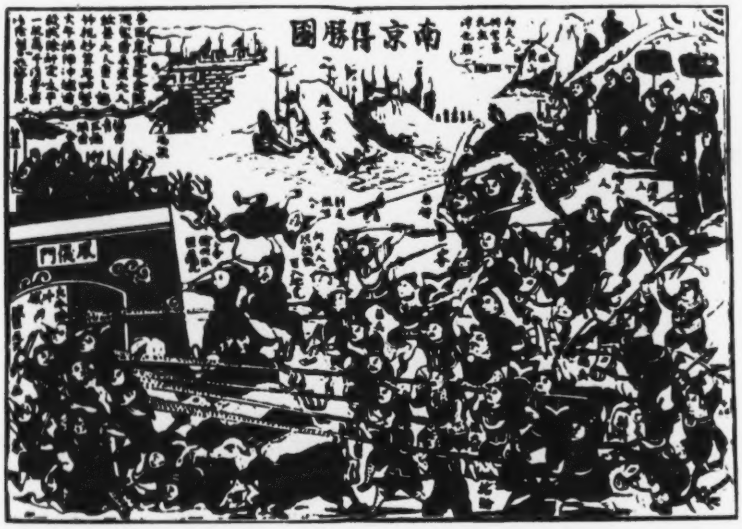
The following two selections are documents from Taiping. The first describes the land system that they experimented with. The second one was written for young people, and it states very clearly the beliefs the Taipings wanted everyone to have. As you read them, think about these questions:

1) How do these beliefs reflect traditional Chinese ideas? Western ideas?

2) Why do you think they were so powerful? To whom do you think they would appeal most in Chinese society: rulers, the educated, peasants, or merchants?

3) Many revolutionary groups place a great deal of emphasis on the education of the youth. Why do you think this is so?

4) Many of the policies of the Taipings were similar to those carried out by the Communist government in China after 1949. Make a list of policies suggested in the first document and compare them with a list you will make of Communist policies.



*Qing troops retaking Nanjing from the Taiping rebels, 1864*

# *Student Reading*

### The Taiping Plan for Reorganizing Chinese Society
[From "The Land System of the Heavenly Dynasty"]

Every army must have attached to it two persons in charge of land division, two in charge of law, two in charge of money and grain, two in charge of receipts, and two in charge of disbursement; in each case one is the chief and one the assistant, positions which are held by a colonel and a captain respectively, concurrently with their regular position. Those who are in office shall administer the affairs, while those who are not in office shall also assist. In each army, with regard to all births, deaths, promotions, demotions, and other such matters, the corps general shall report to the royally-appointed superintendent, the corps superintendent shall report to the royally-appointed corps commandant, the royally-appointed corps commandant shall next report to the general, then to the imperial guard, the commander, the senior secretary, and the chancellor. The chancellor shall report to the chief of staff, and the chief of staff shall report to the Tian Wang (**king**). When Tian Wang hands down his edict, the chief of staff will respectfully carry it out.

The division of land must be according to the number of individuals, whether male or female; calculating upon the number of individuals in a household, if they be numerous, then the amount of land will be larger, and if few smaller; and it shall be a mixture of the nine classes. If there are six persons in a family, then for three there shall be good land and for three poorer land, and of good and poor each shall have half. All the fields in the empire are to be cultivated by all the people alike. If the land is deficient in one place, then the people must be removed to another, and if the land is deficient in another, then the people must be removed to this place. All the fields throughout the empire, whether of abundant or deficient harvest, shall be taken as a whole; if this place is deficient, then the harvest of that abundant place must be removed to relieve it, and if that place is deficient, then the harvest of this abundant place must be removed in order to relieve the deficient place; thus, all the people in the empire may together enjoy the abundant happiness of the Heavenly Father, Supreme Lord and Great God. There being fields, let all cultivate them; there being food, let all eat; there being clothes, let all be dressed; there being money, let all use it, so that nowhere does inequality exist, and no man is not well fed and clothed.

Throughout the empire the mulberry tree is to be planted close to every wall, so that all women may engage in rearing silkworms, spinning the silk, and making garments. Throughout the empire every family should keep five hens and two sows, which must not be allowed to miss their proper season. At the time of the harvest, every sergeant shall direct the corporals to see to it that of the twenty-five families under his charge each individual has a sufficient supply of food, and aside from the new grain each may receive, the remainder must be deposited in the public granary. Of wheat, pulse, hemp, flax, cloth, silk, fowls, dogs, etc., and money, the same is true; for the whole empire is the universal family of our Heavenly Father, the Supreme Lord and Great God. When all the people in the empire will not take anything as their own but submit all things to the Supreme Lord, then the Lord will make use of them, and in the universal family of the empire, every place will be equal and every individual well fed and clothed. This is the intent of our Heavenly Father, the Supreme Lord and Great God, in specially commanding the true Sovereign of Taiping to save the world.

However, the sergeant must keep an account of money and grain figures in a record book, which he must present to those in charge of money and grain, and those in charge of receipts and disbursements. For every twenty-five families there must be established one public granary, and one church where the sergeant must reside. Whenever there are marriages, or births, or funerals, all may go to the public granary; but a limit must be observed, and not a cash be used beyond what is necessary. Thus, every family which celebrates a marriage or a birth will be given one thousand cash and a hundred catties* of grain. This one rule is applicable throughout the empire. In the use of all things let there be economy, to provide against war and famine. As for marriages in the empire, wealth should not be a consideration.

Among all officials and subjects throughout the empire, those who universally keep and obey the Ten Commandments of Heaven and who obey orders and faithfully serve the state shall thus be considered loyal subjects, and shall be raised from a low to a high station, their descendants inheriting their official title. Those officials who break the Ten Commandments of Heaven, disobey orders, receive bribes, or engage in corrupt practices shall thus be considered traitors, and shall be degraded from a high to a low station and reduced to mere farming. Those subjects who obey the Commandments and orders and exert themselves in farming shall be considered honest and faithful, and either elevated or rewarded; but those subjects who disobey the commandments and orders and neglect the duties of farming shall be considered as evil and vicious, to be either put to death or punished.

All the various officials throughout the empire shall be promoted or demoted once every three years, in order to display the justice of the Heavenly Court. All those who improperly recommend others, as well as those who improperly accuse others, shall be reduced to farmers.

Reprinted with permission from Mason Gentzler, *Changing China*. (New York: Praeger Publishers) c1977 pp. 54-60

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*a "catty" is the equivalent of 16 ounces.

# *Student Reading*

**From "Ode for Youth"**

## ON REVERENCE FOR PARENTS

As grain is stored against a day of need,
So men bring up children to tend their old age.
A filial son begets filial children;
The reward here is truly wonderful.

## ON THE FATHERS' WAY

When the ridgepole is straight, nothing will be irregular below;
When the father is strict, the Way will be formed.
Let him not provoke his children to wrath,
And the whole dwelling will be filled with harmony.

## ON THE MOTHERS' WAY

Mothers, beware of partiality;
Tenderly instruct your children in virtue.
When a mother's demeanor is worthy of her daughter in-law's imitation,
The happy feeling will reach high heaven.

## ON THE SONS' WAY

Sons, be patterns to your wives;
Obedience to parents is your natural duty.
To the tattle of women never listen,
And you will not be estranged from your own flesh.

## ON THE DAUGHTERS-IN-LAW'S WAY

You who are married into other families,
Be gentle and yielding, and your duty will be
fulfilled.
Do not quarrel with your sisters-in-law
Or quarrel and vex the father-in-law and mother-in-law.

## ON THE ELDER BROTHERS' WAY

Elder brothers, instruct your younger brothers;
Remember always your common parentage.
Should the younger brother commit some trifling
fault,
Bear with it and be indulgent.

## ON THE YOUNGER BROTHERS' WAY

That there should be old and young is ordered
by Heaven;
The way to follow elder brothers lies in respect.
When younger brothers understand Heaven's
manifest principles,
Happiness and honor will be their portion.

## ON THE ELDER SISTERS' WAY

Elder sisters, instruct your younger brothers and
sisters;
Refine the good that you may turn to Heaven.
Should there be reason to return to your
parents' home,
Gather the younger ones and tell them what is
wrong and right.

## ON THE YOUNGER SISTERS' WAY

Girls, obey your elder brothers and sisters;
By obliging and avoid a high display.
With careful diligence cultivate the upright,
And mind and keep the Ten Heavenly
Commandments.

## ON THE HUSBANDS' WAY

The husband's way is based on firmness;
Love for a wife should be qualified by prudence.
And should the lioness east of the river roar,[*]
Let not the heart be filled with terror.

## ON THE WIVES' WAY

The wife's way lies in the three obediences;[**]
Do not disobey your husband.
If hens crow in the morning,
There will be self-sought misery for the family.

Reprinted with permission from Franz Michael and Chang Chung-li, *The Taiping Rebellion: History and Documents*. (Seattle: University of Washington Press) c1966-71.

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[*] "Lioness east of the river" is an idiom for "domineering wife."

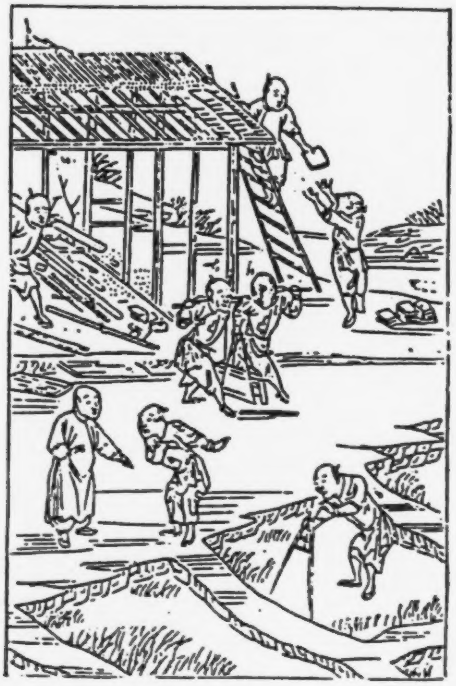
[**] Obedience to father, husband, and sons.

## *Unit 5*

# Crisis in Population and Ecology

*Student Background*:

Unfortunately for China, the demands of western powers and the devastations caused by rebellions coincided with other social crises which challenged the Chinese government and people. Foremost among these crises was a tremendous population increase which put an enormous strain on already hard-pressed resources. During the long period of peace from the late 17th century until the end of the 18th century, the population of China more than doubled, growing from nearly 150 million to over 300 million. The next period, 1779-1850, brought another 56% increase, bringing the total population to 430 million (approximately 1/2 the 1980 total) on the eve of the great Taiping rebellion of mid-century. This population spurt was all the more difficult to deal with since by the late 18th century there were few regions left which could absorb more internal migration. Even frontier areas like the west and south-west were filling up. Agricultural advances like more intensive cultivation and new crops for marginal land meant that by the late 18th century the available labor power was sufficient and there was beginning to be a labor surplus, particularly in crowded areas such as the lower Yangtze delta. But it was not only food production and available opportunities for work that could not keep up with the population surge. The machinery of government had been reasonably well-suited for a smaller population, yet a proportionate increase in administrative personnel was not made to keep pace with the population. By the 19th century, it is estimated that a direct magistrate, the lowest level official responsible for all local administration, might be responsible for as many as 250,000 people. Small wonder that when real crises came, officials in government were powerless to avoid them, and people had nothing to fall back on except for some meager donations and national and international relief efforts, which reached few people. To get an idea of how the international relief agencies tried to raise money, look closely at the woodblock prints from the China Famine Relief Fund distributed in Europe. As you view them, keep in mind that they were produced during one of the most disastrous famines in recent Chinese history, which took place between 1876-1879. It affected all five provinces of north China and claimed at least 9.5 million lives. The immediate cause was a three year drought which withered crops from 1873-6.

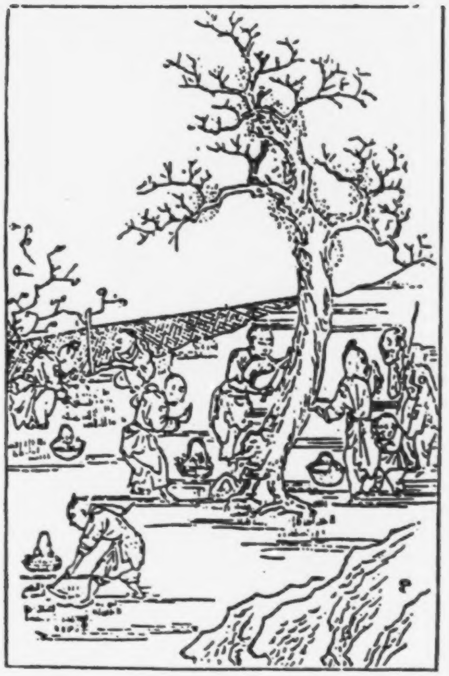


THEY SELL THEIR FIELDS AND TAKE THEIR HOUSES TO PIECES (TO SELL THE MATERIALS)

For a time the sufferers could borrow from one another, but this came to an end. Then they killed their ploughing oxen and pawned their implements of agriculture, their coverlets and clothes; and at last they gave up all thoughts of the future, and fell to selling their furniture and the materials of their houses, and many of their fields, for a mere song, till at last no purchaser could be found.

Think of this, ye who live in high halls and fine houses, and let your hearts move.

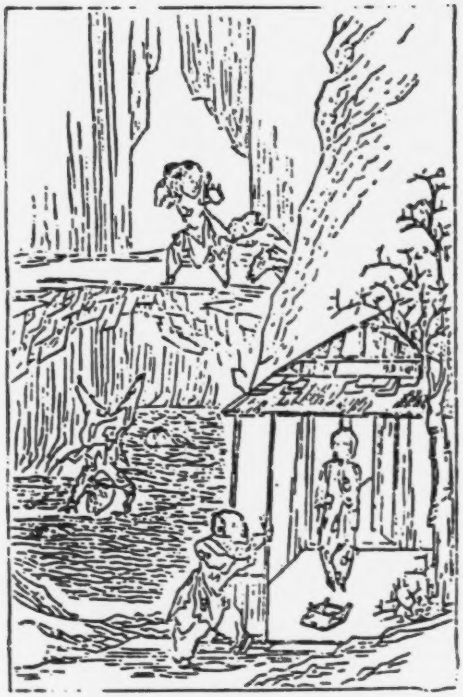
*This and subsequent illustrations are from the Committee of the China Famine Relief Fund, The Famine in China (London: C. Kegan Paul and Co., 1878).*



THEY STRIP OFF THE BARK OF TREES AND DIG UP THE GRASS ROOTS FOR FOOD.

The glowing sun is in the sky and the locusts cover the ground. There is no green grass in the fields and no smoke of cooking from the houses. They caught rats, or spread their nets for birds, or ground the wheat-stalks into powder, or kneaded the dry grass into cakes. Alas! what food was this for men! They were at last reduced to the straits seen in the picture.

Ye who spend large sums every day on your food, will you not give these sufferers a cup of soup?



SUICIDES IN CONSEQUENCE OF THE FAMINE.

The old and weak find it hard to trudge along. The young and solitary and feeble are not accustomed to run about. They wait for death in their houses, stripped of everything. The cold winds pierce through their bones. They have no rice to cook, and the cravings of hunger are most painful. There is no way by which they can ascend to heaven, no door by which they can enter the earth. All their plans are exhausted. To die is better for them than to live. They hang themselves from beams, or throw themselves into the rivers. Everywhere such heartrending sights are to be seen.

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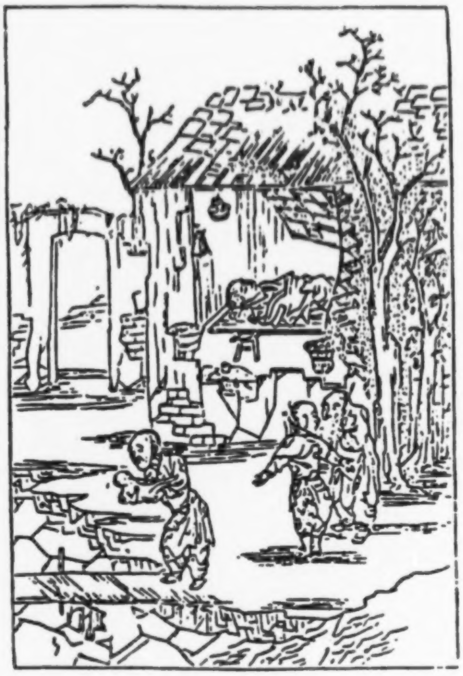


A FAMISHING WOMAN IS TAKEN IN LABOR, MOTHER AND CHILD BOTH DIE.

What can be the result of such an event amidst the horrors of the famine? A birth in the open air under ordinary circumstances is perilous; but here, in a strange place, with disease and death around, the famishing mother gasps her last, and the child gives a few feeble wails and dies. Very few babes are born to live in this year of famine; where are the kind people to supply the swaddling clothes and money necessary to keep them alive?

## *Student Exercise on Famine*

Experts usually regard famine as largely a man-made catastrophe, as opposed to natural disasters like hurricanes or tornadoes, although the effects of the latter are certainly made worse by short-sighted construction and energy products. Measures to prevent famine, therefore, must take into account the different factors in any catastrophe and assign a degree of responsibility. Look at the list below and rank each factor from 1-5 which you think are responsible for the human and financial costs of the Great North China Famine. Next, detail what measures would specifically target that factor.

____ nature

____ government infrastructure (roads, communication)

____ local government

____ individuals

____ western powers

## *Student Reading*

Famine workers were often especially compassionate and sympathetic westerners, but their views were still that of outsiders. The next selection is a Chinese woman's account of the period ten years later when another great famine afflicted North China. When she was old, this woman, Ning Lao Tai Tai, narrated the story of her harsh life. At the time of this story, she is a young woman with two children, married to a man who has turned out to be an opium addict. (By the late 19th century, it is estimated that in some areas of China, as much as 80% of the population of villages were frequent users of opium, and the average is estimated at perhaps 10% of the entire population.) This selection tells what life was like for her in North China in 1887-88.

### STARVATION

1887-1888

Day after day I sat at home. Hunger gnawed. What could I do? My mother was dead. My brother had gone away. When my husband brought home food I ate it and my children ate with me. A woman could not go out of the court. If a woman went out to work the neighbors all laughed. They said, "So and so's wife has gone out to service." Or they said, "So and so's daughter has gone out to service." I did not know enough even to beg. So I sat at home and starved. I was so hungry one day that I took a brick, pounded it to bits, and ate it. It made me feel better.

How could I know what to do? We women knew nothing but to comb our hair and bind our feet and wait at home for our men. When my mother had been hungry she had sat at home and waited for my father to bring her food, so when I was hungry I waited at home for my husband to bring me food.

My husband sold everything we had.

There was a fur hat. He wanted to sell it. But I begged him not to sell it.

"Let's keep this." It was my uncle's. "Take my coat." He took the coat and sold it for grain. When he came home for food he drank only two bowls of millet gruel. I wondered why he ate so little. I looked and found that the hat was gone, and knew that he had sold it for opium. Those who take opium care not for food....

One year after my mother died I got a stick and a bowl and started out begging. It was the spring of the year and I was twenty-two. It was no light thing for a woman to go out of her home. That is why I put up with my old opium sot so long. But now I could not live in my house and had to come out. When I begged I begged in the parts of the city where I was not known, for I was ashamed. I went with my begging stick (the little stick with which beggars beat off dogs) up my sleeve, that people should not see it. Every day we went out begging. My husband carried the baby and led Mantze. When we came to an open gate I would send her in, for people's hearts are moved by a child....

Reprinted with permission from Ida Pruitt, *A Daughter of Han: The Autobiography of a Chinese Working Woman*. (Stanford: Stanford University Press) c1967. pp. 55, 62.

## *Questions for Discussion*

1) How and why did demographic and ecological problems make matters worse for the Chinese government in the late 19th century?

2) Why were foreign relief measures not sufficient to solve China's problems in the late 19th century? Compare with other relief efforts of the 20th century: Biafra, Bangladesh, Ethiopia.

3) Why is it that women are more often more severely afflicted during times of hardship than men?

4) Why was begging so difficult for Ning Lao Tai Tai to do? What were the alternatives for her and her children?

5) Since the late 19th century there have been cycles of opium use and suppression. The period pre-1906 was one of extensive use, 1906-15 of almost total suppression, 1915-45 of use again, and 1945 to the present of suppression. Some analysts conclude that the period of suppression matched times of strong government and others believe it was due to the people's spirit of nationalism and national pride. How can either of these explanations be related to opium use? What implications does this have for our society today?

*Student Exercise:*

Write to a relief agency (international organizations such as Oxfam, Red Cross, American Friends Service, and the United Nations, or domestic groups such as church-related organizations and the Coalition for the Homeless) for information, or have a representative from the agency come to speak to the class on the need for money and other resources and how the agency meets those needs.

## *Unit 6*

# Revolutionary China: The Peasants

*Student's Note*:

The 1920s and 1930s were difficult times for Chinese peasants. Read the following selections from the 1932 short story, "Spring Silkworms," while thinking about the following questions:

1) What do you think caused the changed world Old Tung Pao laments? What national forces? What international forces? (Remember that this story was written in the early 1930s)

2) Can you see how anti-foreign, nationalist arguments would appeal to the peasants? Explain.

3) How would the Chinese Communist Party have appealed to people like these peasants in this once prosperous silk producing village in central China? What appeals would the Nationalists have made? Local strongmen?

4) How do you think war with Japan would increase the hardships on these villagers?

## *Student Reading*

### Spring Silkworms

by Mao Tun ( Pinyin is Mao Dun)

Old Tung Pao raised his wrinkled face, scorched by years of hot sun to the color of dark parchment. He gazed bitterly at the canal before him, at the boats on its waters, at the mulberry trees along its banks. All were approximately the same as they had been when he was twenty. But the world had changed. His family now often had to make their meals of pumpkin instead of rice. He was over three hundred silver dollars in debt....

Toot! Toot-toot-toot....

Far up the bend in the canal a boat whistle broke the silence. There was a silk filature over there too. He could see vaguely the neat lines of stones embedded as reinforcement in the canal bank. A small oil-burning river boat came puffing up pompously from beyond the silk filature, tugging three larger craft in its wake. Immediately the peaceful water was agitated with waves rolling toward the banks on both sides of the canal. A peasant, poling a tiny boat, hastened to shore and clutched a clump of reeds growing in the shallows. The waves tossed him and his little craft up and down like a see saw. The peaceful green countryside was filled with the chugging of the boat engine and the stink of its exhaust.

Hatred burned in Old Tung Pao's eyes. He watched the river boat approach, he watched it sail past and glared after it until it went tooting around another bend and disappeared from sight. He had always abominated the foreign devils' contraptions. He himself had never met a foreign devil, but his father had given him a description of one Old Master Chen had seen - red eyebrows, green eyes, and a stiff-legged walk! Old Master Chen had hated the foreign devils too. "The foreign devils have swindled our money away," he used to say. Old tung Pao was only eight or nine the last time he saw Old Master Chen. All he remembered about him now were things he had heard from others. But whenever Old Tung Pao thought of that remark - "The foreign devils have swindled our money away" - he could almost picture Old Master Chen, stroking his beard and wagging his head.

How the foreign devils had accomplished this, Old Tung Pao wasn't too clear. He was sure, however, that Old Master Chen was right. Some things he himself had seen quite plainly. From the time foreign goods - cambric, cloth, oil - appeared in the market town, from the time the foreign river boats increased on the canal, what he produced brought a lower price in the market every day, while what he had to buy became more and more expensive. That was why the property his father left him had shrunk until it finally vanished completely; and now he was in debt. It was not without reason that Old Tung Pao hated the foreign devils....

The weather remained warm. The rays of the sun forced open the tender, finger-like, little buds. They had already grown to the size of a small hand. Around Old Tung Pao's village, the mulberry trees seemed to respond especially well. From a distance they gave the appearance of a low grey picket fence on top of which a long swath of green brocade had been spread. Bit by bit, day by day, hope grew in the hearts of the villagers. The unspoken mobilization order for the silkworm campaign reached everywhere and everyone. Silkworm rearing equipment that had been laid away for a year was again brought out to be scrubbed and mended. Beside the little stream which ran through the village, women and children, with much laughter and calling back and forth, washed the implements.

None of these women or children looked really healthy. Since the coming of spring, they had been eating only half their fill; their clothes were old and torn. As a matter of fact, they weren't much better off than beggars. Yet all were in quite good spirits, sustained by enormous patience and grand illusions. Burdened though they were by daily mounting debts, they had only one thought in their heads - If we get a good crop of silkworms, everything will be all right!...They could already visualize how, in a month, the shiny green leaves would be converted into snow-white cocoons, the cocoons exchanged for clinking silver dollars. Although their stomachs were growling with hunger, they couldn't refrain from smiling at this happy prospect....

"I was only able to buy twenty loads of mulberry leaves with that thirty silver dollars I borrowed on your father's guarantee," Old Tung Pao said to his daughter-in-law. "Our rice will be finished by the day after tomorrow. What are we going to do?"

Thanks to her father's influence with his boss and his willingness to guarantee repayment of the loan, Old Tung Pao was able to borrow the money at a low rate of interest - only twenty-five per cent a month! Both the principal and interest had to be repaid by the end of the silkworm season....

Old Tung Pao's family, borrowing a little here, getting a little credit there, somehow managed to get by. Nor did the other families eat any better; there wasn't one with a spare bag of rice! Although they had harvested a good crop the previous year, landlords, creditors, taxes, levies, one after another, had cleaned the peasants out long ago. Now all their hopes were pinned on the spring silkworms. The repayment date of every loan they made was set for the "end of the silkworm season."

With high hopes and considerable fear, like soldiers going into a hand-to-hand battle to the death, they prepared for their spring silkworm campaign!...

The silkworms of Old Tung Pao's family grew and thrived! Though it rained continuously during the grubs' First Sleep and Second Sleep, and the weather was a bit colder than at "Clear and Bright"; the "little darlings" were extremely robust.

The silkworms of the other families in the village were not doing badly either. A tense kind of joy pervaded the countryside. Even the small stream seemed to be gurgling with bright laughter....

By the Big Sleep, their silkworms weighed three hundred catties. Every member of Old Tung Pao's family, including twelve-year-old Little Pao, worked for two days and two nights without sleeping a wink. The silkworms were unusually sturdy. Only twice in his sixty years had Old Tung Pao ever seen the like. Once was the year he married; once when his first son was born.

The first day after the Big Sleep, the "little darlings" ate seven loads of leaves. They were now a bright green, thick and healthy. Old Tung Pao and his family, on the contrary, were much thinner, their eyes bloodshot from lack of sleep.

No one could guess how much the "little darlings" would eat before they spun their cocoons. Old Tung Pao discussed the question of buying more leaves with his son, Ah Sze....

"The price of leaves is rising fast!" a coarse voice cried. "This afternoon, they were getting four dollars a load in the market town!"

Old Tung Pao was very upset. At four dollars a load, thirty loads would come to a hundred and twenty dollars. Where could he raise so much money! But then he figured - he was sure to gather over five hundred catties of cocoons. Even at fifty dollars a hundred, they'd sell for two hundred and fifty dollars....

The next morning, Old Tung Pao went into town to borrow money for more leaves. Before leaving home, he had talked the matter over with daughter-in-law. They had decided to mortgage their grove of mulberries that produced fifteen loads of leaves a year as security for the loan. The grove was the last piece of property the family owned.

By the time the old man ordered another thirty loads, the first ten were delivered, the sturdy "little darlings" had gone hungry for half an hour. Putting forth their pointed little mouths, they swayed from side to side, searching for food. Daughter-in-law's heart had ached to see them. When the leaves were finally spread in the trays, the silkworm shed at once resounded with a sibilant crunching, so noisy it drowned out conversation. In a very short while, the trays were again empty of leaves. Another thick layer was piled on. Just keeping the silkworms supplied with leaves, Old Tung Pao and his family were so busy they could barely catch their breath. But this was the final crisis. In two more days the "little darlings" would spin their cocoons. People were putting every bit of their remaining strength into this last desperate struggle....

The "little darlings" began spinning their cocoons, but Old Tung Pao's family was still in a sweat. Both their money and their energy were completely spent. They still had nothing to show for it; there was no guarantee of their earning any return. Nevertheless, they continued working at top speed. Beneath the racks on which the cocoons were being spun fires had to be kept going to supply warmth....

After three days of "spinning," the fires were extinguished. Ah Sze's wife could restrain herself no longer. She stole a look, her heart beating fast. Inside, all was white as snow. The brush that had been put in for the silkworms to spin on was completely covered over with cocoons. Ah Sze's wife had never seen so successful a "flowering"!

The whole family was wreathed in smiles. They were on solid ground at last! The "little darlings" had proved they had a conscience; they hadn't consumed those mulberry leaves, at four dollars a load, in vain. The family could reap its reward for a month of hunger and sleepless nights. The Old Lord of the Sky had eyes!

Throughout the village, there were many similar scenes of rejoicing. The Silkworm Goddess had been beneficent to the tiny village this year. Most of the two dozen families garnered good crops of cocoons from their silkworms. The harvest of Old Tung Pao's family was well above average.

Again women and children crowded the threshing ground and the banks of the little stream. All were much thinner than the previous month, with eyes sunk in their sockets, throats rasping and hoarse. But everyone was excited, happy. As they chattered about the struggle of the past month, visions of piles of bright silver dollars shimmered before their eyes. Cheerful thoughts filled their minds - they would get their summer clothes out of the pawnshop; at Spring Festival perhaps they could eat a fat golden fish....

But in the village, the atmosphere was changing day by day. People who had just begun to laugh were now all frowns. News was reaching them from town that none of the neighboring silk filatures was opening its doors. It was the same with the houses along the highway. Last year at this time buyers of cocoons were streaming in and out of the village. This year there wasn't a sign of even half a one. In their place came cunning creditors and tax collectors who promptly froze up if you asked them to take cocoons in payment.

Swearing, curses, disappointed sighs! With such a fine crop of cocoons the villagers had never dreamed that their lot would be even worse than usual! It was as if hailstones dropped out of a clear sky. People like Old Tung Pao, whose crop was especially good, took it hardest of all.

"What is the world coming to!" He beat his breast and stamped his feet in helpless frustration.

But the villagers had to think of something. The cocoons would spoil if kept too long. They either had to sell them or remove the silk themselves. Several families had already brought out and repaired silk reels they hadn't used for years. They would first remove the silk from the cocoons and then see about the next step. Old Tung Pao wanted to do the same.

"We won't sell our cocoons; we'll spin the silk ourselves!" said the old man. "Nobody ever heard of selling cocoons until the foreign devils' companies started the thing!"

Ah Sze's wife was the first to object. "We've got over five hundred catties of cocoons here," she retorted. "Where are you going to get enough reels?"

She was right. Five hundred catties was no small amount. They'd never get finished spinning the silk themselves. Hire outside help? That meant spending money. Ah Sze agreed with his wife. Ah To blamed his father for planning incorrectly....

At last a ray of hope appeared. Huang the Priest had heard somewhere that a silk house below the city of Wusih was doing business as usual. Actually an ordinary peasant, Huang was nicknamed "The Priest" because of the learned airs he affected and his interests in Taoist "magic." Old Tung Pao always got along with him fine. After learning the details from him, Old Tung Pao conferred with his elder son Ah Sze about going to Wusih.

"It's about 270 li by water, six days for the round trip," ranted the old man. "It's an expedition! But what else can we do? We can't eat the cocoons, and our creditors are pressing hard!"

Ah Sze agreed. They borrowed a small boat and bought a few yards of matting to cover the cargo. It was decided that Ah To should go along. Taking advantage of the good weather, the cocoon selling "expeditionary force" set out.

Five days later, the men returned - but not with an empty hold. They still had one basket of cocoons. The silk filature, which they reached after a 270-li journey by water, offered extremely harsh terms - only thirty-five dollars a load for foreign breed, twenty for local; thin cocoons not wanted at any price. Although their cocoons were all first class, the people at the silk house picked and chose only enough to fill one basket; the rest were rejected. Old Tung Pao and his sons received a hundred and ten dollars for the sale, ten of which had to be spent as travel expenses. The hundred dollars remaining was not even enough to pay back what they had borrowed for that last thirty loads of mulberry leaves! On the return trip, Old Tung Pao became ill with rage. His sons carried him into the house.

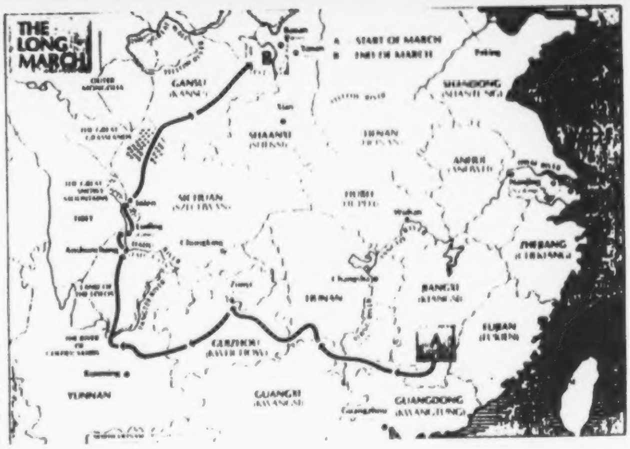
Ah Sze's wife had no choice but to take the ninety odd catties they had brought back and reel the silk from the cocoons herself. She borrowed a few reels from Sixth Treasure's family and worked for six days. All their rice was gone now. Ah Sze took the silk into town, but no one would buy it. Even the pawn shop didn't want it. Only after much pleading was he able to persuade the pawnbroker to take it in exchange for a load of rice they had pawned before "Clear and Bright".

That's the way it happened. Because they raised a crop of spring silkworms, the people in Old Tung Pao's village got deeper into debt. Old Tung Pao's family raised five trays and gathered a splendid harvest of cocoons. Yet they ended up owing another thirty silver dollars and losing their mortgaged mulberry trees - to say nothing of suffering a month of hunger and sleepless nights in vain!

Translated by Sidney Shapiro

*Note: Wade-Giles system of romanization is used in this text.*

Excerpted with permission from the translation of Mao Dun's story, as found in Patricia Buckley Ebrey, ed., *Chinese Civilization and Society: A Sourcebook.* (New York: Free Press), c1981.


THE LONG MARCH
A START OF MARCH
B END OF MARCH
Peking
GANSU
SHAANXI
SHANDONG
HENAN
ANHUI
SICHUAN
HUBEI
TIBET
Wuhan
ZHEJIANG
HUNAN
JIANGXI
FUJIAN
YUNNAN
GUANGXI
GUANGDONG

## *Unit 7*

# Revolutionary China: The Long March

*Student's Note*

All movements - political, religious, social - have their foundation myths, stories about their beginnings that reach heroic proportions over time and that are used to inspire and unify followers. For the Chinese Communist Party, it is the story of the Long March. In 1934, the Communists left their base in south-east China, where they had been more easily attacked by the Nationalists, and wound their way over 6,000 miles to the north on their Long March. The journey took two years. Read the following selection by Edgar Snow, an American journalist who travelled to meet Mao in his northern China stronghold at Yenan. Note how:

1) past and present are intertwined in discussions of contemporary affairs;

2) leaders appeal to certain values to unify the people;

3) the difficulty of the struggle is used to test people's faith in the movement.

Edgar Snow was writing in 1938, two years after the Long March was completed.

## Student Reading

## 2

# A Nation Emigrates

Having successfully broken through the first line of fortifications, the Red Army set out on its epochal year-long trek to the west and to the north, a varicolored and many-storied expedition describable here only in briefest outline. The Communists told me that they were writing a collective account of the Long March, with contributions from dozens who made it, which already totaled about 300,000 words.[1] Adventure, exploration, discovery, human courage and cowardice, ecstasy and triumph, suffering, sacrifice, and loyalty, and then through it all, like a flame, an undimmed ardor and undying hope and amazing revolutionary optimism of those thousands of youths who would not admit defeat by man or nature or God or death—all this and more seemed embodied in the history of an odyssey unequaled in modern times.

The Reds themselves generally spoke of it as the "25,000-*li* March," and with all its twists, turns and countermarches, from the farthest point in Fukien to the end of the road in far northwest Shensi, some sections of the marchers undoubtedly did that much or more. An accurate stage-by-stage itinerary prepared by the First Army Corps* showed that its route covered a total of 18,088 *li*, or 6,000 miles—about twice the width of the American continent—and this figure was perhaps the average march of the main forces. The journey took them across some of the world's most difficult trails, unfit for wheeled traffic, and across the high snow mountains and the great rivers of Asia. It was one long battle from beginning to end.

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* *An Account of the Long March*, First Army Corps (Yu Wang Pao, August, 1936).

Four main lines of defense works, supported by strings of concrete machine-gun nests and blockhouses, surrounded the soviet districts in Southwest China, and the Reds had to shatter those before they could reach the unblockaded areas to the west. The first line, in Kiangsi, was broken on October 21, 1934; the second, in Hunan, was occupied on November 3; and a week later the third, also in Hunan, fell to the Reds after bloody fighting. The Kwangsi and Hunan troops gave up the fourth and last line on November 29, and the Reds swung northward into Hunan, to begin trekking in a straight line for Szechuan, where they planned to enter the soviet districts and combine with the Fourth Front Army there, under Hsu Hsiang-ch'ien. Between the dates mentioned above, nine battles were fought. In all, a combination of 110 regiments had been mobilized in their path by Nanking and by the provincial warlords Ch'en Ch'i-tang, Ho Chien, and Pai Chung-hsi.

During the march through Kiangsi, Kwangtung, Kwangsi, and Hunan, the Reds suffered very heavy losses. Their numbers were reduced by about one-third by the time they reached the border of Kweichow province. This was due, first, to the impediment of a vast amount of transport, 5,000 men being engaged in that task alone. The vanguard was very much retarded, and in many cases the enemy was given time to prepare elaborate obstructions in the line of march. Second, from Kiangsi an undeviating northwesterly route was maintained, which enabled Nanking to anticipate most of the Red Army's movements.

Serious losses as a result of these errors caused the Reds to adopt new tactics in Kweichow. Instead of an arrowlike advance, they began a series of distracting maneuvers, so that it became more and more difficult for Nanking planes to identify the day-by-day objective of the main forces. Two columns, and sometimes as many as four columns, engaged in a baffling series of maneuvers on the flanks of the central column, and the vanguard developed a pincerlike front. Only the barest and lightest essentials of equipment were retained, and night marches for the greatly reduced transport corps—a daily target for the air bombing—became routine.

Anticipating an attempt to cross the Yangtze River into Szechuan, Chiang Kai-shek withdrew thousands of troops from Hupeh, Anhui, and Kiangsi and shipped them hurriedly westward, to cut off (from the north) the Red Army's route of advance. All crossings were heavily fortified; all ferries were drawn to the north bank of the river; all roads were blocked; great areas were denuded of grain. Other thousands of Nanking troops poured into Kweichow to reinforce the opium-soaked provincials of warlord Wang Chia-lieh, whose army in the end was practically immobilized by the Reds. Still others were dispatched to the Yunnan border, to set up obstacles there. In Kweichow, therefore, the Reds found a reception committee of a couple of hundred thousand troops, and obstructions thrown up everywhere in their path. This necessitated two great countermarches across the province, and a wide circular movement around the capital.

Maneuvers in Kweichow occupied the Reds for four months, during which they destroyed five enemy divisions, captured the headquarters of Governor Wang and occupied his foreign-style palace in Tsunyi, recruited about 20,000 men, and visited most of the villages and towns of the province, calling mass meetings and organizing Communist cadres among the youth. Their losses were negligible, but they still faced the problem of crossing the Yangtze. By his swift concentration on the Kweichow-Szechuan border, Chiang Kai-shek had skillfully blocked the short, direct roads that led to the great river. He now placed his main hope of exterminating the Reds on the prevention of this crossing at any point, hoping to push them far to the southwest, or into the wastelands of Tibet. To his various commanders and the provincial warlords he telegraphed: "The fate of the nation and the party depends on bottling up the Reds south of the Yangtze."

Suddenly, early in May, 1935, the Reds turned southward and entered Yunnan, where China's frontier meets Burma and Indochina. A spectacular march in four days brought them within ten miles of the capital, Yunnanfu, and warlord Lung Yun (Dragon Cloud) frantically mobilized all available troops for defense. Chiang's reinforcements meanwhile moved in from Kweichow in hot pursuit. Chiang himself and Mme. Chiang, who had been staying in Yunnanfu, hastily repaired down the French railway toward Indochina. A big squadron of Nanking bombers kept up their daily egg-laying over the Reds, but on they came. Presently the panic ended. It was discovered that their drive on Yunnanfu had been only a diversion carried out by a few troops. The main Red forces were moving westward, obviously with the intention of crossing the river at Lengkai, one of the few navigable points of the Upper Yangtze.

Through the wild mountainous country of Yunnan, the Yangtze River flows deeply and swiftly between immense gorges, great peaks in places rising in defiles of a mile or more, with steep walls of rock lifting almost perpendicularly on either side. The few crossings had all been occupied long ago by government troops. Chiang was well pleased. He now ordered all boats drawn to the north bank of the river and burned. Then he started his own troops, and Lung Yun's, in an enveloping movement around the Red Army, hoping to finish it off forever on the banks of this historic and treacherous stream.

Seemingly unaware of their fate, the Reds continued to march rapidly westward in three columns toward Lengkai. The boats had been burned there, and Nanking pilots reported that a Red vanguard had begun building a bamboo bridge. Chiang became more confident; this bridge-building would take weeks. But one evening, quite unobtrusively, a Red battalion suddenly reversed its direction. On a phenomenal forced march it covered eighty-five miles in one night and day, and in late afternoon descended upon the only other possible ferry crossing in the vicinity, at Chou P'ing Fort. Dressed in captured Nanking uniforms, the battalion entered the town at dusk without arousing comment, and quietly disarmed the garrison.

Boats had been withdrawn to the north bank—but they had not been destroyed. (Why spoil boats, when the Reds were hundreds of *li* distant, and not coming there anyway? So the government troops may have reasoned.) But how to get one over to the south bank? After dark the Reds escorted a village official to the river and forced him to call out to the guards on the opposite side that some government troops had arrived and wanted a boat. Unsuspectingly one was sent across. Into it piled a detachment of these "Nanking" soldiers, who soon disembarked on the north shore—in Szechuan at last. Calmly entering the garrison, they surprised guards who were peacefully playing mah-jong and whose stacked weapons the Reds took over without any struggle.

Meanwhile the main forces of the Red Army had executed a wide countermarch, and by noon of the next day the vanguard reached the fort. Crossing was now a simple matter. Six big boats worked constantly for nine days. The entire army was transported into Szechuan without a life lost. Having concluded the operation, the Reds promptly destroyed the vessels and lay down to sleep. When Chiang's forces reached the river, two days later, the rear guard of their enemy called cheerily to them from the north bank to come on over, the swimming was fine. The government troops were obliged to make a detour of over 200 *li* to the nearest crossing, and the Reds thus shook them from their trail. Infuriated, the Generalissimo now flew to Szechuan, where he mobilized new forces in the path of the oncoming horde, hoping to cut them off at one more strategic river—the great Tatu.

# 3

## The Heroes of Tatu

The crossing of the Tatu River was the most critical single incident of the Long March. Had the Red Army failed there, quite possibly it would have been exterminated. The historic precedent for such a fate already existed. On the banks of the remote Tatu the heroes of the *Three Kingdoms* and many warriors since then had met defeat, and in these same gorges the last of the T'ai-p'ing rebels, an army of 100,000 led by Prince Shih Ta-k'ai, was in the nineteenth century surrounded and completely destroyed by the Manchu forces under the famous Tseng Kuo-fan. To warlords Liu Hsiang and Liu Wen-hui, his allies in Szechuan, and to his own generals in command of the government pursuit, Generalissimo Chiang now wired an exhortation to repeat the history of the T'ai-p'ing.

But the Reds also knew about Shih Ta-k'ai, and that the main cause of his defeat had been a costly delay. Arriving at the banks of the Tatu, Prince Shih had paused for three days to honor the birth of his son—an imperial prince. Those days of rest had given his enemy the chance to concentrate against him, and to make the swift marches in his rear that blocked his line of retreat. Realizing his mistake too late, Prince Shih had tried to break the enemy encirclement, but it was impossible to maneuver in the narrow terrain of the defiles, and he was erased from the map.

The Reds determined not to repeat his error. Moving rapidly northward from the Gold Sand River (as the Yangtze there is known) into Szechuan, they soon entered the tribal country of warlike aborigines, the "White" and "Black" Lolos of Independent Lololand. Never conquered, never absorbed by the Chinese who dwelt all around them, the turbulent Lolos had for centuries occupied that densely forested and mountainous spur of Szechuan whose borders are marked by the great southward arc described by the Yangtze just east of Tibet. Chiang Kai-shek could well have confidently counted on a long delay and weakening of the Reds here which would enable him to concentrate north of the Tatu. The Lolos' hatred of the Chinese was traditional, and rarely had any Chinese army crossed their borders without heavy losses or extermination.

But the Reds had already safely passed through the tribal districts of the Miao and the Shan peoples, aborigines of Kweichow and Yunnan, and had won their friendship and even enlisted some tribesmen in their army. Now they sent envoys ahead to parley with the Lolos. On the way they captured several towns on the borders of independent Lololand, where they found a number of Lolo chieftains who had been imprisoned as hostages by provincial Chinese warlords. Freed and sent back to their people, these men naturally praised the Reds.

In the vanguard of the Red Army was Commander Liu Po-ch'eng,* who had once been an officer in a warlord army of Szechuan. Liu knew the tribal people, and their inner feuds and discontent. Especially he knew their hatred of Chinese, and he could speak something of the Lolo tongue. Assigned the task of negotiating a friendly alliance, he entered their territory and went into conference with the chieftains. The Lolos, he said, opposed warlords Liu Hsiang and Liu Wen-hui and the Kuomintang; so did the Reds. The Lolos wanted to preserve their independence; Red policies favored autonomy for all the national minorities of China. The Lolos hated the Chinese because they had been oppressed by them; but there were "White" Chinese and "Red" Chinese, just as there were "White" Lolos and "Black" Lolos, and it was the White Chinese who had always slain and oppressed the Lolos. Should not the Red Chinese and the Black Lolos unite against their common enemies, the White Chinese? The Lolos listened interestedly. Slyly they asked for arms and bullets to guard their independence and help Red Chinese fight the Whites. To their astonishment, the Reds gave them both.

And so it happened that not only a speedy but a politically useful passage was accomplished. Hundreds of Lolos enlisted with the "Red" Chinese to march to the Tatu River to fight the common enemy. Some of those Lolos were to trek clear to the Northwest. Liu Po-ch'eng drank the blood of a newly killed chicken before the high chieftain of the Lolos, who drank also, and they swore blood brotherhood in the tribal manner. By this vow the Reds declared that whosoever should violate the terms of their alliance would be even as weak and cowardly as the fowl.

Thus a vanguard divison of the First Army Corps, led by Lin Piao, reached the Tatu Ho. On the last day of the march they emerged from the forests of Lololand (in the thick foliage of which Nanking pilots had completely lost track of them), to descend suddenly on the river town of An Jen Ch'ang, just as unheralded as they had come into Chou P'ing Fort. Guided over narrow mountain trails by the Lolos, the vanguard crept quietly up to the little town and from the heights looked down to the river bank, and saw with amazement and delight one of the three ferryboats made fast on the *south* bank of the river! Once more an act of fate had befriended them.

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* See BN.

How had it happened? On the opposite shore there was only one regiment of the troops of General Liu Wen-hui, the co-dictator of Szechuan province. Other Szechuan troops, as well as reinforcements from Nanking, were leisurely proceeding toward the Tatu, but the single regiment meanwhile must have seemed enough. A squad should have been ample, with all boats moored to the north. But the commander of that regiment was a native of the district; he knew the country the Reds must pass through, and how long it would take them to penetrate to the river. They would be many days yet, he could have told his men. And his wife, one learned, had been a native of An Jen Ch'ang, so he must cross to the south bank to visit his relatives and his friends and to feast with them. Thus it happened that the Reds, taking the town by surprise, captured the commander, his boat, and their passage to the north.

Sixteen men from each of five companies volunteered to cross in the first boat and bring back the others, while on the south bank the Reds set up machine guns on the mountainsides and over the river spread a screen of protective fire concentrated on the enemy's exposed positions. It was May. Floods poured down the mountains, and the river was swift and even wider than the Yangtze. Starting far upstream, the ferry took two hours to cross and land just opposite the town. From the south bank the villagers of An Jen Ch'ang watched breathlessly. They would be wiped out! But wait. They saw the voyagers land almost beneath the guns of the enemy. Now, surely, they would be finished. And yet . . . from the south bank the Red machine guns barked on. The onlookers saw the little party climb ashore, hurriedly take cover, then slowly work their way up a steep cliff overhanging the enemy's positions. There they set up their own light machine guns and sent a downpour of lead and hand grenades into the enemy redoubts along the river.

Suddenly the White troops ceased firing, broke from their redoubts, and fled to a second and then a third line of defense. A great murmur went up from the south bank and shouts of "*Hao!*" drifted across the river to the little band who had captured the ferry landing. Meanwhile the first boat returned, towing two others, and on the second trip each carried eighty men. The enemy had fled. That day and night, and the next, and the next, those three ferries of An Jen Ch'ang worked back and forth, until at last nearly a division had been transferred to the northern bank.

But the river flowed faster and faster. The crossing became more and more difficult. On the third day it took four hours to shift a boatload of men from shore to shore. At this rate it would be weeks before the whole army and its animals and supplies could be moved. Long before the operation was completed they would be encircled. The First Army Corps had now crowded into An Jen Ch'ang, and behind were the flanking columns, and the transport and rear guard. Chiang Kai-shek's airplanes had found the spot, and heavily bombed it. Enemy troops were racing up from the southeast; others approached from the north. A hurried military conference was summoned by Lin Piao. Chu Teh, Mao Tse-tung, Chou En-lai, and P'eng Teh-huai had by now reached the river. They took a decision and began to carry it out at once.

Some 400 *li* to the west of An Jen Ch'ang, where the gorges rise very high and the river flows narrow, deep, and swift, there was an iron-chain suspension bridge called the Liu Ting Chiao—the Bridge Fixed by Liu.* It was the last possible crossing of the Tatu east of Tibet. Toward this the barefoot Reds now set out along a trail that wound through the gorges, at times climbing several thousand feet, again dropping low to the level of the swollen stream itself and wallowing through waist-deep mud. If they captured the Liu Ting Chiao the whole army could enter central Szechuan. If they failed they would have to retrace their steps through Lololand, re-enter Yunnan, and fight their way westward toward Likiang, on the Tibetan border—a detour of more than a thousand *li*, which few might hope to survive.

As their main forces pushed westward along the southern bank, the Red division already on the northern bank moved also. Sometimes the gorges between them closed so narrowly that the two lines of Reds could shout to each other across the stream; sometimes that gulf between them measured their fear that the Tatu might separate them forever, and they stepped more swiftly. As they wound in long dragon files along the cliffs at night their 10,000 torches sent arrows of light slanting down the dark face of the imprisoning river. Day and night these vanguards moved at double-quick, pausing only for brief ten-minute rests and meals, when the soldiers listened to lectures by their weary political workers, who over and over again explained the importance of this one action, exhorting each to give his last breath, his last urgent strength, for victory in the test ahead of them. There could be no slackening of pace, no halfheartedness, no fatigue. "Victory was life," said P'eng Teh-huai; "defeat was certain death."

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* Literally the bridge "made fast" by Liu.

On the second day the vanguard on the right bank fell behind. Szechuan troops had set up positions in the road, and skirmishes took place. Those on the southern bank pressed on more grimly. Presently new troops appeared on the opposite bank, and through their field glasses the Reds saw that they were White reinforcements, hurrying to the Bridge Fixed by Liu. For a whole day these troops raced each other along the stream, but gradually the Red vanguard, the pick of all the Red Army, pulled away from the enemy's tired soldiers, whose rests were longer and more frequent, whose energy seemed more spent, and who were perhaps none too anxious to die for a bridge.

The Bridge Fixed by Liu was built centuries ago, and in the manner of all bridges of the deep rivers of western China. Sixteen heavy iron chains, with a span of some 100 yards or more, were stretched across the river, their ends imbedded on each side under great piles of cemented rock, beneath the stone bridgeheads. Thick boards lashed over the chains made the road of the bridge, but upon their arrival the Reds found that half this wooden flooring had been removed, and before them only the bare iron chains swung to a point midway in the stream. At the northern bridgehead an enemy machine-gun nest faced them, and behind it were positions held by a regiment of White troops. The bridge should, of course, have been destroyed, but the Szechuanese were sentimental about their few bridges; it was not easy to rebuild them, and they were costly. Of Liu Ting it was said that "the wealth of the eighteen provinces contributed to build it." And who would have thought the Reds would insanely try to cross on the chains alone? But that was what they did.

No time was to be lost. The bridge must be captured before enemy reinforcements arrived. Once more volunteers were called for. One by one Red soldiers stepped forward to risk their lives, and, of those who offered themselves, thirty were chosen. Hand grenades and Mausers were strapped to their backs, and soon they were swinging out above the boiling river, moving hand over hand, clinging to the iron chains. Red machine guns barked at enemy redoubts and spattered the bridgehead with bullets. The enemy replied with machine-gunning of his own, and snipers shot at the Reds tossing high above the water, working slowly toward them. The first warrior was hit, and dropped into the current below; a second fell, and then a third. But as others drew nearer the center, the bridge flooring somewhat protected these dare-to-dies, and most of the enemy bullets glanced off, or ended in the cliffs on the opposite bank.

Probably never before had the Szechuanese seen fighters like these—men for whom soldiering was not just a rice bowl, and youths ready to commit suicide to win. Were they human beings or madmen or gods? Was their own morale affected? Did they perhaps not shoot to kill? Did some of them secretly pray that these men would succeed in their attempt? At last one Red crawled up over the bridge flooring, uncapped a grenade, and tossed it with perfect aim into the enemy redoubt. Nationalist officers ordered the rest of the planking torn up. It was already too late. More Reds were crawling into sight. Paraffin was thrown on the planking, and it began to burn. By then about twenty Reds were moving forward on their hands and knees, tossing grenade after grenade into the enemy machine-gun nest.

Suddenly, on the southern shore, their comrades began to shout with joy. "Long live the Red Army! Long live the Revolution! Long live the heroes of Tatu Ho!" For the enemy was withdrawing in pell-mell flight. Running full speed over the remaining planks of the bridge, through the flames licking toward them, the assailants nimbly hopped into the enemy's redoubt and turned the abandoned machine gun against the shore.

More Reds now swarmed over the chains, and arrived to help put out the fire and replace the boards. And soon afterwards the Red division that had crossed at An Jen Ch'ang came into sight, opening a flank attack on the remaining enemy positions, so that in a little while the White troops were wholly in flight—either in flight, that is, or with the Reds, for about a hundred Szechuan soldiers here threw down their rifles and turned to join their pursuers. In an hour or two the whole army was joyously tramping and singing its way across the River Tatu into Szechuan. Far overhead angrily and impotently roared the planes of Chiang Kai-shek, and the Reds cried out in delirious challenge to them.

For their distinguished bravery the heroes of An Jen Ch'ang and Liu Ting Chiao were awarded the Gold Star, highest decoration in the Red Army of China.

*From Edgar Snow, Red Star Over China (NY: Grove Press, 1968).*
*(Originally published 1938)*

*FEATURED RESOURCE*

# China in Revolution: 1911-1949

China in Revolution, 1911-1949 is produced by Ambrica Productions and presented on PBS by WGBH Boston. Producers/directors: Sue Williams and Kathryn Dietz. Executive producer: Judith Vecchione.

The program is recommended for advanced classes. It is divided into two segments:

- Battle for Survival: 1911-1936 (58 minutes).
- Fighting for the Future: 1936-1949 (58 minutes).

Available from:

Coronet/MII Film and Video
108 Wilmot Road
Deerfield, IL 60015
Tel: 1-800-621-2131
price: inquire

## OVERVIEW

On June 5, 1989, as the Chinese government stepped up military attacks on civilians to suppress the country's democracy movement, a lone man held a column of 18 tanks at bay in Beijing's Tiananmen Square. He stood in the path of the lead tank, shuffling from one side to the other as the vehicle tried to maneuver around him. After several minutes, he climbed atop the tank's turret and stood there defiantly before jumping down and being led to safety.

Chang Tiechun, an active 95-year-old, remembers another era and another act of defiance: "Keep your hair or lose your head." That was the saying in turn-of-the-century China, a country still ruled by an emperor, a country where men wore their hair in long queues as a sign of subservience to the ruling dynasty. Barbers, who carried their tools on a shoulder pole and plied their trade in city streets, could report a man with no queue to the authorities. As punishment, that man could be beheaded. In 1911, a group of discontented army officers overthrew the Manchu dynasty, ending imperial rule in China forever. Chang Tieh-chun was one of many Chinese men who cut off their queues in a symbolic gesture of revolution.

In *China in Revolution: 1911-1949*, citizens who lived through China's earlier revolutionary period - from the fall of the boy emperor, Pu Yi, to the birth of the People's Republic of China - recall their dramatic pasts and personal choices. Their interviews are filled with stories of warlords and bandits, peasants and politicians, small girls sold as child brides, teenage boys tied up and dragged off to fight at the front and parents struggling to feed their children. Rare, recently discovered archival footage is also used in the program to paint a vivid backdrop to the lives of the Chinese people during these tumultuous years.

For the first time in the West, viewers will see this period of Chinese history through the eyes of actual participants, people whose stories place the political turmoil in today's China in historical perspective. Since the tense political situation in China has restricted the access of Western filmmakers and journalists to the country, *China in Revolution: 1911-1949* stands as both the first and perhaps - for the foreseeable future, at least - the last in-depth film record of this period in China's past - a past that has shaped the course of the country to this day.

The film describes the rise to power of the two charismatic leaders who would dominate China's long and bloody revolution - Chiang Kai-shek and Mao Zedong. Chiang, a protege of Nationalist Party leader Sun Yat-sen, first achieved national prominence when he embarked on the Northern Expedition, a military campaign that united the country. Chiang established a Nationalist government in Nanking and bolstered his prestige with modernization programs that won him support in the cities of China.

Unlike Chiang Kai-shek, Mao Zedong believed that the key to revolution lay in the countryside, where most of China's people lived. In the 1930s, Mao moved to Jiangxi Province and set up a Communist base, or "soviet," to test his theories. The Communists' activities unleashed a violent class struggle in the countryside, and Chiang retaliated with a series of military campaigns in Jiangxi which eventually defeated the Communists.

This Nationalist victory forced the Communists into flight: in October 1934, nearly 87,000 Communists, including Mao Zedong, were forced out of Jiangxi on a grueling retreat that became known to the world as the Long March. On this 6,000-mile journey, the Communists lost over 90% of their supporters and were left with only about 5,000 people.

The film then traces the next threat that Chiang Kai-shek faced: the Japanese, who launched World War II in Asia when they invaded China in 1937. Chiang emerged from the war as a national hero, but escalating tensions between the Nationalists and the Communists soon erupted into civil war. The story of how the Communists rebuilt their strength and won this war is one of the little-known and fascinating parts of *China in Revolution: 1911-1949*.

On January 21, 1949, Chiang Kai-shek resigned and soon retreated with his government to the island of Taiwan. On October 1, 1949, Mao Zedong declared the founding of the People's Republic of China.

At the heart of the turbulent history chronicled in *China in Revolution: 1911-1949*, lie the stories of the people who struggled and persevered through these events. Throughout the film, Communists and Nationalists alike describe their lives in those troubled decades: General Huang Wei remembers allying himself with the Nationalists to save China and serve Chiang Kai-shek. Chiang's son, Chiang Wei-kuo, reveals his father's feelings about his Communist opponents. Shen Zui, who worked for Chiang's security police, describes how he and his fellow policemen would kill a suspected Communist even if they couldn't prove his political affiliation, because it was "better to kill an innocent one by mistake than let a bad one go."

Communist party member Qiu Huiying recalls a fellow factory worker's persuasive promises of better conditions under the Communists. Wan Xiang, who joined the Communists after being sold as a child bride, describes how she was tortured to force her to reveal information about the Communist Party. Mo Wenhua describes how he nearly froze to death during the Long March, saved only by a friend's generosity. Villagers in Meihuarzhen describe the horrifying massacre of 300 of their families by the Japanese.

To capture these dramatic stories on film, the producers of *China in Revolution: 1911-1949*, Sue Williams and Kathryn Dietz, pieced together a newly discovered cache of rare archival footage from pre-1949 China; carefully navigated a path through the labyrinth of Chinese government bureaucracy to obtain permission to travel through the country and interview its people; and journeyed by plane, bus, automobile and foot through rice paddies to remote corners of China where many of their interview subjects lived. The result is a film whose gripping images and authentic voices evoke the struggles of China's past and illuminate their legacy for China's future.

## *Section VII*
# Society

After a general introduction to the teacher, this central section on Chinese society begins with an introductory reading on the most controversial and current issue in Chinese society-- that of **family planning**. Abhorrence of the often draconian methods adopted by the Chinese government for dealing with the issue should not prevent students from gaining an appreciation of the magnitude of the challenge or of alternative policies for encouraging voluntary compliance with national goals.

The second unit focuses on the all important institution of the **family** and includes a role-play on marriage, an exercise on naming children, and the design of a Chinese home. The last two lessons are reproduced with permission from the Echoes of China volume.

The various aspects of **interpersonal relations** in China are explored in unit 3. Originating often in the model of the family, these include: relations with relatives, friends, and co-workers; the value of "connections"; the role of mediators; the importance of hierarchy; and group orientation.

Unit 4 on **Education** examines the dramatic shifts in educational policy over the past thirty years through the eyes of students in China. Alternative readings provide material for class discussion.

Units 5 and 6 focus on **Women** and **Minorities**, two important groups in Chinese society.

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Unicorn carrying a boy child
A charm to insure male offspring

## *Unit 1*

# Introduction to Chinese Society

## Teacher's Background

The main theme to be highlighted in Society is the place of the individual in the group and the relationship of the individual to the State.

The family unit remains the primary social unit in China, as is discussed at length on page 10 of this section. Other forms of social organization, whether the state or work institutions, are assumed to have the family as their model. The individual's position within the ***group***, whether family or work unit, is an important aspect of Chinese culture. In urban areas, most people are assigned to a ***work unit*** (factory, office, school) by the government. People rarely change work unit, usually remaining in the same work place for the rest of their lives. If a person does find another job, in most cases permission to change must be obtained from the old work unit. Work unit officials keep employee dossiers in which they record personal and political information, adding to them as they see necessary. If the individual is transferred, so is the dossier.

A work unit identity card is the basic form of adult identification, like a driver's licence in the U.S. It establishes the person's right to reside in the city of employment (one must be registered in order to establish legal residence in a Chinese city). The larger cities, where life is more comfortable, are generally closed to new permanent residents, although a work unit may arrange a transfer for a spouse or child to come live in the city with one of its employees.

Work units provide most of the housing in China, which is very scarce in urban areas. With an average of 6 square yards of housing space per capita, the demand for a larger or better apartment is great. As of the late 1980s, a very small real estate market in apartments and houses was begun in China, but urban housing remained primarily in government control, apportioned through work units. Young people usually cannot get married until they get an apartment. In order to get on the waiting list early, many register their marriage with the government but do not actually live together as husband and wife until they are assigned an apartment.

Work units also provide meal services, health care, recreational programs; distribute certain kinds of consumer items or foods that are expensive or hard to buy; usually provide private bus transportation to and from work and sometimes maintain their own guest houses; provide letters of introduction that enable the bearer to buy scarce airplane or train tickets in comfortable sections. Leaders of work units often get involved in the personal life of their employees: they provide advice on marriage partners (and in some cases strongly discourage or refuse to allow a marriage to be registered; counsel those seeking a divorce, usually encouraging them to try to work things out; and mediate in cases of juvenile delinquency among young employees or older employees' children. Work units usually assume responsibility for ensuring that the children of employees find employment, often establishing a subsidiary unit such as a transportation service or a repair shop, to provide employment.

Because the workplace provides so many important services, workers tend to stay in the same job, no matter how dissatisfied they are. As a result, work unit leaders have a great deal of power over them, an especially onerous situation during political campaigns prior to the 1980s, when the party dictated that its organizations in work units target people for political harassment. It has also led to serious problems of low morale and inefficiency. No matter how poor their performance, workers are almost never fired. Thus, to have a job is to possess an ***"iron rice bowl."*** Under the economic reforms of the 1980s, the government began experiments with the labor market and gave managers some rights to fire workers in an effort to raise productivity and crack the "iron rice bowl" mentality.

Since many desirable items and services are in scarce supply in China-- access to better schools, consumer goods, housing, jobs, supplies or raw materials for businesses and factories-- the cultivation of personal ***connections*** or ***guanxi (kuan-hsi)***, reflecting the traditional Confucian emphasis on person rule, continues to be important.

In addition to guanxi, particularly during the 1960s and 1970s, class background played an important role, especially regarding access to higher education. Coming from the landlord class or having been labelled a "rightist" or counterrevolutionary extended through several generations, limiting access to higher education.

**Lesson Suggestion**: For a general introduction to learning about a "society," have the students first identify the sources of social organization in the U.S. (i.e., how we all live together, such as traffic laws, school laws, church teachings, traditional family codes of conduct, eg. "in my family it has always been that children say yes ma'am or sir when addressing adults," neighborhood watch committees, etc.) Note that the sources of social organization are laws and customs. Then discuss how people move about in a society-- for instance in the U.S., we are free to choose where to live, work, and go to school. (An interesting point to bring up is zoning: if you live in this neighborhood you go to this school, etc.) While all societies have some form of law and custom, the point to make is that the combinations of law and custom will differ across societies depending on how laws are constructed: are they to regulate social customs in that society, or are they to control social customs in that society?

**Lesson Note**: Also, the Heart of the Dragon episodes (found in Introduction) on "Marrying" and "Mediating" are useful for highlighting the function of the work unit and the role of mediation in Chinese society, especially the family. The text from those episodes may be reproduced as class handouts as a way to focus a discussion on Chinese society.

# Teacher's Note for Introductory Reading

The following student reading addresses a number of important aspects of Chinese society by way of the issue of China's population problem. (See section on **Geography and Population** for more detail.)

The article introduces several important themes concerning Chinese society. They include:

- Population and development, especially agricultural issues in China.
- The persistence of traditional social values which contradict the goals of Chinese socialism, such as the desire for sons as opposed to daughters.
- The role of the work unit as a manifestation of the theme of the relationship between the state and the individual. The work unit not only acts as a control mechanism over society, but also represents the state in taking care of its people.
- The differences and tensions between rural and urban areas.

The issue of family planning and birth control is sensitive and controversial in any country. The point is not to discuss family planning in China per se, but to highlight the very real and difficult position the Chinese people are in-- a very poor developing country with one quarter of the world's population and only 7 percent of the world's total arable land. The issue also concerns the rights and responsibilities of both the Chinese people and the Chinese government.

Note in particular the following statements in the article which relate to the other units of the Society Section:

-"Family planning is probably one the of the most difficult societal problems in the world."

-"Old ways of thinking, such as more children guarantee a happy life and men are more important than women, are hard to change."

-"Although urban couples are generally willing to have only one child, the real problem in population control is in the countryside where 80 percent of the population live."

-"At the same time, each one-child family is subsidized 5 yuan per month, their child is given priority of free education..., since, like the majority of work units in the country, the cotton mill provides low-rent housing to its employees."

*Student Reading*

# Family Planning: Everyone's Concern

by Our Staff Reporter Guo Feng

The problem of China's burgeoning population is all too apparent on the nation's railroads, the daily passenger flow of which is some 2.7 million people.

Like any other passenger trains, the one to Zhengzhou has 12 hard seat, seven hard berth and one soft berth carriages. Each carriage measures four meters high, three meters wide and 20 meters long. A hard seat car has 118 seats, while the hard berth car is lined with 60 beds in three levels. This daily train alone carries some 2,000 people, including those who have to stand because all the seat have been sold out.

With the increasing demands, the need for safety has required various measures such as running more trains and adding more carriages. At the same time, water, road and air transportation have been rapidly developed. Despite all this, many people still, have to postpone their travel because of the lack of tickets.

The population explosion is the major cause of this problem. By January 1, 1990, the total population on China's mainland reached 1,111.91 million, a net increase of 15.77 million during 1989.

Of course, a large population does not necessarily constitute a problem. It is, for example, only through the effort of hundreds of millions of hardworking people that a "green Great Wall" — a man-made shelterbelt in northern China — has been built. The project has successfully stopped soil erosion, transformed deserts into arable land, alleviated dust storms and provided a balanced ecosystem.

However, an out-of-control increase in the population, especially when the quality of that population is rather low, can also be a burden on transportation, energy resources, environmental protection, education and employment and make it increasingly difficult to raise the standard of living. Thus, the basic policy of China is to focus the effort on solving population related problems. The family planning program — postponing both marriage and pregnancy and limiting one child for each couple — has been widely encouraged. The goal is to slow the increase in the population to around 1.2 billion by the end of this century. It is not an easy task.

**Free, regular medical check-up and consultation is provided by the Zhengzhou Family Planning Association.** WU GUANGHUA

Family planning is probably one of the most difficult societal problems to deal with in the world. This is particularly so in China, where 20 percent of the population are illiterate. Old ways of thinking, such as more children guarantee a happy life and men are more important than women, are hard to change. To adequately explain the family planning program, one has to understand traditional thinking before it is possible to gradually explain how birth spacing is not only a contribution to humankind, but also a benefit to everyone. To its credit, the Chinese Family Planning Association has done a remarkable job in this regard.

Founded in 1980, the association has 20 million members nationwide. Through the masses, especially the "five olds," namely old Party members, old cadres, old models figures, old workers and the elderlies, a patient effort was made to drive home to every one the public and personal interests of family planning. The role of the "five olds" proved to be very efficient, since it is a tradition to respect the elderly. The success of their work is evident in the fact that if, against the family planning program, people had married early (China's legal age for marriage is 22 for men and 20 for women) and had at least two children, there would have been several million more people born on China's mainland each year.

### The Henan Experience

With a population of 82.31 million, Henan in central China is the second largest province in terms of population. Only Sichuan Province is larger. Henan is an agricultural province with wheat, cotton and peanut as its staple crops. However, its average arable land per capita is 1.35 *mu* (0.09 hectare), the size of three basketball courts.

Ever since the provincial family planning association was set up in February 1982, special attention was paid to the grassroots. "Family planning concerns everybody," vice-president of the provincial association Xia Shikui said. "We should assist the government and do more to persuade the masses." They recruited a great number of members from factories and villages instead of relying on a few people in government organs, as had been done in the past.

Zhengzhou Cotton Mill No. 6 is one example. It has 10,117 workers, including 4,500 female workers of childbearing age. A special effort was made by provincial and municipal associations to expand membership in the family planning association. As of now, 1,000 people, including the present and former general managers, have become members. Members put up posters, organize parades and hold campaigns to encourage workers not to get married too early and to stick to the one child policy. At the same time, each one-child family is subsidized five yuan per month, their child is given priority of free education from the factory-run nursery to college, as well as priority for the family in housing, since, like the majority of work units in the country, the cotton mill provides low-rent housing to its employees.

**Activities are often held by the Zhengzhou Cotton Mill No.6 to encourage couples to postpone marriage and pregnancy and to have just one child.** CAI BANGXIN

Family planning members also care for the factory's retired workers, making sure that they have a happy retirement. They organize retirees to provide baby-sitting, laundering and other kind of volunteer services for one-child families. The young families are, in turn, freed from worries that no one will take care of them after they retire. "I don't plan to have a second child, although both my parents and in-laws would like me to have more," Wang Shuying, a female worker, said. "With improved living conditions and various support facilities, I think I'll be secure in my old age. Besides, with only one child, I still have enough energy to enjoy life."

### Rural Problems

Although urban couples are generally willing to have only one child, the real problem in population control is in the countryside where 80 percent of the population live.

There still exist tremendous differences between the urban and the rural areas, differences which have accumulated over several thousand years. In remote areas, in particular, inconvenient transportation results in poor communication as well as in fewer opportunities for education. Consequently, illiteracy is much higher and the old ideas such as men are superior to women and more children guarantee a better life, persist.

Of course, the blame for such ideas cannot rest only with traditional thinking. In places where the conditions are poor and people have to live by manual labor, males are depended upon for planting, harvesting and transporting crops. A family without a man is like a farm without tractors and combines.

Yuanzhai Village in Lankao County in northeastern Henan

Yuan Meicheng was among the first group from Yuanzhai Village to join the Family Planning Association.
*WU GUANGHUA*

has 250 families, a total of 1,086 people. The village is protected by a 15-meter high earthen dam on its northside from flooding of the Yellow River which runs alongside the village. As a matter of fact, the villagers suffered a lot from floods in the past. Whenever such a disaster struck, people had to go elsewhere and beg for a living. The word "beggar" got to be used as a substitute for people from the Lankao County. It was not until 1949 when the farmers were organized and the flooding was brought under control. Flooded land was transformed into farms and people grew wheat and peanut for a living. They no longer had to desert their homes and eke out a living elsewhere.

Life became better and better and, with improved medical care, more babies were born. But the increase in population also decreased the available average arable land acreage. Within 40 years, the village's per capita land shrank from 3.85 *mu* (0.26 hectare) in 1949 to 1.89 *mu* (0.13 hectare) in 1989.

The shrinking of farmland did not go unnoticed by the villagers. Without land, they would have no means of living; they did not want once again to go begging. With this in mind, 140 members of the village work hard to explain to their fellow villagers the importance of family planning. Measures are taken to encourage the villagers to have fewer children. Apart from giving a one-child family 50 kilograms of food and 50 yuan (US$10.2), they also provide free educational opportunities in village-run schools and conduct regular medical check-ups. Expenses are covered partly by public funds of the village and partly by state subsidies. With the help of the Villagers Committee, the members also pool funds to help the one child families prosper economically. Classes are held to explain family planning knowledge and contraceptives are supplied free of charge. "I'm 68 years old," said Yuan Meicheng, a father of seven. "But it was not until a few years ago that I learned about contraception." He said that people of his generation all have three to five children. Some even have more than 10. Part of the reason for the large family was that they had no knowledge of contraception.

China's family planning, an organized effort under unified leadership of the government, indicates the nation's determination. Like its railroad transportation, China's overall development is burdened with a huge population. A lot of effort is devoted to feeding people, making it difficult to develop other areas of the economy. This is not only a concern for China. An underdeveloped China is a burden on the development of the Asia-Pacific region, if not the whole world. The world cannot be said to be developed if China remains backward and so, strategically, China's family planning program is a contribution to all human civilization.

Of course, much still remains to be done for the one-child family to be widely accepted in a country with a low level of mechanization. To solve the problems related to the population, economic strength is needed. At the same time, ironically, the population explosion has given rise to many barriers to the rapid growth of economy. Contradictory measures thus have to be adopted, such as one in the rural areas which allows a second pregnancy after six years when the first-born is a girl. Although this sounds like a great help to some families, it also triggers off two new problems. It increases the number of the already poorly educated rural population, and reinforces the traditional idea that men are more important than women.

Nevertheless, difficulties like this are being quickly eclipsed by the achievements from China's family planning program, as it is accepted by more and more people. The Yuanzhai Village is representative of the more than one million villages throughout the country. ■

## QUESTIONS FOR DISCUSSION

1) "Family planning is probably one of the most difficult societal problems in the world." Why do you think this is true?

2) Does the place where your mother or father work have any involvement in your family?

3) Why, in China, does it seem to be more desirable to have boys than girls?

4) Chinese society is often said to be "in transition," that is, moving from one set of values to another. How is this evident in the reading?

A Rural Landscape.

Two generations of family at Spring Festival. *Photo by Li Zhiyi*

### *Unit 2*

# The Family

## Teacher's Background

Government and society in China were grounded in Confucian philosophy, which held that there was a basic order in the universe and a *natural harmony linking man, nature, and the cosmos (heaven)*; it also held that man was by nature a social being, and that the natural order of the universe should be reflected in human relations. The **family unit** was seen as the primary social unit-- relationships within the family were fundamental to all others, and comprised three of the "five relationships" that were the models for all others: sovereign-subject; husband-wife; parent-child; elder brother-younger brother; friend-friend. In this hierarchy of social relations, each role had clearly defined duties. Reciprocity or mutual responsibility between subordinate and superior was fundamental to the Confucian concept of human relations.

The family unit persists as the primary unit of social and economic organization in China, despite periodic attempts by the government to incorporate family enterprise into larger socio-economic units, such as communes. Recent economic reforms have actually reinforced the traditional importance of the family as an economic unit. This creates problems for birth control programs, as rural families want more children to work the family plots and people still want sons who will continue the family line and provide ritual sacrifices to their ancestors after they die. Economic liberalization has brought a return to large expenditures for funerals and other family-centered ritual events. Marriage, although now often initiated by the couple, remains a family affair. Divorce is discouraged and mediation is stressed to resolve marital discord.

In this unit the themes of hierarchical familial ordering and the position of the individual in the group are explored through role play, architecture, and the naming of children.

*Student Reading* 家

## THE FAMILY

The family is one of the most important social units for the Chinese. Families are also important to Americans, but Americans see each person as fundamentally independent and try to instill independence in their children. The Chinese, on the other hand, stress each person's position in the family and the interdependence of family members. To have no family or relatives nearby is frightening.

The Chinese family operates differently from the American family. These differences can be summarized by several principles:

1) Patrilineal. The Chinese are strongly patrilineal, meaning that they see their kinship relations as a line through men, from the grandfather, to father, to son and then grandson. Women come into this patriline to provide children, but if husband and wife divorce, the woman leaves without her children because they belong to the patriline. Ancestor worship affirms and reinforces patrilineality. Not having a son breaks the patrilineal chain.

2) Patrilocal. Marriage means that the bride moves to her husband's and her in-law's house. Whereas Americans tell the parents of the bride and groom that they are not losing a child but gaining a new one, the Chinese are quite clear that the bride is leaving her home and moving to the groom's family. This pattern is still true in rural areas, and less true in cities where apartments are too small for the new couple to live with the groom's parents. Because of patrilocality, many Chinese villages are made up of the descendants of one or a few ancestors who had settled there hundreds of years ago. Young girls are often related to most families in their father's village and therefore have to marry into families from other villages.

3) Hierarchy of Age. In traditional society, the eldest male, usually the father or grandfather, was clearly the head of the family. He made most of the decisions and was respected by those younger. As old men became weak or doddering, their sons gradually took over, but young people were still expected to treat their elders with respect. The hierarchy of age is no longer as strong as it once was.

4) Male over Female. In the past, men dominated over females, and still do to some extent today. It was customary for women to walk behind their husband, and no concept of chivalry prevented women from doing heavy work. Older women could gain some power in their families when their age allowed them to control

their children, (especially their daughters-in-law, who were outsiders), but this depended on their personality.

5) Equal Inheritance for Sons. Sons divide the inheritance equally (unlike the U.S. where daughters also get a share; or Japan and the nobility in Europe, where only the eldest son receives the estate). Daughters get a dowry upon marriage, but this is rarely equal to a share of the estate.

6) Filial. Children are expected to be filial to their parents. Being filial requires that sons produce sons, that they respect and defer to their parents, and that they take care of their parents in their old age. Daughters marry into other families and therefore cannot support their parents, but they may still visit.

The Chinese family has long been able to exact more influence over its members than the American family. In the past, Chinese family heads decided who would go to school and for how long, and what trade they should study. As among nobility in Europe, marriage was a union between two families, not between two lovers. Just 100 years ago, it was the rule that the bride and groom not see each other before marriage. Parents, everyone agreed, were more experienced and thus in a better position to judge prospective spouses and make a choice in the best long-term interest of the young people and their families. Now, parents often still have some say in their children's marriage, but young people have veto power and insist on dating for a while before deciding on marriage.

Matchmakers used to be very important in letting parents know of prospective spouse for their children. Women made ideal marriage brokers because, although they were subordinate, the fact that they married out of their parents' village into their husband's village made them familiar with two villages. If they had sisters and other female relatives, they could know of marriageable young people in many villages. They could meet relatives at market towns or during weddings and holidays to exchange information and suggest possible matches to the parents of eligible young people. Today, many young people are introduced to potential mates by friends as well as by matchmakers.

Composed by Dr. Joseph Bosco

## QUESTIONS FOR DISCUSSION

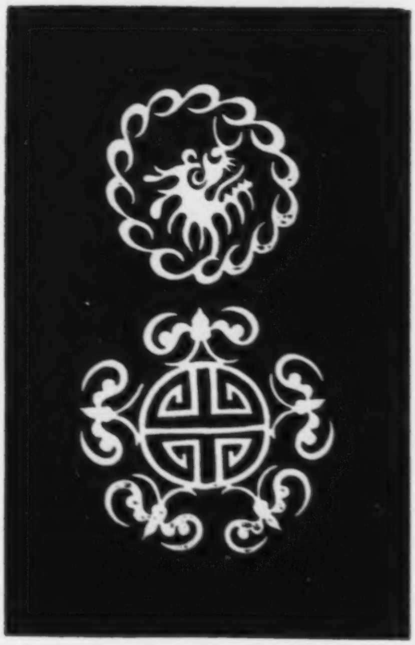
1) Which aspects of the Chinese family are like your own and which are different?

2) How important is it to understand the family in order to understand a culture?

3) Do we also have a hierarchy of age in the US? Give examples to support your answer.

4) Are American children also supposed to be filial? How do Americans show their filiality?

5) Why do you think most Americans do not use matchmakers?



a. Dragon
b. *Shou* 壽 and five bats: Age, wealth, health, virtue.

## *Class Activity*

### MARRIAGE ROLE PLAY

In this exercise, we have one family in each of two villages: Chen Village and Lin Village. Each village is a single-surname village, meaning that everyone has the same surname (Chen and Lin) and that all daughters must marry out of their village (and therefore brides must come from outside the village) or the couple is guilty of incest.

In Chen Village, assign a father (Mr. Chen), a mother (Mrs. Chen), an unmarried son (Chen Yong). In Lin Village, assign a father (Mr. Lin), a mother (Mrs. Lin), a daughter (Lin Fangmei), and her younger brother (Lin Fangzhe). Have each village be a separate corner of the room; make sure there are seven chairs in Lin Village. Assign a matchmaker, preferably outgoing in personality, (a "mother hen" type), who will be known as Auntie Yang.

[Matchmaker goes to Chen family]

Matchmaker (MM): I know a young woman who has a good job as a bookkeeper who might be a good match for your son Chen Yong.

Mrs. Chen: You know our son has not finished his schooling. He should wait until he passes the technical college entrance exam before marrying.

MM: He's not getting any younger, and your daughter is waiting for him to marry so she can get married. Besides, it doesn't hurt to meet the girl.

Mr. Chen: Why not. He may never test into technical college. Ask him what he thinks about it.

Mrs. Chen: Son, do you want to meet a girl recommended by Auntie Yang?

Chen Yong: Aw, OK.

MM: Good.

Mrs. Chen: Auntie Yang, can you tell us something about this girl's family?

MM: Her father is a farmer, and they are all hard working. She has a younger brother who is in high school, and the girl herself is bookkeeper at the shirt factory in town. I'll come back Tuesday evening and we'll go to the Lin's home together.

[Tuesday evening]

MM: Good evening Mr. and Mrs. Chen. How are you, Chen Yong?

Chen Yong: Fine, thank you, how are you Auntie Yang?

MM: Fine. Are we all ready? Let's go.

[Walk over to Lin Village. Mr. and Mrs. Lin greet the guests. Miss Lin Fangmei is out of sight in another room of the house for now.]

MM: Hello, Mr. and Mrs. Lin, I would like you to meet Mr. and Mrs. Chen of Chen Village, and this is their eldest son, Chen Yong.

The Chens (shaking hands with the Lins, bowing slightly as they shake hands for politeness): Nice to meet you.

Mr. Lin: Come in. Please have a seat.

Mrs. Lin: Very hot weather we have had recently, no?

Mrs. Chen: Yes, it's terrible.

MM: Mr. Lin farms 4 mou of land; this weather must be bad for the crops.

Mr. Lin: I'm lucky because my land is close to the river, so I can irrigate it. I should do quite well this year. I understand you also farm, is that right Mr. Chen?

Mr. Chen: Yes, but I specialize in raising pigs, so the hot weather is hard on the animals.

Mr. Lin: How many pigs do you raise?

Mr. Chen: Well, I have about 20 sows right now, but we have been hoping to expand.

Mr. Lin: And young Chen Yong, what do you do?

Chen Yong: I have been studying to pass the technical college entrance exam, and I help at home with the pigs.

[Lin Fangmei enters with tea in cups for the guests. She serves in the following order to indicate respect: Mr. Chen, Mrs. Chen, Chen Yong, Auntie Yang, her father, her mother.]

MM: Oh, here is Mr. Lin's daughter with some tea.

[Each guest accepts the tea and says thank you. Lin Fangmei sits down and joins the group.]

MM: Lin Fangmei, how long have you been working at the factory?

Lin Fangmei: Since I graduated from high school three years ago.

MM: Your brother is now in high school, right?

Lin Fangzhe: Yes. I'm studying at Jianguo High School, and am in my second year.

MM: That's the same school you went to, isn't it Chen Yong.

Chen Yong: Yes, it is.

MM: Well, that makes you two classmates of sorts.

Mr. Lin: Chen Yong, when did you graduate and what did you study?

Chen Yong: I graduated four years ago, and studied tool and die making. {Change this if it can better fit topics under education.}

MM: Well, it's getting late, we had better be getting home. Thank you for your hospitality.

Mr. and Mrs. Chen: Yes, thank you very much.

Mr. Lin: Oh, don't mention it. It was nice meeting you.

Mr. Chen: Nice meeting you.

[The Chens and Auntie Yang leave. They discuss the evening on the way home.]

Mr. Chen: She seemed nice enough.

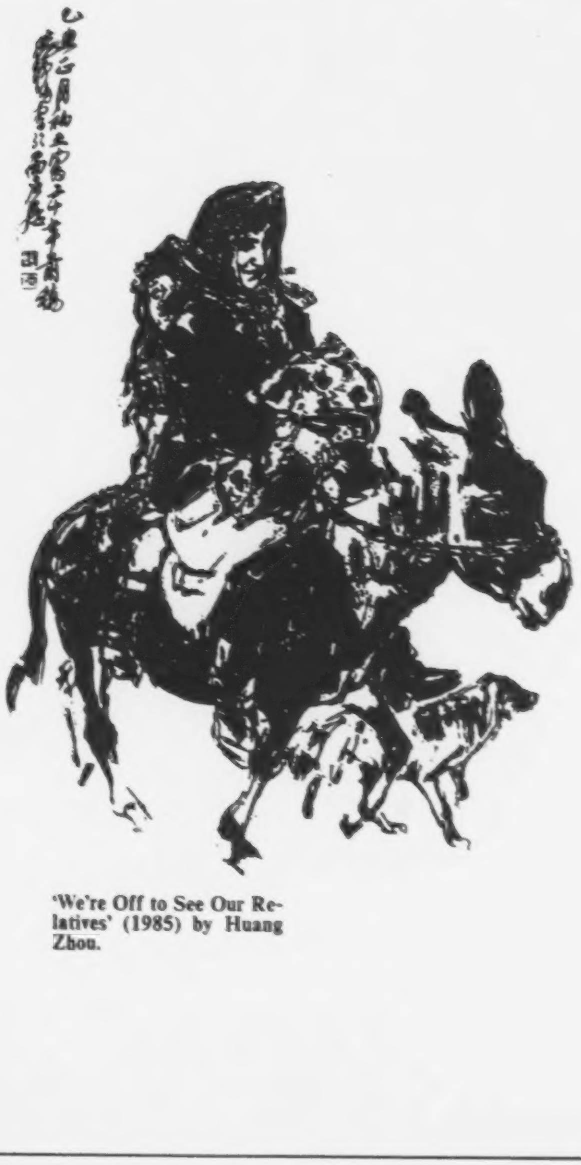
Mrs. Chen: Yes, but her family seems better off than ours. Will she be willing to marry a pig farmer? Unless your son passes the technical college entrance exam, that's all he'll be, after all. I don't think a girl who works in a factory is going to want to be a farmer's wife, even if her own parents were farmers.

MM: Chen Yong, what do you think? Do you want to meet with her again?

Chen Yong: Not really. I would rather concentrate on getting in to technical college than get married and having to worry about kids.

MM: Well, think it over. She is a fine young girl from a good family. She has saved up a lot of money and is very filial. Girls like that are hard to find these days. I'll talk to you all in a few days to see what you think.

*Unit Consultant: Joseph Bosco, Associate Director*
*Taiwan Area Studies Program, East Asian Institute, Columbia Univ.*



'We're Off to See Our Relatives' (1985) by Huang Zhou.

*Student Reading* 家

## CHINESE NAMES

Chinese names give a good picture of how the Chinese view the world and the importance of the family.

In the first two lists of names, read the English translation from top to bottom. The words in the first list make up a saying of Confucius regarding the Chinese view of life. The words in the second list make up a poem reflecting that view of the world.

The third list consists of two examples of how Chinese names are given, with each generation having a name in common. The fourth list demonstrates how the characters from the first list (the Confucius saying) can be used through a number of generations.

### LIST 1

A Quotation from Confucius' Saying:

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| Generation 1 | 修 | xio | – cultivate |
| Generation 2 | 身 | shen | – personal life |
| Generation 3 | 齊 | qi | – regulate |
| Generation 4 | 家 | jia | – family life |
| Generation 5 | 治 | zhi | – administer |
| Generation 6 | 國 | guo | – country affairs |
| Generation 7 | 平 | ping | – make peace of |
| Generation 8 | 天 | tian | the whole world |
| Generation 9 | 下 | xia | |

# LIST 2

## A Couplet

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| Generation 1 | 孝 | xiao – filial piety |
| Generation 2 | 仁 | ren – love and kindness |
| Generation 3 | 起 | qi – build |
| Generation 4 | 家 | jia – family |
| Generation 5 | 忠 | zhong – faith and loyalty |
| Generation 6 | 義 | yi – justice and righteousness |
| Generation 7 | 建 | jian – found, build |
| Generation 8 | 國 | guo – country |

# LIST 3

Example 1: Generation 4 in Ding ( 丁 ) household:

丁家元 (Ding Jia yuan) — Ding family's first born
丁家玉 (Ding Jia yu) — Ding family's jade
丁家美 (Ding Jia mei) — Ding family's beauty
丁家才 (Ding Jia cai) — Ding family's talent

These four may be brothers, sisters or cousins all in the same generation in the Ding family. They all share the same middle character.

Example 2: Generation 6 in Wang ( 王 ) household:

王尚義 (Wang Shang yi) — Wong promotes justice
王明義 (Wang Ming yi) — Wong understand justice
王愛義 (Wang Ai yi) — Wong loves justice
王信義 (Wang Xin yi) — Wong believes justice

These four names represent four members in Wong household who belong to the same generation. They share the same third character.

# LIST 4

Furthermore, a multigenerational example is as follows:
In Ding ( 丁 ) household:

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| Generation 1: | 丁修全 | (Ding Xio quan) | Ding cultivates perfection |
| | 丁修仁 | (Ding Xio ren) | Ding cultivates love |
| | 丁修德 | (Ding Xio de) | Ding cultivates morality |
| Generation 2: | 丁身健 | (Ding Shen jian) | Ding's personal health |
| | 丁身智 | (Ding Shen zhi) | Ding's personal wisdom |
| | 丁身善 | (Ding Shen shan) | Ding's personal goodness |
| Generation 3: | 丁齊心 | (Ding Qi xin) | Ding to be one (regulates) heart |
| | 丁齊力 | (Ding Qi li) | Ding to be one force |
| | 丁齊備 | (Ding Qi bei) | Ding to be all ready |
| Generation 4: | 丁家元 | (Ding Jia yuan) | Ding family's first born |
| | 丁家玉 | (Ding Jia yu) | Ding family's jade |
| | 丁家美 | (Ding Jia mei) | Ding family's beauty |
| | 丁家才 | (Ding Jia cai) | Ding family's talent |

Lists 1,2,3,and 4 are reprinted with permission from *Echoes of China*.

# THE CHINESE HOME

## The Traditional Plan of Chinese Homes

In general traditional Chinese homes have these components:

- A walled enclosure

  The wall secures privacy and serves as a defense in times of emergency. It also defines a physical space inside which people belong to one another, a place for the unity of family.

- The courtyard

  The courtyard allows sunlight into the inner spaces of the house and provides an outdoor activity space for the celebration of festivals. Sometimes it is a garden.

- The axial plan

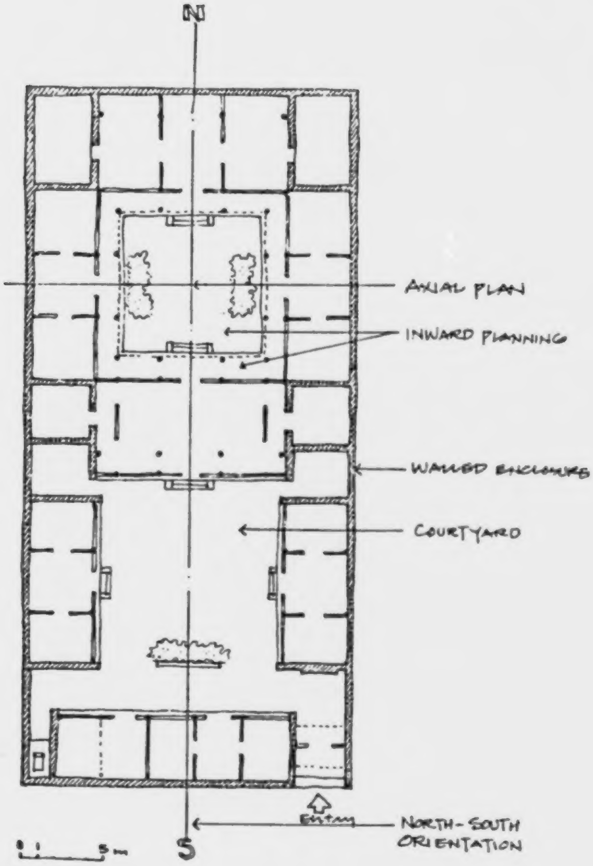
  Axial planning provides an organized method for giving Chinese houses a sense of order and balance.

- The north-south orientation

  The solar-orientation provides a sunny, southern exposure to the major living spaces.

- Inward planning concept

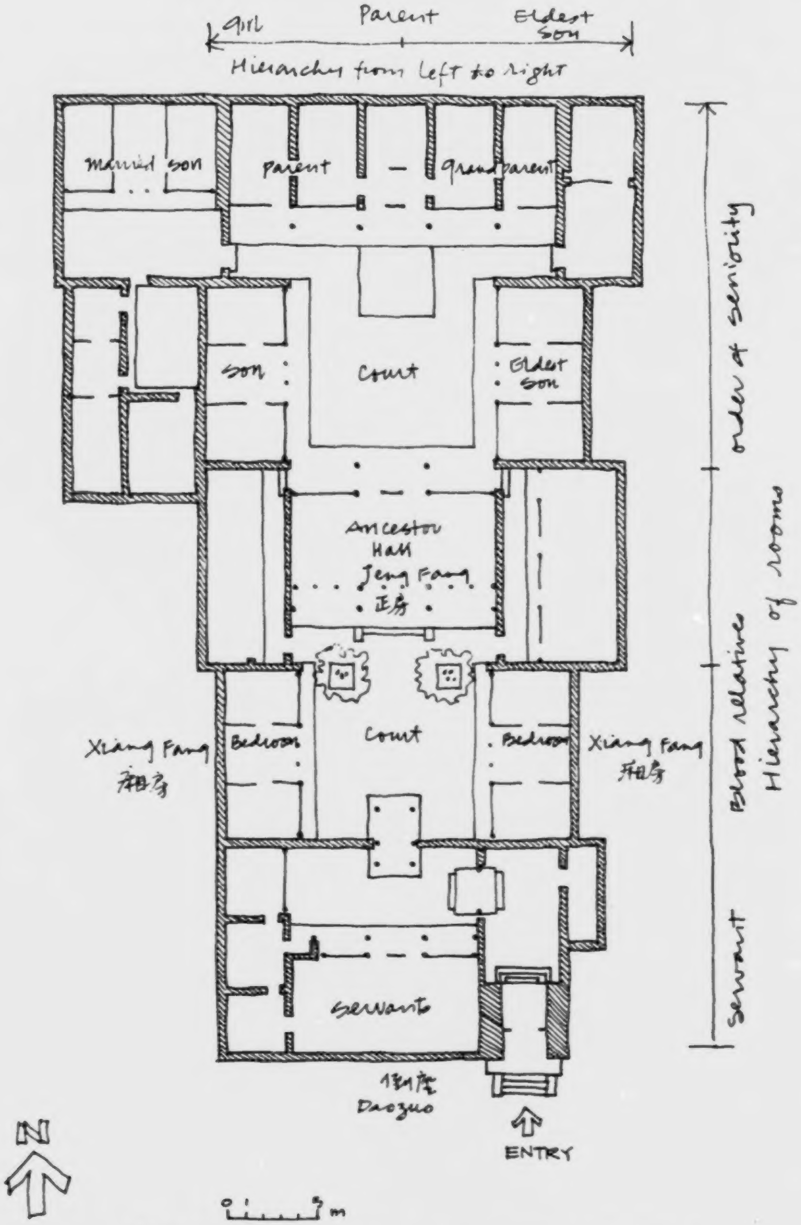
  The houses are planned around a courtyard with the maximum linkage between the indoor and outdoor space. This represents the unity of man and nature, while focusing on the importance of the family.


N
AXIAL PLAN
INWARD PLANNING
WALLED ENCLOSURE
COURTYARD
ENTRY
NORTH-SOUTH ORIENTATION
5m
S

THE TRADITIONAL PLAN OF CHINESE HOME
( PEKING COURTYARD HOUSE )

Discussion

1. Draw a diagram of your home. How is it similar to or different from the traditional Chinese home?
2. What is the equivalent of the courtyard in American homes?


girl
Parent
Eldest son
Hierarchy from left to right
Married son
Parent
Grandparent
Son
Court
Eldest son
Ancestor Hall
Jeng Fang
正房
Xiang Fang
厢房
Bedroom
Court
Bedroom
Xiang Fang
厢房
Servants
倒座
Daozuo
ENTRY
N
0 1 5 m
order of seniority
Blood relative
Servant
Hierarchy of rooms

FAMILY HIERARCHY IN A PEKING HOUSE

Reprinted with permission from *Echoes of China*

*FEATURED RESOURCE*

# Contemporary Family Life in Rural China: A Teaching Unit

This excellent teaching unit consists of 66 slides with a teacher's guide, and a number of exercises to follow each slide presentation. The unit looks at both the place of individuals within the family and the internal dynamics of the family as they relate to changes in village communities during collectivization. The main focus is on the division of labor within the household. It begins with a look at family life in a southern China village, then addresses the role of the grandparents, the parents, and the socialization of the children.

Available from:

SPICE
Littlefield Center, Rm. 14
300 Lausen St.
Stanford University
Stanford, CA 94305-5013
(415) 723-1114

Price: $39.95

40 pp., 66 slides

*FEATURED RESOURCE*

# All in the Family: China Old and New

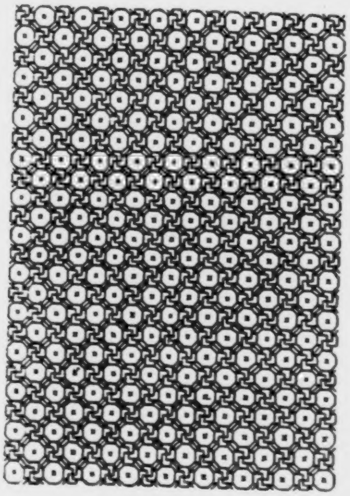
This resource helps students investigate the ideals underlying family relations in traditional and modern China with emphasis on identifying and comparing principles on which family relationships are based.

Available from:

SPICE
Littlefield Center, Rm. 14
300 Lausen St.
Stanford University
Stanford, CA 94305-5013
(415) 723-1114

Price: $6.95

10 pp., 7 slides



## Unit 3

# Interpersonal Relations

## Student Reading

Social relations are the strings that hold societies together; without them, humans are just isolated individuals. Whereas Americans emphasize social skills (like making small-talk at parties) that allow them to make friends, the Chinese need some kind of existing social relation - for example, a family tie or a school tie - for them to connect freely and talk openly, to change a stranger into a friend.

Individualism often leads Americans to see their society as made up of separate persons each with their own values and ideas, but the Chinese see themselves as tied in a web of kin and non-kin relations. Because the Chinese focus so much on social relations, they de-emphasize individualism and private rights. Americans remind themselves that they need friends and relatives and that they are not just individuals when they sing "No Man Is an Island," but the Chinese do not sing or understand that song - of course no one is an island!

### 1. Relatives

The Chinese are closely tied to their kin. They distinguish two kinds of relatives: *agnates* and *affines*. *Agnates* are related to them by descent through males; they have the same surname, and have a common male ancestor several generations back. Since boys do not leave their family home at marriage, relatives through the male tend to live nearby. Often a neighborhood or even an entire village will have the same surname and be distantly related. Cousins who have the same surname will often have one of the two characters in their given name in common, to emphasize their close relationship. For example, cousins in the Yang family may be called Yang Jinzeng, Yang Yaozeng, Yang Shaozeng, and so on, the zeng repeated to mark their common generation.

*Affines*, the other kind of relative, are relatives through marriage; they include a person's mother's brother (an uncle) and his family, and a family's relatives through grandmother, mother, and daughters-in-law. These relatives all have different surnames because people of the same surname cannot marry. While agnatic relatives live nearby, affinal relatives live in other villages and towns, all the places from which brides came. These are all people with whom they can exchange visits and favors.

2. Teachers, Co-Workers and Friends

Non-kin friends also add to a person's web of social relations. Neighbors and fellow-villagers are usually friends even if they are not related. Many Chinese make life-long friends in school, and co-workers also often become good friends. Teacher-student ties are strong, and army buddies often keep in touch for a lifetime. These friends are usually so important that many people avoid moving from home or will move to the city only because they have friends (and perhaps relatives) already there.

3. "Connections" or *Guanxi*

When the Chinese have to find a job or buy expensive items, they will try to go through some "connection," a person they are related to or know well who would not cheat them. This idea of connection is called guanxi, and though it often appears to Americans to be a form of nepotism (favoritism to relatives) that leads to corruption, guanxi is not necessarily the cause of corruption. It is really just people acting as mediators for one another. Guanxi can be through ties of kinship, or through non-kin ties. In Taiwan and Hong Kong, if a factory job opens up, workers will tell their friends and relatives about it and help them get the job. Having guanxi does not necessarily get them the job, but it avoids having to go to the factory as a stranger, and helps avoid being treated like a stranger and losing face.

4. Mediators

Chinese use mediators to avoid and resolve social disputes. Few events are more delicate and difficult than getting in-laws to agree on wedding arrangements. Weddings in the United States often cause hard feelings between families over what should be a joyous occasion, even though the bride's family is in charge of deciding (and paying for) all the arrangements. The Chinese use a mediator so that the two families do not have to discuss wedding arrangements directly. She shuttles back and forth between the families so they can reach an agreement without any squabbles or hurt feelings. Mediators are also often brought in to help resolve disputes between relatives and friends, thereby keeping the disputes out of the courts.

5. Hierarchy

Hierarchy is very important in Chinese society. To show you are well-mannered, you refer to people by their title or by a fictive kinship term. Teachers are revered, and addressed by the title laoshi which means "teacher," not just Mr., Mrs. or Miss. If you are young, you refer to people your parent's age as "uncle" or "auntie," a custom many Chinese-American families continue in English. Though it sounds formal and odd to most Americans, it is done to express respect and closeness in Chinese. In fact, just as American parents tell their children to say thank you and please, Chinese parents tell their children "Say hello to Auntie Grace," thereby telling their child how to address the adult and making sure the child shows respect.

6. Group Orientation

The Chinese are also very group oriented. Kindergartners play as a group and have little time for individual activities. Older students on class trips like to sing songs and play games that involve the entire bus; if someone wants to read a book or be left alone, he is considered rude. Group activities teach young Chinese how to cooperate and work together, skills that are necessary not just in communes but in an office, on a factory floor, and even in the family.

## QUESTIONS FOR DISCUSSION

1) Which relatives are more important, agnatic or affinal relatives?

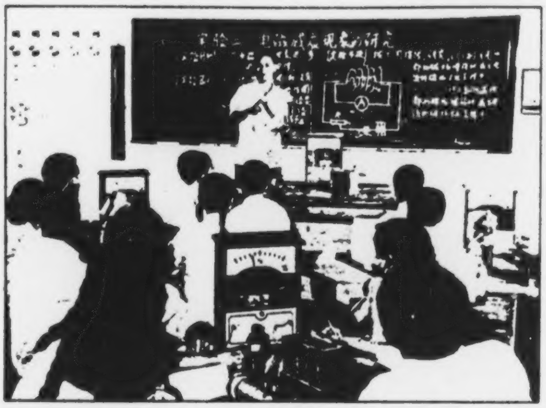
2) Who are our "connections" in the U.S.? Do we use them for special favors? Why?

3) What do you call your parent's friends (Mr. and Mrs. Smith, or Paul and Jane)? What do you call your uncles and aunts (some Americans now use just the first name)? What feelings do you think the titles represent?

4) Do you think it is important to learn how to cooperate? What are some of the ways Americans learn to cooperate?

## Unit 4

# Education



*Demonstration of experimental techniques in a middle-school chemistry class, Guangzhou.*

## Teacher's Background

Modernizing the educational system in China and depoliticizing the role of education has been a priority of the post-Mao reform effort. Unlike the Maoist years, which laid stress on being politically correct rather than well-educated, the reform years have stressed the more traditional forms of education, focusing especially on the sciences. Since the Tiananmen Incident in 1989 however, (see Politics and Government section for details), the government has renewed its call for students to emulate more closely the political goals of the revolution. In a fifteen article code of conduct, they are urged to follow the example of workers and peasants and not to imitate the flashy ways of Western students.

During the ten years of the Cultural Revolution (1966-1976), most universities were closed, tens of thousands of books burned, and academics, teachers, and students were criticized and sent to work in the countryside to perform manual labor. Exacerbating the disruption in education was the discrimination against students with a "bad class" background-- eg., former capitalists, academics, and those from intellectual families or otherwise politically incorrect backgrounds. The idea of education-through-rustification (being sent to work in the rural areas) was Mao's attempt to provide the experience of physical hardship in revolution for those lacking the exposure. The class-background approach also sought to give the children of workers and peasants greater opportunities for educational advancement. But the poor educational foundations of these students wreaked havoc on the standards and operation of the universities.

Education-to-aid-development (in the Maoist years: education-to-aid-the-revolution) is a difficult issue for all developing countries, especially as the numbers seeking admission usually exceed the capacity of the existing system. In China, with over one billion people, this is even more so the case. Opportunities for educational advancement are still much greater for urban youth than for rural youth. The government has been increasing educational opportunities by developing alternatives to the traditional four-year university program-- television universities, spare-time courses, correspondence courses, and courses conducted in factories. The enrollment of conventional universities also has been expanded, causing overcrowding.

The poor living conditions at some of the key universities have been the cause of protests among students. The low budget priority given to academics and recent moves to encourage universities to fund themselves has been particularly distressing to students and faculty members.

In imperial times, the function of China's educational system was to educate prospective officials in the Confucian classics so that they might govern well and exhibit exemplary personal qualities. In recent times, the underlying assumptions regarding education's role in China have been challenged. During the Cultural Revolution, book learning was eschewed as creating an elite not sensitive to the needs of the revolution. A renewed focus on formal education and academic achievement has accompanied the reform movement, raising a number of questions about the role of education in China's development. Two themes are addressed in the readings. The first is the general theme of the group versus the individual, selflessness versus individualism. The second is the question of Chinese identity and the best way to develop China. Does modernization mean Westernization? Does a focus on formal education mean a return to the feudal ways with class distinctions and little allegiance to developing the country? What should the role of education be in the development effort?

The first reading is a recent letter to the editor by a young woman who suffers from the pressure placed on her by family and friends (society in general), who view book-learning as the most important element in her development. Also attached is a cartoon of a Chinese report card in which the student (xxx) receives a certificate of merit for high academics while other aspects of development are clearly less important. The second reading is a recounting of the Zhang Tiesheng Affair which began the anti-book learning movement during the Cultural Revolution.

**Lesson Suggestion:** Divide the class in half, give one half the Zhang reading and the other the Chen reading. Encourage each group to identify with the young people in their reading and then have one group try to explain the feelings about education at that time to the others.

## *Student Reading*

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# I

by Chen Ze

I AM so happy and relaxed this summer vacation. I can go wherever I want without trying to hide myself. There is no longer any anxiety bearing down on me all day. Even watching TV is more interesting than in the past, for my parents do not repeatedly urge me to study with that worried look of theirs. Perhaps you may say: What's the big deal? Is there anybody who is not happy and relaxed during a summer vacation? But as far as I'm concerned, I would not have dared to play and feel happy three days ago, not to say in the three previous years, had I not known my test scores for promotion to senior high school.

Three years ago I graduated from primary school. Because I was naughty and ignorant in my childhood, I failed to pass the high school entrance examination. I had no choice but to stay on in the primary school along with another eighty or so unfortunate children who had the same bad luck as me. As a primary school with high school classes attached, it did not even offer a complete high school curriculum. Thus we stayed on for six months, and then even this primary school refused to keep us any longer.

Fortunately, there are still many good people in this world. We were finally allowed to continue our education many days after other students had already started the term. The school that we entered was called the "second division" of a key high school. It was said to be a school but was not recognized by the Bureau of Education, which even refused to provide our teachers with teaching material. Two dark and dirty rooms outside of the school were found and designated to be our classrooms. We didn't have a bell to call us to classes; we didn't have sitting-up exercises during the break; we had no eye exercises, no singing, and no sports. All that should be had in [school] life we didn't have.

Life completely changed for me, and I felt unhappy every day. This was not because of the poor conditions of study, but because all of a sudden I seemed to become much lower than others. I never went out to play, not because I didn't want to play but because I was too ashamed to face anyone else or to look for former playmates. Nor would their parents allow them to play with me, as I was a student of the "second division." It is also because of this that my relatives tended to give me a cold shoulder. Later we were allowed to move into the school proper but retained the name of "second division." In the physical culture class, when our classmates got into mischief, the teacher would rebuke us: "You are of the 'second division.' What do you run wild for? If you want to run wild, you better think whether this is the place for it!" At this all the classmates lowered their heads. I really hated the name "second division." Whenever people mentioned the "second division" or asked me which school I attended, I felt as if a needle had been stuck into my heart, and I was extremely unhappy.

We were human the same as others, but why were we denied the fine feelings and warmth between man and man? More than once when I heard the ridicule of people, saw the sneers of relatives, or the silent tears of my mother, I secretly burst into tears. I hated myself for being no good, but I was not a person to live on the sympathy and pity of others. I could never bring myself to believe that I was inferior to others. I simply had to work hard, to make a desperate effort.

Thus I embarked on a struggle, a lonely and difficult road I had never experienced before. But I had to make a good show. From that time onward, I never went out except to go to school. On the road, I always dipped my head and hurriedly walked forward; I had no intention to run into an acquaintance, still less the talented students of the key schools and key classes. On returning home, I would bury myself in books, studying and studying without a break.

Sometimes, I wished I could have the help of my classmates. But once I saw that some of them, fearful that others might outstrip them, "kept their knowledge secret" and resented each other, I did not want to turn to them. For my part, I too wanted to guard against others.

Thus, I stayed at my desk all by myself numerous cold, wintry nights, as well as hot summer days. My brains were strained by work but my heart was so hollow and cold. Before me was a dim light and behind me a lonely shadow. A series of scenes from my childhood reappeared in my mind's eye:

In summer when flowers were in full bloom, I went with my little playmates to catch frogs at the pond. After we caught the frogs, we piled the earth high and built low terraces along the bank of the pond and then dug a big waterhole. Laughing heartily, we watched the frogs jump from the diving platforms and race in swimming.

After a rainfall, we would dig caves in the side of a hill, with one cave linked to another. Behind them there were also hidden holes and tunnels just like a labyrinth.

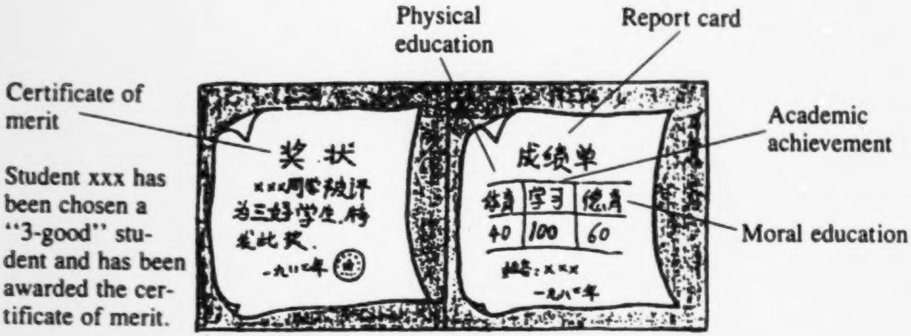
In the freezing cold winter, we would go skating and play games on nearby ponds and fight with each other on the "war chariots" that we made ourselves with boards and angle iron. . . .

This golden childhood was happy. Our little playmates were so close to each other that if anyone was bullied all others would feel bad. Whenever one got something good, the others would share his joy. And if anyone found a pretty cigarette case, he would show it around and nobody would feel jealous of him. But what about now? Why should people distrust and even guard against and oppose each other?

After all, our carefree childhood is gone forever. I must face reality. After three years of hard work, I have passed the examination and been admitted to a key class that I don't like. Despite this, new anxieties begin to grip my heart.

I am still a student, and there will be plenty of examinations down the road. Can I win in every examination? It seems to me life is filled with competitions. The people around me are each a classmate, a friend, and at the same time a competitor. The winners of the competitions earn the admiration of others, and the losers suffer discrimination. I have great sympathy for those who lose and often pray that I may never become a loser in my life. I yearn for the day when there is no more competition among people so that everyone can get along with others in friendly affection and lead a life of dignity.

"Zai jingzheng zhong neng fazhan youyi ma?" [Can Friendship Be Fostered Amid Competition?]. This section, "Wo," appeared in the "High School Days" Column, *Zhongguo qingnian* [China Youth], No. 6 (June 1982). Translation from *Chinese Education* 18:1 (Spring 1985), pp. 43–48.


Physical education
Report card
Certificate of merit
Student xxx has been chosen a "3-good" student and has been awarded the certificate of merit.
Academic achievement
Moral education
奖状
xxx同学被评为三好学生,特发此奖.
一九八二年
成绩单
体育 学习 德育
40 100 60
班主任: xxx
一九八二年

如此"三好"　河南洛阳关林地质队子弟学校

潘卓金（高一）

"THREE GOOD" IS DETERMINED IN THIS MANNER?

*Ruci sanhao* by Pan Zhuojin (first year senior high student from Henan Province)

*Source: Zhongxue sheng* [Middle School Student], No. 3 (March 1983), p. 81.

Chinese students are urged to be good in athletics, study, and morality ("three-good"). Those that achieve three-good status are commended and sometimes rewarded. Because achievement in study is so important currently in China, students are often granted three-good status on high grades alone.

Policy Conflicts in Post-Mao China, John P. Burns and Stanley Rosen, eds. (Armonk, NY: M.E. Sharpe, 1986)

## *Student Reading*

### A BLANK-PAPER HERO

My name is Zhang Tiesheng and I am from the northeast province of Liaoning. My father is now a worker in a steel plant but we are very poor. Before 1949 we suffered miserably because we often could not make ends meet. I was unable to go to school because my family needed me to help out. Still, I grew up strong and healthy, and in 1968 when Chairman Mao called on all young people like myself (I was a teenager then) to go to the countryside and learn the value of doing physical labor and living the life of a true revolutionary, I gladly went. I worked very hard and won the respect of my comrades. I believe the most important thing for developing our country is the selfless hard work of all people.

When Chairman Mao called on the youth of China to become "Red Guards" and to protect our glorious socialist revolution from those who do not love China but instead love the old feudal ways which discriminate against the poor and the workers, I was ready to give my all.

I carefully studied the method of growing crops and the life and hardships of the rural people while ever diligent in attacking the bourgeois-capitalists who want only money and possessions. Finally, in 1973 my good deeds and strong political beliefs supporting Chairman Mao and the Cultural Revolution to promote China's development, won me a nomination to enter a university. How happy I was at the thought of pursuing my interest in agriculture!

But my hopes were dashed when the university administrators told me to take an entrance exam. You see, I had been working for the revolution and had only finished sixth grade. The exam had many questions which I could not answer. While I stared at the blank page the voice of Chairman Mao rang in my ears: "Young people of China! Do not be lazy and selfish and preoccupied with book-learning! Go up to the mountains and down to the villages! Embrace the peasants who produce your food, see what real work is like! We must use the new ideas, new habits, and new customs of the working class to develop our great nation...go out young Red Guards - smash the old ways, sweep away old culture!"

I looked around the room at the rest of the students who were reciting the knowledge of books and classroom education in order to get into the university. I knew they thought that getting an education would help them get a secure job and a good salary. They reminded me of the older times when getting an education out of Western textbooks and old Chinese writings was all that mattered to a family. All that was important was to get your child into a good school! Education was the most important thing for a family's status.

In a flurry I turned my blank paper over and wrote:

> I have been too busy with agricultural labor as a worker-peasant-soldier trying to develop China to study textbooks. I detest bookworms who've done no labor in the selfless spirit of every good Chinese! This test is a return to the old ways meant to keep peasants and workers out of university, and I am against this!

I stormed out so angry that my face was red and my fists were clenched.

The next day people came to shake my hand and congratulate me. "Why are you doing this?" I asked one person. "Because, Tiesheng, you are a hero!" she answered with a smile, and then thrust a newspaper in my hand. There on the cover was the headline "COMRADE ZHANG TIESHENG IS A GOING-AGAINST-THE-TIDE HERO." The article went on to support my refusal to take the entrance test as an "heroic act against the bad elements that still seek to return to the old educational system!" "His example reminds us," it said, "that the role of education is to perform good deeds for each other, and that the opportunity for access to education should not be based only on tests." An old peasant saw me on the street and said, "Young friend, you have done a great thing! You have protected the rights of all workers, peasants, and soldiers to an education." I was no longer angry, but now felt very proud of my country and of our revolution.

---

Composed by Catherine H. Keyser
from the true-life story of Zhang Tiesheng.

## QUESTIONS FOR DISCUSSION

1) During the Cultural Revolution years students were selected for Chinese universities on the basis of their contributions as workers in factories and on farms. Neither their former education nor achievment exams were used as admission criteria. By the mid-1970s this policy was stopped as not supportive of the modernization effort. What type of education do you think they were ready to receive in the university during the Cultural Revolution? What would be the problem with it?

2) Why do you think there is so much pressure on Chen Ze to do well in school?

3) Does Chen Ze's view of education differ from Zhang Tiesheng's view? If so, how?

4) Which character do you identify with the most?

5) The other students in both stories seem competitive. Why? Are students in your school competitive?

6) How do you think Zhang Tiesheng would feel about the report card? Which area would he feel is most important?

7) Do you think achievment standards are important? Why?

8) What type of civic values are stressed at your school? Are these marked on your report card?

9) How does the report card at your school compare with the Chinese report card?

Students take their written examination in *Everyday English*.

*FEATURED RESOURCE*

# Education in the People's Republic of China

This unit begins with an introductory policymaking exercise. In this hypothetical exercise, students are asked to serve as advisers to the Minister of Education in a newly established country. The purpose of the exercise is to help students clarify their understanding of the meaning of education and to introduce key issues in determining educational priorities for developing countries such as China. In addition, there are articles on the Chinese educational system, the position and status of teachers, and student life.

Available from:

SPICE
Littlefield Center, Rm. 14
300 Lausen St.
Stanford University
Stanford, CA 94305-5013
(415) 723-1114

Price: $19.95

35 pp., 23 slides, secondary school level

# *Education Under Mao: A Book Review*

*Education Under Mao: Class and Competition in Canton Schools, 1960-80* by Jonathan Unger, Columbia University Press, 1982, 247 pages (excluding notes).

With the surname of the late Great Helmsman in the title of his book, Jonathan Unger accepts an enormous task, for there is little that has not been written about the life and times of Mao Zedong. In Education Under Mao, however, Unger goes beyond the policies of the Communist Party leader in his search to explain the disruption of the Chinese educational system during the Cultural Revolution of 1966 to 1976. To portray the sociological, historical and political reasons for the student mutiny that occurred during that period, he extends his comprehensive analysis to include the early sixties and the post-Cultural Revolution period. He outlines for his readers the factors which contributed to the "full circle" of changes in education, the complete abolition of and swing back to the traditional system of academic evaluation by examination.

Dividing his analysis into three periods - before, during and after the Cultural Revolution - Unger focusses specifically on Guangdong, a southeastern province with a population of more than 56 million people. The diverse school system of Guangzhou (Canton), the major city of Guangdong, is set in contrast to the surrounding rural areas. He devotes an entire chapter to the rustification of urban youth, Mao's favorite scheme for re-educating those without revolutionary experience and without an understanding of the purifying value of physical toil.

According to Unger, the goal of mass education to promote equal opportunity was more strongly endorsed in the People's Republic of China than in other late-developing Third World countries which were also initiating reforms as they expanded public education. This comparison with the rest of the Third World gives this book an interesting perspective. It results from the thesis advanced by Great Britain's Institute of Development Studies and provides a baseline for Unger's research. The thesis, as summarized in Unger's introduction, identifies a "diploma disease" that plagues many Third World countries. Students compete for paper credentials that qualify them for non-existent jobs while they remain ignorant of the practical skills needed to contribute to economic development.

Unger credits the Chinese leadership with recognizing this problem. Throughout the two decades with which the author concerns himself, there was continuous debate among party leaders over the role of education and what sort of graduates should be cultivated for the benefit of the nation (a debate certainly yet unresolved). The radical changes of the late sixties temporarily erased the symptoms of "diploma disease" by shifting the emphasis away from academic competition, although replacing it with no satisfactory alternatives. The students who were in school primarily to extol communist ideology, knowing they would probably find themselves in the rice fields after graduation, hardly had an advantage over their predecessors who diligently memorized their way past each successive test in competition for the few university placements. With faint optimism for the future, Unger describes the revival of the examination system after the Cultural Revolution bringing Chinese educational policy "full circle." He concludes:

> Twenty years have passed; but little has been solved. China faces the same sets of dilemmas, retracing a familiar road...the ideological convictions of the students are greatly diminished and the competition to enter a university may soon become every bit as acute as in the mid-sixties. (p. 217)

Unger's main sources of information are interviews with former students and teachers. He frequently relies on their words to tell the story of Education Under Mao. These well selected and integrated quotations give book a compelling element of human interest and insight. The reader gains a personal sense of how the young people responded to the abrupt changes in the schools and to the political demands of the period. Through his group of informants, Unger reveals a wide variation in the attitudes of students toward education which correspond with the different political views and class backgrounds of the students.

Perhaps the probing discussion of the impact of class background on the students is the theme which most demonstrates the thrust of the Book. Unger suggests that Mao's "class line" resulted in a polarization of student bodies by bestowing greatest privilege on those least equipped by their home environment (that is, their class background) to take full advantage of the opportunity. Coming from families where little stress was placed on book learning, the newly privileged students did not excel at a rate equal to that of the children of intellectuals. While Mao championed affirmative action in favor of the children of peasants and revolutionaries, his opponents saw modernization as the key to economic development and promoted the system of competition that encouraged the development of a higher level of scientific and technical expertise.

From *China Update*, March 1983, pp. 9-10.

# *Unit 5*
# Women

*Teacher's Note:*

As a general introduction to women in China, encourage students to think out what is involved in working outside the home, why women go to work, where they usually find jobs, and how they juggle both the job and the home life. If students' mothers work, ask them who does the housework etc. These questions should help focus some of the difficulties faced by working women.

In addition, this unit on women will highlight the role of hierarchy and paternalism in the family and the state and the continuing presence of traditional Chinese attitudes towards women and children. See also the introductory reading to the **Society** section, and the **Geography and Population** section for more detail on women and children.

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## *Student Reading*

### WOMEN IN CHINA

Women in China have fared less well than their Japanese counterparts, despite the fact that equality of women has been a goal of the Party since the 1920s. This is due in part to the fact that Marxists believed that if everyone were made equal and thus women were given the opportunity to become part of the productive labor force, inequality would in time disappear. The Communists were also reluctant to push for women's equality if it conflicted with other needs of the Party. In the 1940s when the Communists were building support in the countryside, support for women's equality was limited so as not to antagonize the peasant population. At the end of the Great Leap Forward, which had resulted in great underemployment, women were pushed back into women's work. This has also been true during the period after the Cultural Revolution.

The Cultural Revolution (CR) did, however, open up opportunities for women. The assumption of the CR was that given, the right socialist perspective, everyone was capable of doing everything. During this time, women had freedom they had never had before. The redirection of society after the CR has modified or reduced that freedom in some instances with the concurrence of women themselves. Chinese women have accepted a definition of femininity based on beautification of the body, which American feminists rejected some time ago.

The economic and social reorganization of the countryside has placed women back into a more traditional situation. The family is again the basic unit of society, and women, especially in the countryside which still contains 70% of China's population, are again being evaluated on the basis of their usefulness to the family. Women are not given the educational opportunities offered to males. (70% of the illiterate or barely literate are women; less than 40% of middle school population are female and less than 25% of college students, which at best comprises 1% of the total population, are female.) Since women marry out, it is more economic to take advantage of their labor for as long as possible before they leave and to save the expense of the cost of their education.

The models of womanhood which have recently appeared in the press are of two kinds - tireless workers, famous people, or heroines who are cited for their deeds with no reference to gender, or loyal wives cited for their female role. Approved feminine virtues are the traditional ones - being a good daughter-in-law, wife, and mother - which involve self-sacrifice, subservience, and hard work. How women are to reconcile these two roles is not yet being discussed. Women still have the double burden of work and housework, and housework takes an enormous amount of time.

Also, women still have the traditional responsibility for providing a son to carry on the family name. This expectation has combined with the government's campaign (begun in 1972) to limit population growth to increase the physical violence directed toward females. An increase in female infanticide became apparent in the early 1980s as did incidents of wife-battering of women by their husbands and mothers-in-law who had given birth to daughters. The central government has acted to redress these situations by labelling them as crimes and prosecuting violators, but it has been difficult to get local authorities to investigate complaints because of their disinclination to intrude into "family matters." It is also difficult for women to withdraw from these relationships. Divorce is considered shameful and divorced women are considered indecent and promiscuous. There are also strong cultural pressures to avoid conflict and solve problems through mediation, and against taking problems into court. Further, there is the problem of finding housing if a woman is divorced. Housing is in extremely short supply and in general women suffer from discrimination in housing assignments, men being given priority.

Reprinted with permission from *Update*, "Women in China and Japan" December 1988. *Update* is published by the Center for East Asian and Pacific Studies, University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign.

## QUESTIONS FOR DISCUSSION

1) What does women's liberation mean to you?

2) Do you think the Chinese government is doing enough for women in China? What would you do?

3) Traditional Chinese culture places the value of boys above the value of girls because boys could work longer in the fields and generally are physically stronger. Boys also carried on the family name and took care of the parents in their old age. Compare this with the U.S.: is the physical strength of a person more valued than mental strength (intelligence)? How does your family or your cultural background feel about boy and girl babies? Who takes care of elderly parents in America?

## Old Madam Yin: A Memoir of Peking Life, 1926–1938. By Ida Pruitt. Introduction by Margery Wolf. Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1979. ix, 129 pp. $8.95.

People who lived in Peking prior to World War II were able to observe that many elements of China's premodern civilization had survived there well into the twentieth century. In spite of such imports as electricity, railroads, modern universities and foreign embassies, and the disappearance of the institution of the emperor, the traditional Chinese way of life generally prevailed, with only superficial adjustments made by most of the population. Fortunately for later generations interested in China's modernization, Ida Pruitt has written two perceptive books about old-fashioned Chinese women who, when confronted by changing conditions, responded to them in traditional ways.

*A Daughter of Han*, the life story of an elderly woman of the working class, skillfully drawn from her, written down by Miss Pruitt, published by the Yale University Press in 1945, and republished by the Stanford University Press in 1967, is generally recognized as an important source of information about life in North China during the half-century prior to the Japanese invasion. Now Miss Pruitt has supplied another fascinating book, Old Madam Yin, in which she writes about another elderly old-fashioned woman who was a close personal friend and the matriarch of a wealthy and respected family.

Ida Pruitt, born to missionary parents in a Shantung village and educated in the United States, returned to China in 1918 as an experienced medical social worker, to spend twenty years as head of the Social Service Department of the Peking Union Medical College hospital. Her command of the Chinese language, her familiarity with Chinese life; and her empathetic manner of dealing with Chinese of all classes gave her unusual personal contacts and understanding, which make her books particularly significant.

Miss Pruitt met old Madam Yin (Lao Tai-tai) when she applied to the hospital for an orphan boy to be adopted by her second son, and they soon became fast friends. The book describes a number of occasions when they did things together, combining a detailed report of what Lao Tai-tai said and did with the author's unusually perceptive observations and explanations. Among the episodes described are the adopted baby's one-month celebration; a visit to the Yin family residence during which the guests were conducted by Lao Tai-tai through its many buildings, courtyards, and gardens, which Miss Pruitt describes in detail; an attempted suicide by the concubine of Lao Tai-tai's third son; the problems created for Lao Tai-tai by the fourth son's marriage to a French woman who evidently disapproved of everything Chinese except her husband, and by a daughter whose modern education made her rebellious against traditional values and patterns of behavior; and Lao Tai-tai's showing of the burial clothes she had collected for herself when she realized that she had a fatal illness.

Besides this, Miss Pruitt records many other meetings with Lao Tai-tai and supplies much additional material about her and her family, collected from servants and other members of the family. Like *A Daughter of Han, Old Madam Yin* is a mine of information about the traditional Chinese family system and its values and practices, and the problems it confronted in a modernizing China. The book is very well written and is of interest both to professional students of China and to ordinary people who are curious about one of the world's great civilizations.

Knight Biggerstaff
*Cornell University*

Journal of Asian Studies, XL/1, November 1980, pp. 118–119.

## *FEATURED RESOURCE*

# Women in Traditional China

Available from:

GEM Publications
411 Mallalieu Drive
Hudson, WI 54016

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| Prices: | Women in Traditional China | $3.95 (paper) |
| | Women in Modern China | $3.95 (paper) |
| | Teacher's Guides | $0.95 each |
| | Sound Filmstrip and Guide: | $24.95 |

**Women in Traditional China** presents an historical survey of women from the most ancient archaeological evidence to the modern transition period of the 19th century. The various potentially strong roles for women such as empress dowager, imperial concubine, woman warrior and religious nun are discussed. It also presents the hardships for women in China because of their subordinate roles in the Chinese family, at least until old age. Issues relating to traditional women such as female infanticide, adopting daughter-in-laws, the preference for boy children, and the narrow opportunities for education for girls are discussed. Footbinding as a symbol of the restrictions on many traditional Chinese women's lives is also emphasized.

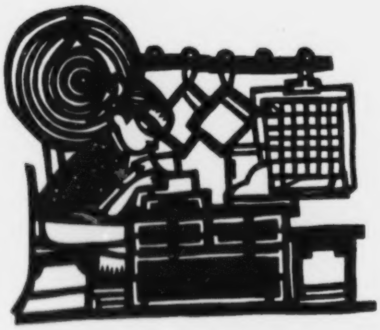
**Women in Modern China** presents an historical survey of 19th century and early 20th century reform movements aimed at achieving women's rights. The nationalist and communist plans for change in women's status are compared, changes for women brought by the communist revolution are outlined and the careers of several prominent Chinese women are discussed. In the last part of the book, data on contemporary women in China is presented.

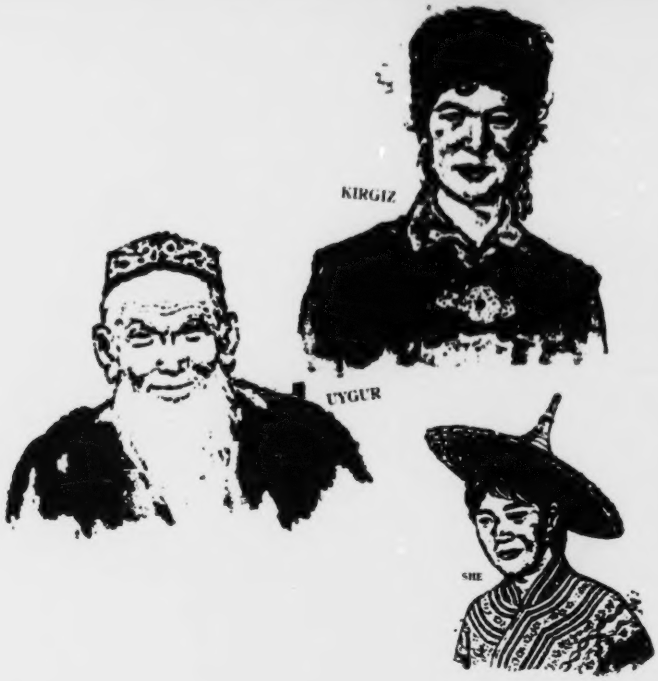
Both student books include excerpts from diaries, anthropologists' studies, and portions of archaeological evidence and travelers' accounts to present students with primary source materials on women in Chinese history. These books were pilot taught and revised to meet students' and teachers' suggestions.

**Teacher's Guides: Women in Traditional China** and **Women in Modern China** presents a short essay outlining the authors' general ideas about women's history and status in China; an outline of the objectives, possible teaching methods and answers to chapter questions for each section of the student books; a copy of a multiple choice test and answer key for the student books used in the pilot teaching.

## Sound Filmstrip and Guide

Each **Women in World Cultures** unit includes a sound filmstrip. The focus of the filmstrip **Women in China** is on the many powerful roles played by some women in China's history compared to the low status of most traditional Chinese women. The improvements in women's lives in the People's Republic of China are reviewed as well as the continuing problems of women in achieving equality. Many of the pictures are in color and were contributed by photographers who have traveled to China recently. Many others are unusual black and white photographs of historical significance.





## *Unit 6*
# Minorities

### *Teacher's Note*:

Minorities in China, groups who are not members of the Han majority, while representing roughly 6 percent of the total population, occupy a large percentage of Chinese territory. The Chinese government has been anxious to cultivate the political cooperation of minority groups, and minorities have received favored treatment and promotion politically. Some minority women have been exempt from the one-child policy. As the following student reading suggests, the government is very sensitive to accusations of seeking full assimilation of non-Han peoples, but social and political control by the state is basically as pervasive for non-Han as for Han peoples.

Below is the paragraph from the Chinese constitution on minorities. This and the student reading can be discussed in light of the U.S. constitution, and the issue of minorities in the U.S.

*Refer to the map on Chinese National Minorities immediately following the Table of Contents in the **Geography and Population** section.*

## Student Reading

Of the 1 billion plus citizens of the People's Republic of China, approximately 6 million or 6 percent of the total population are classified as being members of 54 national minorities. The Chinese have not publicly defined "minority", but their definition does not seem to be a question of race, separate language, or different value system because no one of these labels can be used to distinguish all minorities from the Chinese majority. Minority identity appears to be defined by social perceptions - the group's behavior or norms in some way differs from the Chinese majority.

With minor exceptions, China's minorities are all located along China's land frontiers. In the north there are the Mongols, references to whose forebears can be found in Chinese sources back to the beginning of the millennia. It is also the original home of the Manchus. Representatives of both groups conquered and ruled all or part of China during its long history - the best known being the Kubilai Kahn's Yuan dynasty (1264-1368) and the Manchu's Qing dynasty (1644-1911). After the fall of the Yuan, many of the Mongols returned to the old life of nomadic breeder of cattle horses in Mongolia. With the fall of imperial China at the beginning of this century, they declared Mongolia a separate state and with the help of the Russians after 1919 were able to separate Outer Mongolia from China. Inner Mongolia remains as a province of the Chinese state. The Manchus, on the other hand, did not return to their native lands which by the beginning of the 20th century had been populated by Chinese farmers or to their original way of life. By the time the Qing dynasty fell, the Manchus had become thoroughly sinicized, living among the Chinese - speaking, thinking, and acting in ways indistinguishable from the Chinese majority.

To the northwest and west, there are the Moslems and Tibetans. The province of Xinjiang, known previously as Eastern Turkestan, is the home of many Turkish tribes who converted to Islam in the 10th century. The largest group is the Uighers. The peoples of this province belong to ethnic groups which people Soviet Central Asia and whose relationships - economic, social, and familial - have not been bound by national frontiers and still continue despite their relatively new inclusion in the Chinese state. Trade in foodstuffs, cloth, knives, and jewelry still takes place among these people across national borders. Xinjiang regained its independence from Chinese government overlordship after the fall of the Yuan dynasty in the 14th century and remained so until the 18th century. It was not made a Chinese province until the late 19th century. The weakness of the Chinese governments of the 20th century left Xinjiang pretty much to its own devices when it came strongly under the influence of the Soviet Union.

Just east of Xinjiang is the area which is the home of Moslems of Chinese ethnic origin - the Hui. They are centered in the Ningxia Autonomous Region and the provinces of Gansu and Shaansi. There is another smaller group of Muslims, probably also of Chinese origins, who settled in Yunnan in the southwest. Relations between Muslims and the Chinese have traditionally been strained. There were several revolts in Muslim territories during the 18th and 19th centuries. Tensions between the Muslims and Chinese continue. There was a major rebellion in Xinjiang in 1962 against Chinese rule.

The Tibetan people populate the area now known as the provinces of Tibet and Qinghai. They are best known to most of the world as devotees of Lamaism, a kind of Buddhism which incorporates a strong belief in magic. Tibet has had a tenuous historical association with China. The Manchus were able to assert their overlordship of Tibet, but the Tibetans thought of themselves as vassals of the Manchus and not the Chinese, and when the Manchu dynasty fell, the Tibetans considered themselves to be independent. The coming of government troops after the 1949 revolution precipitated armed resistance by the Tibetans. The situation was settled by negotiation. Tibet agreed to accept the suzerainty of the Chinese government in return for several guarantees - that the central authorities would not alter the existing political system and would not alter the functions or power of the Dalai Lama. In the 50s, the Chinese government began to build roads into Tibet, and land reform and liberation of serfs was begun. There was resistance from the beginning and the first of a series of revolts occurred in 1956. In 1958 there was full scale revolt against the Chinese. In 1959, a revolt broke out in Lhasa. The Dalai Lama, feeling threatened, fled with an estimated 60,000 Tibetans into India. The Chinese crushed the revolt, dissolved the government, and set up a communist style local government.

The South and Southwest contain the largest number of minority groups and the minority group, the Zhuang, with the largest population (there are more than twice as many Zhuang as there are any other single minority people). The Zhuang are plain dwellers - rice growers and are centered in the autonomous province of Guangxi and the province of Guizhou. Most of the southern minorities are hill or mountain dwellers. There has been an enormous amount of acculturation of southern tribes during the centuries before minorities were officially established. The Chinese began to move south at the beginning of the millennia and from the late 14th century the location of most minorities has changed little. As the Han Chinese moved south the non-Han peoples adopted Chinese agricultural lifestyles or moved up the mountains in an attempt to maintain their traditional lifestyles.

Areas with great minority population have been designated as autonomous areas. There are autonomous areas at all levels of government - provinces down to townships - which provide inhabitants with certain rights of self government. The organization is such that no matter how large, the autonomous regions always come under the control of higher-level governments staffed by Chinese. China's cultural policies toward minorities consists of the preservation and use of native languages in official business. With regard to traditions, customs, and religious beliefs, policy has consisted, alternatively, of toleration, modification, or suppression. Practices which offend no one are tolerated; everything else has been modified or suppressed.

While the Communist party started off with a tolerant approach to minorities, the need to secure the frontier lands, which was done through officially directed migration of several million Chinese to frontier regions, and Mao's attempts to implement his radical policies in all areas led to strong expressions of local nationalism - revolts in Xinjiang and Tibet and the immigration of up to 70,000 refugees from Xinjiang to the Soviet Union in the 50s and 60s. Current policy is again one of moderation, but it appears that the Chinese are committed to a course tending toward assimilation.

The Chinese are very sensitive to accusations that they are carrying out a policy of total assimilation or that minority peoples are not happy with their association with the Chinese.

## CHINA'S OFFICIAL POSITION ON MINORITIES

"The People's Republic of China is a unitary multinational state built up jointly by the people of all its nationalities. Socialist relations of equality, unity and mutual assistance have been established among them and will continue to be strengthened. In the struggle to safeguard the unity of the nationalities, it is necessary to combat big-nation chauvinism, mainly Han chauvinism, and also necessary to combat local-national chauvinism. The state does its utmost to promote the common prosperity of all nationalities in the country.

From *The Constitution of the People's Republic of China*, Preamble, 1982

# *Resource List for Society*

## GENERAL

### Books

***Children of China: Voices from Recent Years***
Ann-ping Chin

In extensive interviews, hundreds of Chinese children speak. A marvelously sensitive translation, we hear their own voices talking about family, school, politics, ambitions. The author sets this in context, permitting these children, ranging in age from 6 to 16, to reach across the barriers of politics and culture.

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| Available from: | China Books and Periodicals<br>2929 Twenty-fourth Street<br>San Francisco, CA 94110 |
| Price: | $10.95 (paper) |

***Chinese Profiles***
Xinxin Zhang and Sang Ye

Here are China's people revealing their aspirations, interests, personalities, viewpoints and quirks. These interview-based vignettes are fine oral literature, skillfully recounted, revealing the unique characters of individuals yet presenting a people who share a culture and a place in time. Meet an out-of-work youth, a crematorium attendant, a bicycle commuter, a blind masseuse, an apprentice truck driver, an urbanized peasant, and 33 other extraordinary "ordinary" individuals. The rich tapestry of today's China. Highly recommended.

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| Available from: | China Books and Periodicals<br>2929 Twenty-fourth Street<br>San Francisco, CA 94110 |
| Price: | $8.95 (paper) |

*6 Tanyin Alley*
Zongren Liu

This book traces the interrelated lives of six Beijing families-- ordinary people, neighbors and co-workers-- who share an old Beijing courtyard. Most have come of age during the hopeful times of the late 1930s and early 1960s. They get married, cope with housing shortages, mice and Beijing winters, struggle to get ahead at work, engage in the usual friendships and feuds, gossip about events at work, and generally carry on with life. Meanwhile the increasing momentum of the Cultural Revolution gradually, irreversibly draws them all in. As individuals they become both the players and played upon in a complex kaleidoscoping drama of power and intrigue. Liu's writing is vivid, his vision firmly fixed on the flow of life, his richly detailed descriptions of Beijing life full of the small nuances and humors which are the experience of real people.

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| Available from: | China Books and Periodicals<br>2929 Twenty-fourth Street<br>San Francisco, CA 94110 |
| Price: | $17.95 (cloth) |

## Maps

*Maps of the People's Republic of China*
Cartographic Publishing House

Full-color maps with good detail. All names are given in Pinyin.

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| Available from: | China Books and Periodicals<br>2929 Twenty-fourth Street<br>San Francisco, CA 94110 |
| Prices: | Small Political (29" x 21") . . $4.95<br>Large Political (42" x 30") . . $5.95<br>Large Relief (42" x 30") . . . $5.95 |

*City Tourist Maps*
Cartographic Publishing House

Useful city maps include diagrams of parks and museums, and a list of important addresses and telephone numbers to hotels, restaurants, museums, and transportation offices. 28" x 20".

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| Available from: | China Books and Periodicals<br>2929 Twenty-fourth Street<br>San Francisco, CA 94110 |
| Price: | $2.95 each |

## FAMILY

***China's Traditional Rural Architecture***
Ronald G. Knapp

Knapp explores the nature of rural housing in China by looking at the economic, environmental and social forces that shape the rural Chinese house. An excellent library addition.

> A house in China has always been built in reference to a spiritual world that orders nature and that includes such ideas as the yin-yang, the five directions, astrological symbols, and colors. Knapp does an admirable job of making all this readable and intelligible. This is a work that should be in all collections on China. -- *Choice*

Available from:
University of Hawaii Press
2840 Kolowalu St.
Honolulu, HI 96822

Price: inquire

## WOMEN

***A Daughter of Han: The Autobiography of a Chinese Working Woman*** (covers the period c. 1867-1938)

***Old Madame Yin: A Memoir of Peking Life***

These two books provide fascinating reading on Chinese life, particularly for women, during the period when China's traditional dynastic system was coming to an end and the modern political and social revolution was beginning.

Available from:
Stanford University Press
Stanford, CA 94305

Price: inquire

*Personal Voices: Chinese Women in the 1980s*
Gail Hershatter and Emily Honig

This collection of readings analyses the position of women in the PRC after 40 years of communism. It contains a number of translated articles from the Chinese press which can be used for classroom readings.

Available from: Stanford University Press
Stanford, CA 94305

Price: inquire

*House of Lim*
Margery Woolf

An excellent description of life in a large "ideal" family set in Taiwan. It provides insight into the relations in a rural family and different roles available to members of a rural society.

Available from: Prentice-Hall
Sylvan Avenue
Englewood Cliffs, NJ

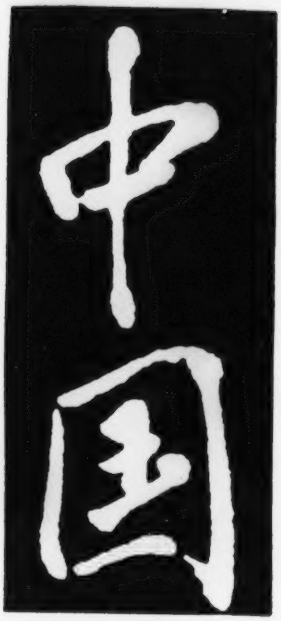
Price: inquire

*The Unfinished Liberation of Chinese Women 1949-1980*
Phyllis Andors

An in-depth study of the inauguration and development of women's rights and their lives since the founding of the PRC.

Available from: Indiana University Press
Tenth and Morton Streets
Bloomington, IN

Price: inquire



## *Section VIII*

# What Does It Mean To Be Chinese?

Teacher's Note:

The question "What Does it Mean to be Chinese?" is central to Chinese political and social concerns in the 1990s. It is a question with deep historical roots. The challenge is how to convey the essence of the question to students.

This section begins with a background explanation for teachers, followed by excerpts from seven sources. The Chinese writers discuss the question from different perspectives, beginning in 1860 and concluding with a selection from 1989. These excerpts could be assigned to separate teams of students who might then report on their selection to the class.

CONTENTS

- Teacher's Background: "*Values and Culture: Defining What It Means To Be Chinese*"
- Teacher's Guide to Student Readings
- Student Reading: "*Background for the Student: Western 'Usefulness' Versus Chinese 'Essence'* "
- Student Readings, 1-7

# Teacher's Background

### Values and Culture: Defining What It Means To Be Chinese

The quest for economic and political reform, begun in the 1800s to help China match the West in industrial development and return it to its place among the great nations, continues today. But China is still economically not developed and is politically unstable. It is a society undergoing great change as it searches for its economic, political, and cultural identity. This continuous search is an important theme underlying the bewildering parade of campaigns, movements, reforms, rectifications, and revolutions in the 20th century.

### China in the 1800s

By the 16th century and perhaps earlier, the Chinese economy was still the most sophisticated and productive in the world, and the Chinese probably enjoyed a higher standard of living than any other people on earth. The Qing (Ch'ing) Dynasty (1644-1912) continued this splendor. Contemporary Chinese called the 18th century "unparalleled in history," when all aspects of culture flourished. China was a prosperous state with abundant natural resources, a huge but basically contented population, and a royal house of great prestige at home and abroad.

Yet by the late 18th century, the strong Chinese state contained seeds of its own destruction, particularly in the time bomb of an expanding population. Having remained at 100 million through much of history, under the peaceful Qing (Ch'ing) the population doubled from 150 million in 1650 to 300 million by 1800, and reached 450 million by the late nineteenth century (cf. the population of the U.S. was 200 million in the 1980s). By the 19th century, district magistrates at the lowest level of the Chinese bureaucracy were responsible for the welfare, control, and taxation of an average of 250,000 people in their districts. This left control and responsibility for government increasingly in the hands of local leaders whose allegiances were to their localities and families, rather than to the state.

During the Ming (1368-1644) and Qing (Ch'ing)(1644-1912) dynasties, agricultural technology was both labor-intensive and highly productive. This beneficial cycle led to what has been called China's "high level equilibrium trap" (or "agricultural involution") -- ***a highly sophisticated technology with neither incentive for the cultivator or land-owner, nor surplus available to the state, for modernization.*** The Chinese farmer seldom had any surplus income. Because they produced most of the goods they needed, including handicrafts, they did not stimulate a domestic market for manufactured goods.

## *The West in China*

When the industrializing European states attempted to entice China into the newly forming world economy in the late 1700s and early 1800s, their overtures were rebuffed by the Chinese who quite rightly felt that they had little to gain from trade with these states. Western military power was far superior to that of the Chinese, however, and China was defeated in a series of military confrontations and forced to sign ***"unequal treaties"*** that opened Chinese ports (known as ***"treaty ports"***) to first European, and then American and Japanese traders. The Chinese were further humiliated by having to relinquish legal jurisdiction over sections of these port cities and over foreigners residing in China. The Chinese were even excluded from facilities and areas controlled by foreigners. The Chinese were also forced under the treaties to allow Western Christian missionaries to proselytize in the interior of the country. Between the first major confrontation, the Opium War of 1839-42 and the early 1900s, the British, French, Germans, Americans, and Japanese competed for ***"spheres of influence"*** within China until China was said to be at risk of being "carved up like a melon."

## *China's Response to Imperialism*

The ability of the Western nations and then Japan to impose their economic demands on China by force of arms brought a ***shock to the Chinese view of themselves as a highly developed civilization***. Moreover the Western notion of a system of international relations conducted among sovereign nation-states challenged China's identity as a universalistic civilization. China's strong cultural identity as an advanced, universalistic civilization, with an emperor recognized as the supreme authority by countries bearing tribute to the Chinese court also made it difficult for the Chinese to adapt to the system of sovereign nation-states interacting as equals, that had evolved in Europe by the 1800s.

There were roughly three responses within China. Much of the intellectual history of the late Qing (Ch'ing) dynasty and Republican period revolved around the struggle among these three positions. One was anti-traditionalism, which rejected the traditional claims of cultural superiority, classified Chinese culture as sick, corrupt, and useless, and advocated complete Westernization; a second was pro-traditionalism, which sought to completely reject any import of Western culture and to strengthen the country through reform-within-tradition and through cultural revival; the third was the idea of adopting Western technology in order to preserve the essence of Chinese civilization (***"Western learning" for application-- yong, "Chinese learning" for essence-- ti***). The Chinese emphasis on the moral role of government, the perfectibility of man, and the belief that moral qualities and not technical expertise merited reward and ultimately benefit society, led to an unwillingness to cultivate a class of technical experts, in industry or in government. This was in part at the root of China's inability to repulse the military and political incursions of the West and Japan in the late 19th and early 20th centuries.

In confronting the West, the Chinese tried to figure out why the West was so powerful. They did this by applying their own basic ideas in interpreting Western concepts such as "democracy" and "human rights." "Democracy" was understood as a highly developed form of individual respect for the state, and "human rights" were understood as the state's bestowing on every individual, not just officials, the responsibility to speak up on behalf of the welfare of the people and the moral uprightness of the rulers.

The Chinese continue to wrestle with the question of what it is that makes them Chinese:

how can they modernize without losing sight of their traditional values and their national identity? Does modernization mean Westernization? Throughout the country, social and political groups have had different opinions on this, leading to internal conflicts between pro- and anti-Westerners; cries of "spiritual pollution" resulting from Western influence continue to be heard.

The view that China's heritage itself was the major obstacle to economic development and modernization was given cataclysmic expression in the Cultural Revolution of 1966-76, especially at its height in 1966-67, when old books were burned, cultural relics destroyed, and all traces of "Confucian thought" denounced. In the 1980s a reevaluation of China's cultural and historical traditions was embarked upon.

The economic reforms of the 1980s have led to disagreement among those who favor the "open-door" policy of contact and economic exchange with the West and those who fear the "spiritual pollution" and "bourgeois liberalization" of social and economic values that have accompanied economic exchange with the West. Just as in the late 1800s, three positions can be discerned among the Chinese leaders: 1) a "neo-traditional" interpretation of Marxism that contains many traditional Chinese values (deference to seniors, paternalistic government, economic self-sufficiency, a Chinese-centered rather than cosmopolitan culture); 2) complete Westernization, including the abandonment of socialism and Marxism (since it is illegal to voice these ideas openly, it is difficult to gauge the strength of this opinion), a position held mainly by younger people and reformers; 3) adoption of Western technology and managerial methods, while attempting to isolate these elements culturally. The idea of a "Chinese-style socialism" represents this desire to adopt all that is useful from the West while still retaining a distinctive, and indeed superior, Chinese cultural identity.

Below, following the overview for the students, are seven student readings of Chinese sources designed to develop this debate from the 1800s to the present. The overview will give a sense of how the theme continues over time. The readings may be read together or separately.

**Lesson suggestion**: Draw a brief time-line of Chinese history on the board. Assign different groups of students to read and research the background of each of the readings and report to the class. This section may also be used in conjunction with the unit on Tiananmen Square in the **Government and Politics Section**. The events there should be seen as an outgrowth of this debate, which is rooted in history. Alternatively, this section may be used as a supplement to the section on **Modern History**, which will highlight the origins of the debate against a difficult period in China's history.

## *Teacher's Guide to Student Readings*

**Reading 1.** *Ti/Yong* – The quest for a "new China" began in the 1800s as the Chinese of that period debated how they could borrow from the West and Japan what was useful (*yong*) for economic development or industrialization without losing the essence (*ti*) of Chinese culture. The two excerpts consist of one argument in favor of adopting Western techniques without altering Chinese "foundations" (A), and one arguing that this would not be enough (B).

**Reading 2.** FOR ADVANCED STUDENTS. The so-called "May 4th Movement" or "new culture" movement began in China around 1916, following the failure of the 1911 Revolution to establish a republican government, and continued through the 1920s. Its importance equals if not surpasses the more commonly known political revolutions of the century. The movement articulated the total contempt for traditional Chinese culture felt by many Chinese intellectuals by this time. For a number of reasons China had been unable to industrialize as quickly as Japan did and had been defeated by Japan in the Sino-Japanese War of 1894-95. Many Chinese intellectuals blamed the traditional culture for the dramatic and rapid fall of China into a subordinate international position, and maintained that China's cultural values prevented China from matching the industrial and military development of Japan and the West. The May 4th Movement takes its name from the massive popular protest that took place in China in May 1919, following the announcement of the terms of the Versailles Treaty that concluded WWI. According to the treaty, the territorial rights in China of defeated Germany were not returned to China, as had been expected by the Chinese, but turned over to the Japanese. The outpouring of popular outrage coalesced in a new nationalism and repeated cries for a "new culture" that would reinstate China to its former international position. The way out of China's problems was believed to lie in adopting more Western notions of equality and democracy and abandoning the Confucian approach which stresses hierarchy in relationships and obedience. Science and democracy became the code words of the day.

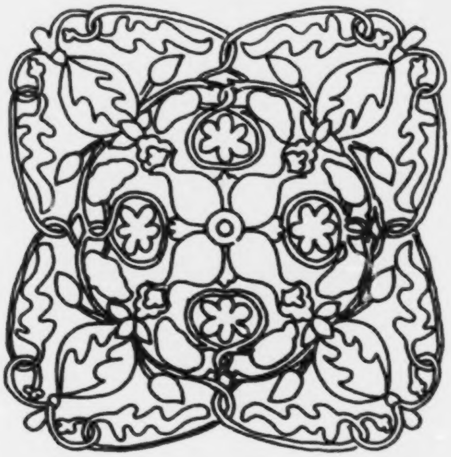
**Reading 3.** In 1934, Chiang Kai-shek, the leader of China, heralded the New Life Movement which was to rally the Chinese people against the Communists and build up morale in a nation that was besieged with corruption, factionalism, and opium addiction. Rather than turning away from Confucian values as did the May 4 Movement, Chiang Kai-shek used the Confucian notion of self-cultivation and correct living for this movement. There we see an attempt to revitalize what was seen by Chiang as the "essence" of being Chinese.

**Reading 4.** Mao Zedong's writings from the 1930s, before the Communists took power, highlight the theme of "borrowing but preserving" from a different perspective. Mao was an arch-critic of traditional Chinese culture, but in applying the thoughts of Marx and Lenin (which are Western) to China he still cautioned that the Chinese Communists must not forget their own history, and that the Communist ideology must have Chinese characteristics.

**Reading 5.** Almost 20 years after the Communist political revolution in China, Mao and other leaders launched the "Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution." The Cultural Revolution was an attempt to eliminate the tenacious aspects of traditional culture which Mao believed to be blocking the success of a socialist revolution and the emergence of "socialist man." It began with a campaign against the "four olds" – old ideas, old culture, old customs, and old habits. Leading this movement were the "red guards" - young people who Mao believed would become the leaders in this "new China." The movement led to great violence, destruction, and upwards of 15 million deaths. The economic developments made since 1949 were largely undone during this tragic period. Schools were closed as book learning was deemed to be a vestige of the past; instead, children were sent to the countryside to do manual labor to reform their thoughts, and learn from the "masses." This was a "proletarian cultural revolution." Three short readings are used for this period. The first two (A and B) are the official reports of the decision to start the Cultural Revolution, the third (C) is a recounting of just what that decision meant to a family. [See also the unit "Chinese Views: 1949 to the Present" in the **Government & Politics** section for greater detail on the effect of the Cultural Revolution on individual lives.]

**Reading 6.** "River Elegy", a six-part T.V. series that was aired in China in 1988, expanded the debate to utilize the medium of television and took the Yellow River as the symbol of Chinese culture. The Yellow River has been a source of flooding and disaster for the Chinese since ancient times, and it is used to represent the cyclical nature of Chinese history. The six episodes in "River Elegy" each address an element of tradition still keeping China from moving forward. The authors argue that China's inward looking stifling cultural traditions-- manifested in its values-- are keeping China from developing. Where once it was the ruler, in the form of the emperor, that was the impediment to change, now it is the Communist Party. The series caused much controversy, and presented here are excepts from foreign media (A), the "official" view (B), and a Chinese literary magazine's opinion of the debate (C). You might also note that River Elegy is now banned in China.

**Reading 7.** Concluding this section is a 1989 article from a Chinese newspaper which compares Chinese and American culture and clearly concludes that American culture, with all its problems, is better than China's. This writing is unique in that (as with River Elegy) it breaks a long-held taboo of directly comparing China with another country - not to mention a capitalist one! It may be used either as an introductory reading or as a follow-up reading to help focus the discussion. It should be stressed that this article appeared before the crackdown in Tiananmen Square in 1989, demonstrating just how widespread and open the debate over "what it means to be Chinese" had become.



# *Student Reading*

### Background For The Student: Western "Usefulness" Versus Chinese "Essence"

In the nineteenth century, how did the Chinese respond to being defeated by the Western powers and carved up into spheres of influence? At first they were confused and uncertain about which direction to move. Pressured not only from the outside, they were troubled also by their own explosive population growth, unpredictable economic swings and internal rebellions throughout the century. Unlike the culturally flexible Japanese who realized that if they did not quickly modernize they would be dominated by foreigners, the Chinese were at first fearful of major changes, believing that they would poison their traditions if they adopted too much from the West. Before they agreed on reform, leaders in the scholar-official class had first to accept the need for change. Many of them instead held to the status quo which not only protected their position and power but also, they felt, had been the source of China's greatness in the past. Much of the 19th century, therefore, was a time of debate about whether or not to modernize, and if so, how much?

In the midst of this debate were the voices of a few who struggled against the traditionalists. These men were still loyal Confucianists but they were also practical and saw the need to study the "barbarian" technology in order to control the barbarians. Feng Guifen (Feng Kuei-fen) was such a man. He wrote the selection on Western Learning in the 1860s, when China was defeated a second time by the West and had the unequal treaties imposed upon it. Because of widespread hostility to his ideas, he did not publish it until much later. Feng argued that China should adopt Western technology while retaining Chinese values. Others, like the writer Yan Fu (Yen Fu), felt this was impossible-- that Western technology could not be borrowed without also borrowing the Western science and the democratic system of government that fostered science.

The debate continued in the later half of the 19th century as China was slowly partitioned into various spheres of influence. The southeast of China was occupied by the French, the northeast by the Germans, the south by the British, the northwest by the Russians, and the north by the Japanese. Even the defeat at the hands of their own Asian neighbor, Japan, did not totally convince many that the need for reform and change was vital to China's survival.

Throughout the 19th and 20th centuries, Chinese thinkers were immersed in debates about how to change China's technology while retaining their traditional values and culture. Only gradually did some of them become aware that just bringing in Western guns and machines might not be enough. These people believed that there were aspects of the traditional system that were hindering both China's modernization and her ability to deal with the foreigners.

## Student Readings

**READING 1 (A).** From Feng Guifen (Kuei-fen), "On the Adoption of Western Learning" ca. 1860.

...Today the world is 90,000 *li* around. There is no place boats and vehicles do not travel or human power does not reach.... According to Westerners' maps, there are at least one hundred countries in the world. Of the books of these hundred countries, only those from Italy from the time of the end of the Ming and from present-day England, numbering in all several tens, have been translated....

Books on mathematics, mechanics, optics, light, chemistry, and others all contain the ultimate principles of understanding things. Most of this information is unavailable to people in China...

I have heard that with their new methods the Westerners have found that the movements of the earth conform closely to those of the heavens. This can be of assistance in fixing the calendar.... I have heard that the Westerners' method of clearing sand from harbors is very effective.... This can be of assistance to keep the water flowing. Also, for agricultural and sericultural tools, and things required for the various crafts, they mostly use mechanical wheels, which require little energy but accomplish much. These can assist the people to earn their living. Other things beneficial to the national economy and the livelihood of the people should also be used...

There are many intelligent people in China. Surely there are some who, having learned from the barbarians, can surpass them...

The principles of government are derived from learning. In discussing good government, [the famous historian] Sima Qian (Ssu-ma Ch'ien) said, "Take the later kings as models," because they were closer to his own time, and customs, having changed, were more alike, so that their ideas were easy to implement because they were plain and simple. In my humble opinion, at the present time it is also appropriate to say "Learn from the various nations," for they are similar to us and hence their ways are easy to implement. What could be better than to take Chinese ethical principles of human relations and Confucian teachings as the foundation, (ti) and supplement them with the techniques (yong) of wealth and power of the various nations?

Reprinted with permission from J. Mason Gentzler, *Changing China*. (New York, Praeger Publishers) c1977. pp. 70-71.

**READING 1 (B).** Yan Fu (Yen Fu) Learning From the West. Yan Fu *(Yen Fu), a famous translator of Western books, argued in the mid-1800s that it was impossible to borrow only techniques (yong) from the West without learning more about the Western "foundation" (ti).*

The foundation [*ti*] and the use [*yong*] mean the same thing. The body of an ox should have the use of carrying heavy things; the body of a horse should have the use of carrying something to a distance. I have never heard that the ox is the body or the foundation, while the horse is for use. The difference between Chinese and Western knowledge is as great as that between the complexions and the eyes of the two races. We cannot force the two cultures to be the same or similar. Therefore, Chinese knowledge has its foundation and function; Western knowledge has also its foundation and function. If the two are separated, each can be independent; if the two were combined, both would perish.

I think the greatest difference between China and the West, which can never be made up, is that the Chinese are fond of antiquity but neglect the present. The Westerners are struggling in the present in order to surpass the past. Chinese consider that a period of order and a period of disorder, and a period of prosperity and a period of decline are the natural course of heavenly conduct of human affairs. But Westerners consider that daily progress should be endless, and that what has already been prosperous will not decline, and that when things are well governed, they will not be in disorder again. All of these things are to them an absolute law of academic thought and political ideas.

Excerpted with permission from Teng and Fairbank, *China's Response to the West* (Massachusetts, Harvard Univ. Press) c1979. p. 151.

**READING 2.** The May 4th Movement. Excerpts from Chen Duxiu (Ch'en Tu-Hsiu), "Our Final Awakening," February 1916. *Chen Duxiu was dean of Peking University in 1916, a leader of the "new culture" movement and editor of "New Youth" magazine. Here he laments the weakness of China's national strength and civilization, but cautions those who think that democracy and constitutional government can be easily established in China. First, he argues, there must be a change in the thought and character of the people such that their attitudes will support constitutional government. Without a new culture, there will be no new political system. (This same argument can be heard in China of the 1990s.)*

We, having been living in one corner of the world for several decades, must ask ourselves what is the level of our national strength and our civilization. This is the final awakening of which I speak. To put it another way, if we open our eyes and take a hard look at the situation within our country and abroad, what place does our country and our people occupy, and what actions should we take?...

Our task today can be said to be the intense combat between the old and the modern currents of thought. Those with shallow views all expect this to be our final awakening, without understanding how difficult it is to put [constitutional government] into practice... There is no difference between the shameful disgrace of submissiveness of men of ancient times hoping that sage rulers and wise ministers will practice benevolent government and present day men hoping that dignitaries and influential elders will build a constitutional republic. Why should I reject the desires of dignitaries and influential elders, who are after all a part of the people, to build a constitutional republic? Only because a constitutional republic cannot be conferred by the government, cannot be maintained by one party or one group, and certainly cannot be carried on the backs of a few dignitaries and influential elders. A constitutional republic which does not derive from the conscious realization and voluntary action of the majority of the people is a bogus republic and bogus constitutionalism. It is political window-dressing, in no way like the republican constitutionalism of the countries of Europe and America, because there has been no change in the thought or the character of the majority of the people, and the majority of the people have no personal feeling of direct material interest.

Reprinted with permission from J. Mason Gentzler, *Changing China*. (New York, Praeger Publishers) c1977. pp. 168.

## **READING 3.** Chiang Kai-shek On The Need For a New Life Movement (1934).

### Why is a New Life Needed?

The general psychology of our people today can be described as spiritless. What manifests itself in behavior is this: lack of discrimination between good and evil, between what is public and what is private, and between what is primary and what is secondary. Because there is no discrimination between good and evil, right and wrong are confused; because there is no discrimination between public and private, improper taking and giving [of public funds] occur; and because there is no distinction between primary and secondary, first and last are not placed in the proper order. As a result, officials tend to be dishonest and avaricious, the masses are undisciplined and calloused, the youth become degraded and intemperate, the adults are corrupt and ignorant, the rich become extravagant and luxurious, and the poor become mean and disorderly. Naturally it has resulted in disorganization of the social order and national life, and we are in no position either to prevent or to remedy natural calamities, disasters caused from within, or invasions from without. The individual, society and the whole country are now suffering...

### The Content of the New Life Movement

### I. The Principles of the New Life Movement

The New Life Movement aims at the promotion of a regular life guided by the four virtues, namely, *li, i, lien,* and *ch'ih.*[1]

*Li* means regulated attitude.
*I* means right conduct
*Lien* means clear discrimination
*Ch'ih* means real self-consciousness

The word *li* (decorum) means *li* (reason). It becomes natural law, when applied to nature; it becomes a rule, when applied to social affairs and it signifies discipline, when used in reference to national affairs. A man's conduct is considered regular if it conforms with the above law, rule, and discipline. When one conducts oneself in accordance with the regular manner, one is said to have the regulated attitude.

The word *i* means proper. Any conduct which is in accordance with *li* - i.e., natural law, social rule, and national discipline - is considered proper. To act improperly, or to refrain from acting when one knows it is proper to act, cannot be called *i*.

---

[1] Standard translations for these terms are: *li*, decorum or rites; *i*, righteousness or duty; *lien*, integrity or honesty; *ch'ih*, sense of shame. Since Chiang defines the terms in what follows, we have kept the romanized forms here. The romanization is Wade-Giles.

The word *lien* means clear. It denotes distinction between right and wrong. What agrees with *li* and *i* is right, and what does not agree is wrong. To take what we recognize as right and to forego what we recognize as wrong constitute clear discrimination.

The word *ch'ih* means consciousness. When one is conscious of the fact that his own actions are not in accordance with *li*, *i*, *lien*, and *ch'ih*, one feels ashamed. When one is conscious of the fact that others are wrong, one feels disgusted. But the consciousness must be real and thorough so that one will strive to improve what one feels to a shame and to eliminate what one feels to be disgusting. This is called real self-consciousness.

In conclusion, the life of our people will be elevated if we live artistically; we will become wealthy if we live productively; and we will be safe if we lead a military way of life. When we do this, we will have a rational life. This rational life is founded on *li*, *i*, *lien*, and *ch'ih*. The four virtues, in turn, can be applied to food, clothing, shelter, and action. If we can achieve this, we will have revolutionized the daily life of our people and laid the foundation for the rehabilitation of our nation.

Excerpted with permission from William Theodore DeBary, *Sources of Chinese Tradition, Vol. II* (New York, Columbia Univerisity Press) c1960. pp. 139-140

**READING 4.** Mao's Speech from "Reform Our Study".

***Note to the Student:** In this speech, Mao is scolding those in the Party who are blindly following the ideas of Marx and Lenin without adapting it to the Chinese situation, which Mao thought would be made "better" by a revolution to wipe out the old ways and establish new ones.*

> ...[T]ake the study of history. Although a few Party members and sympathizers have undertaken this work, it has not been done in an organized way. Many Party members are still in a fog about Chinese history, whether of the last hundred years or of ancient times. There are many Marxist-Leninist scholars who cannot open their mouths without citing ancient Greece; but as for their own ancestors - sorry, they have been forgotten. There is no climate of serious study either of current conditions or of past history.
>
> Third, take the study of international revolutionary experience, the study of the universal truth of Marxism-Leninism. Many comrades seem to study Marxism-Leninism not to meet the needs of revolutionary practice, but purely for the sake of study. Consequently, though they read, they cannot digest. They can only cite odd quotations from Marx, Engels, Lenin and Stalin in a one-sided manner, but are unable to apply the stand, viewpoint and method of Marx, Engels, Lenin, and Stalin to the concrete study of China's present conditions and her history or to the concrete analysis and solution of the problems of the Chinese revolution. Such an attitude towards Marxism-Leninism does a great deal of harm, particularly among cadres of the middle and higher ranks.
>
> The three aspects I have just mentioned, neglect of the study of current conditions, neglect of the study of history, and neglect of the application of Marxism-Leninism, all constitute an extremely bad style of work. Its spread has harmed many of our comrades.
>
> There are some who are proud, instead of ashamed, of knowing nothing or very little of our own history. What is particularly significant is that very few really know the history of the Communist Party of China and the history of China in the hundred years since the Opium War. Hardly anyone has seriously taken up the study of the economic, political, military, and cultural history of the last hundred years. Ignorant of their own country, some people can only relate tales of ancient Greece and other foreign lands, and even this knowledge is quite pathetic, consisting of odds and ends from old foreign books.

For several decades, many of the returned students from abroad have suffered from this malady. Coming home from Europe, America, or Japan, they can only parrot things foreign. They become gramophones and forget their duty to understand and create new things. This malady has also infected the Communist Party.

From *Selected Works of Mao*, Beijing Foreign Languages Press, 1971.

**READING 5 (A).** Decision of the Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party Concerning the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution, August 8, 1966 (*Peking Review*, August 12, 1966.)

New Stage in the Socialist Revolution

The great proletarian cultural revolution now unfolding is a great revolution that touches people to their very souls and constitutes a new stage in the development of the socialist revolution in our country, a stage which is both broader and deeper.

At the Tenth Plenary Session of the Eighth Central Committee of the Party, Comrade Mao Zedong said: To overthrow a political power, it is always necessary first of all to create public opinion, to do work in the ideological sphere. This is true for the revolutionary class as well as for the counter-revolutionary class. This thesis of Comrade Mao Zedong's has been proven entirely correct in practice.

Although the bourgeoisie has been overthrown, it is still trying to use the old ideas, culture, customs, and habits of the exploiting classes to corrupt the masses, capture the minds and endeavor to stage a come-back. The proletariat must do the exact opposite: it must meet head-on every challenge of the bourgeoisie in the ideological field and use the new ideas, culture, customs, and habits of the proletariat to change the mental outlook of the whole society. At present, our objective is to struggle against and overthrow these persons in authority who are taking the capitalist road, to criticize and repudiate the reactionary bourgeoisie and all other exploiting classes and to transform education, literature and art and all other parts of the superstructure not in correspondence with the socialist economic base, so as to facilitate the consolidation and development of the socialist system.

**READING 5 (B).** "Red Guards Destroy the Old and Establish the New" (*Peking Review*, September 2, 1966.)

Since August 20, the young Red Guards of Peking, a detachment of students, have taken to the streets. With the revolutionary rebel spirit of the proletariat, they have launched a furious offensive to sweep away reactionary, decadent bourgeois and feudal influences, and all old ideas, culture, customs, and habits. This mounting revolutionary storm is sweeping the cities of the entire nation. "Let Mao Tse-tung's thought occupy all positions; use it to transform the mental outlook of the whole of society; sweep away all ghosts and monsters; brush aside all stumbling-blocks and resolutely carry the great proletarian cultural revolution through to the end!" This is the militant aim of the young revolutionary fighters. Their revolutionary actions have everywhere received the enthusiastic support of the revolutionary masses.

**READING 5 (C).** "Long Live the Red Terror" (from Yue Daiyun and Carolyn Wakeman, *To the Storm: The Odyssey of a Revolutionary Woman*, Berkeley: U Cal Press, 1985, pp.167-68 reprinted with permission.)

*Note to the Student: The following is a personal account of what was meant by smashing the "four olds." It is taken from the autobiography of a Chinese woman very much in favor of the Communist revolution, but who came to be seen as somehow holding on to the bad traditional elements.*

> During that August of 1966, with the work team gone and all constraint removed, the slogan "Long live the red terror" became the students' rallying cry. The Cultural Revolution Preparatory Committee's announcement that its primary goal was the smashing of the "four olds" - old ideas, old culture, old customs, and old habits - tacitly approved all forms of destruction and gave the young people license to conduct a self-appointed crusade to eradicate the past. With no limits imposed, no guidance offered, no one assuming responsibility for what occurred, and the Red Guards merely following their impulses, the assault upon their elders and the destruction of property grew completely out of control. Sometimes when the Red Guards searched for counter-revolutionary evidence, they would even demand money, knowing that their actions could not be challenged, that no one was in a position to oversee or reprimand them.
>
> The primary targets of this revolutionary mission were the families that had already been identified as harboring "black" elements, and invariably our house was on their list. Late one night a group of seven or eight young people, none of whom I recognized, pounded on our door. Demanding that we open every glass bookcase, they strewed the contents about the room. The most valuable set of books in our library was the *Buddhist Canon*, only four copies of which remained in the country. Tang Yongtong had been collecting its many volumes throughout his life, but the students announced that all such books were superstitious, that religion was the opium of the masses, and confiscated one volume from each boxed set, declaring that these would be thoroughly investigated. The other books they shoved roughly back on the shelves, then sealed the glass bookcase

doors with strips of paper to keep such poison from spreading further, and at the same time to keep us from destroying the evidence.

Having finished with Tang Yongtong's books, they demanded that we produce all of our other counter-revolutionary possessions, such as stamps. I did have a stamp collection, but fortunately it contained nothing politically offensive. Because of my hatred for the Guomindang, I had never saved its postage, a prejudice had now served me well for others I knew had been beaten for possessing Chiang Kai-shek stamps. When the search party demanded to see our records, I reluctantly brought out my precious stack of classical music, the small collection that Lao Tang had accumulated from second-hand stores in the 1950s. The Red Guards methodically shattered every disc with a large rock, then, satisfied with their revolutionary action, left the house. Numbly I picked up the useless pieces, piled them in a dustpan, and carried them out to the trash heap.

**READING 6 (A).** "TV Requiem for the Myths of the Middle Kingdom", by Geremie Barme in Peking (reprinted with permission from *Far Eastern Economic Review*, 1 September 1988, pp.41-43.)

***Note to the Student.*** ***The "open door policy" and the "coastal economic strategy" were policies stressed by Zhao Ziyang to help China's modernization effort. Essentially they focused on opening China to foreign investment. The approach favors enhancing China's contact with foreigners through the sea ports and export zones along the long, resource rich coastline from Harbin down to Hong Kong.***

*River Elegy* attempts to establish an historical rationale for the open door policy and Zhao's coastal economic strategy. It condemns the traditional land-locked culture of Chinese agriculture and its totems such as the Yellow River, the Great Wall and the dragon, in favour of an outward-looking trade-oriented and therefore competitive and commercial culture. How successful *River Elegy* has been in achieving either of these goals is a hotly debated question.

There is little doubt that the series does make the most sweeping and devastating condemnation of Chinese cultural symbols ever attempted in the mass media. The script writers... have used the programme to challenge the most treasured propaganda ploy of post-Cultural Revolution ideologues: the promotion of traditional Chinese culture and the recasting of the party as protector of all past glories. Ideologues have done this in the face of the crumbling Maoist value system.

In the first episode of *River Elegy, Searching for Dreams*, writer Su states his position categorically. "There is a blindspot in our national psyche: it is a vague belief that all of the shame of the past century is the result of a break in our glorious history. Ever since 1840, there have been people who have used the splendours and greatness of the past to conceal the feebleness and backwardness of our present state. It is as though we crave this ancient and time-worn poultice to salve the painful realities of the past century. We seen to find great solace in every earthshaking archaeological discovery. Yet the fact remains, our civilization is moribund."

Su and his colleagues break one of the great taboos of Chinese popular propaganda by repeatedly discussing China's culture in terms of other ancient, decayed, and impoverished cultures, such as those of the Middle East, Africa, South America and India.

The series takes as its central elegiac theme the Yellow River and its countless victims, the symbol of the irrational, erratic and earth-oriented character of the Chinese. It is the dragon, the totem of water, that Su and the other writers identify as an icon for the violent wilfulness of the river.

"People say that there is an element in Chinese culture that allows for the toleration of the power of evil; others say that the fatal weakness of the Chinese national character is a slyness, resignation to the fiats of nature, and a mute acceptance of suffering. Surely this is no accident...water is the lifeblood of agriculture, and it is the dragon king who rules over water. For this reason, this nation both loves and hates the dragon, lauds him and curses him. It is a complex combination of emotions... In turn, it has made the Chinese a complex people."

When the commentary turns to a discussion of the ravages of the drought in the countryside, sequences from the rain-praying scene in the film *Yellow Earth* and the peasant battle in *Old Well* are used to bring the point home. Then the viewer is introduced to the author of the *Old Well*, Zheng Yi, an ex-Red Guard leader turned novelist, who waxes lyrical on the horrors of the loess region of China's northwest, flying in the face of the fad for romanticizing the "earth" among intellectuals and audiences of the urban East China seaboard.

We are presented with a picture of China as an impoverished Third World country, relying on massive infusions of foreign capital and technology to create an illusion of modernization. "Our pride and our grief," writes Su, "are invariably the same thing." Concluding the episode, he observes: "History has proved time and again that the root cause of cultural decline is not the attacks of some outside force, but rather because of the degeneration of its internal mechanism."

The controversy surrounding *River Elegy* is far from over. It is a complex and tantalizing work, artistically uneven, but highly provocative; both good propaganda and outstanding popular criticism. That it has been screened on Chinese TV is perhaps an indication not only of the openness and liberalism of the leadership, but rather of the confusion and paralysis of will from which China's propagandists now suffer.

Yet, two young critics writing in the *China Youth News* of 10 July point out that the series does not go as far as it could. "The nature of the Chinese polity is such that while intellectuals can flog our ancestors with impunity, they must be careful to circumnavigate the reef of direct criticism."

"This is the most spectacular television programme ever shown in China. It is sure to occupy a unique position in the history of Chinese television. Please allow me to express my heartfelt appreciation." So wrote a Hangzhou high school viewer in a letter to the producers of *River Elegy* (*Heshang*) on 19 June, shortly after the six-part TV documentary was first screened by Peking's Central Television.

On 22 July, the book of the series was launched at a new free-enterprise bookstore in Peking, the Sanwei Shuwu. The scripts for the six half-hour episodes of *River Elegy* belong to the tantalizing school of "graze ball literature." A "graze ball" just touches the ping-pong table counting for a point though it is difficult if not impossible for it to be returned. "Graze ball writing" just manages to scrape past the censors; it does so by hiding its message between the lines.

The series is the first conscious effort by TV producers to introduce major academic controversies concerning the state of Chinese civilization to a mass audience. Both Deng and party General Secretary Zhao Ziyang have scoffed at the idea that the Chinese masses are mature enough to understand such concepts as democracy, freedom, or human rights. For their part, scholars and social scientists have been equally reluctant to share their thoughts on these subjects, or doubts about the more sacrosanct aspects of Chinese tradition with the man in the street or field.

However, as one of the academic consultants to *River Elegy*, Jin Guantao, commented: "The success of *River Elegy* reminds me of a famous saying: 'Never underestimate the wisdom of the masses'... Real cultural exploration means something that reverberates through the soul of the nation; thinkers must allow the people to think along with them."

**READING 6 (B).** Another View on River Elegy: *The Government's Response (from* Beijing, *New China Broadcast*, 1 August 1989, reprinted in Foreign Broadcast Information Service (FBIS) - China Report, 1 August 1989, pp.19-20)

The *Beijing Daily* on Monday carried a lengthy article rebutting remarks by the authors of the TV series "River Elegy," which was broadcast over television stations twice last year, evoking great dispute in the country.

The article said it was of significance to recall the authors' lavish praises of "River Elegy" at that time. It said the advocates took the TV series as "a work that could encourage people to think deeply about their history and to struggle for a better country." It quoted Wang Luxiang, one of the authors, as saying that "River Elegy" had tried to interpret the fate of the nation through a comparison with the history of world civilization, providing a new outlook on China.

The article said instead the deepest impression after watching the series was one of complaint and cursing, with regard to China's history, geography, economy, culture, and past generations. The Yellow River, which has nurtured countless Chinese people and fostered an outstanding Chinese culture, is depicted by the TV series as a river that "could no longer bring about new culture." Its authors declared that the Yellow River culture, namely the culture of China, had died. The TV series also takes the Great Wall as a symbol of closed-door, conservative and incompetent defense.

The article said "River Elegy" did not mention many major historical events and distorted China's history over the past hundred years. It said nothing about the democratic revolution led by Sun Yat-sen, establishment of the Communist Party, the Long March, the founding of the People's Republic of China and achievements since the founding in 1949. It put marked emphasis on the "crazy Big-Leap-Forward years" and "unprecedented Cultural Revolution."

Episode five of "River Elegy" is named "Misery." Someone said it represented the deepest patriotism. The series describes China as a pitch-dark and utterly hopeless country and the Chinese nation as inferior and foolish. After watching the episode, one could only conclude that China would "disintegrate" and become a "colony" for another 300 years. What kind of patriotism is that?

The paper said Su Xiaokang, coauthor of the TV series, told reporters that "River Elegy" was written and filmed to encourage ideological enlightenment in China and help the Chinese people find a way out for their country.

The paper said, according to Su's view, that the great May Fourth Movement and the Communist Party's correct policies over the past years could not be taken as ideological enlightenment. Only the authors of "River Elegy" are qualified to do such work, after studying and absorbing new achievements in ideological and cultural fields.

The article said that wholesale Westernization was the crucial point of "River Elegy." "River Elegy" declared that "after thousands of years of loneliness, the Yellow River has seen the blue sea (capitalist civilization) and will go into it." The series praised at length the history, geography, race and culture of the capitalist countries. As for capitalism's exploitation, oppression, aggression, and killing of people both at home and abroad, the authors do not even mention it.

The truth is, said the article, that the history of China over the past 60 to 70 years has proved that only under the leadership of the Chinese Communist Party and by taking the socialist road can China have a bright future.

**READING 6 (C).** "Rebroadcast of "River Elegy" Stirs New Debate (Beijing *Literature Review*, 26 November 1988, p.4, reprinted in Joint Publication Research Service 9 February 1989, p.49)

"About River Elegy" has become a hot topic in the year of the dragon. After the Central Television Station rebroadcast this six part television film in response to viewer demands, some local stations aired it three times. As before, it became the talk of the country, and views were conflicting.

Judging from the large volume of letters from ordinary viewers, the public that works on the front line of the four modernizations had a positive understanding of River Elegy. They regarded the broadcasting of this television film as "a great favor for the country" because "a people that is able to face up to its weaknesses is a great people." Through a nationwide re-examination of the people's traditional culture, the Chinese will gain a new sense of civilization. Some letters from young people and students were profoundly moving and showed a powerful love of country.

**READING 7.** "American, Chinese Cultural Values Compared" (from *The World Economic Hearald*, Shanghai, 27 March 1989, p.1, reprinted in JPRS, 30 May 1989.)

American culture has always had a strong bias against history and authority. With this anti-history and anti-authority nature, the social attitude of worshipping what is new, equality of position in the family's hierarchical relationship, and loose family ties, coupled with America's social environment of easy mobility, the influence of the previous generation on the next generation is extremely limited. But this proposition is only stated in the classroom. American culture also respects authority, but Americans do not have permanent authorities. If an academic authority of former times is no longer active on the academic scene, he is no longer an academic authority; if a president in earlier times no longer has political power, in both common practice and legal principle he is considered not much different than the common people.

These antihistory and antiauthority feelings, as well as America's social and geographical environments in which it is easy to move from one place to another, make people think that change is always better than no change and the new is always better than the old. With this social mindset of worshipping change and worshipping the new, the controlling role of ancestors, sages, famous persons, and powerful persons is put under maximum restraint. What the people pursue is this idea: tomorrow should not be the same as today, and I should not be the same as you. People's "traditional concepts" are replaced very quickly. A thing that was ridiculous 10 years ago might become a thing that many people advocate today. This cultural changeability is enhanced by the belief that "a live person is always better than a dead person" and "the future is always better than the past." Not only is it very difficult for parents to exert the influence of "tradition" on their children, but also the schools advocate that able students create something new and original and not become copies of their professors, and even put up restrictions to young teachers becoming assistants to or collaborators of famous professors. This is because the schools think that able youths should be a little less influenced by the famous men of the previous generation, and should rather strive as early as possible to surpass, by other means, and outstrip the famous men of the previous generation. However, this permissive social environment provides the conditions for the activity and spread of AIDS and the Ku Klux Klan. Without a doubt the fact that in recent years America has been unable to stop the flow of pornography and drugs, that in America the Ku Klux Klan is active in a "free form," and so forth are byproducts of this "unrestrained" culture.

Diametrically opposite to this, Chinese culture puts much stress on history, and Chinese rulers throughout the ages have made history a "mirror of warning." To this day statesmen rely on the lessons drawn from history. The lessons of a sage were able to control the nation for several thousands of years. The expression of political views by a leader in history was made holy writ that, without the slightest development in it, guided a fast-changing modern society. This kind of culture also maintains a belief in the cyclical nature of history, namely, that "one is east of the Huang He River for 30 years and west of it for 30 years," and a belief that the people of today are not as good as the people of olden times. The education that people receive from childhood on is not an education in how to distinguish the true from the false, but is rather an education in what the ancients, sages, famous persons, and powerful persons deemed to be true and false. This inertia in Chinese culture, in which the ancients, sages, famous persons, and powerful persons are worshipped, smothers to a serious extent the initiative, competitive spirit, and creativity of a great number of people. The distance in the position in the family hierarchy, in personal status, and in power that this inertia produced is a major obstacle to the establishment of a democratic society.

## *Section IX*

# Government and Politics

This section begins with an overview of the Chinese political system for teachers. Unit 2 elaborates on the relationship between the Chinese Communist Party and the state organs of power, and provides charts and student references for understanding the relationship between the party and the state in a communist system. Unit 3 addresses what membership in the communist party in China requires, highlighting for students the continuing Chinese belief in the "perfectibility of man" as well as the changing, often conflicting, political values enunciated by the Chinese Communist Party. Unit 4 looks at Chinese leaders, especially Mao Zedong and his ideology and includes biographies of Zhou Enlai and Deng Xiaoping.

Units 5 and 6 look at political life in China from the societal point of view. These units present true life experiences of Chinese youth who have grown up in China since the 1949 communist revolution. The variety of primary source readings in these units should provide ample material for teenagers to learn more about political life in China through the eyes of Chinese students their age. Units 5 and 6 can be used in conjunction with the section, **What Does It Mean To Be Chinese?** for a probing and interesting class discussion of issues concerning youth in China today.

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## *Unit 1*

# Background for Teachers on Chinese Politics

## Overview

### 1. China Since 1949

Since 1949 the Chinese Communist Party (CCP), as a single party, has exercised authoritarian power, making policy and controlling all state functions: party organizations exist in every social institution of any importance at all levels of society. Membership is selective and provides benefits in the form of access to scarce goods, housing, power, status, and information. The party has evolved from an organization of revolutionaries committed to an ideology (a vanguard party) to an organization of the privileged whose membership brings material gain, and whose proclaimed ideology justifies its monopoly of power. The past few years have seen this position challenged as the party has tried to cope with a crisis of confidence among the people. High ranking party members and their children have been implicated in corruption scandals, and Chinese citizens have started to use the safety of a "party member" label for a host of non-party and even vaguely anti-party activities.

In general, the policies of the CCP have been directed at meeting the ***two central challenges*** facing China in the 20th century: ***economic development*** and modernization to benefit the world's largest population, and the ***re-establishment of China's position and identity as a world leader***.

From 1949 to 1976 the personality and policies/ideas of Mao Zedong (Mao Tse-tung), chairman of the CCP, dominated China's development effort. Ever since his death in 1976, new policy experiments have been undertaken to spur economic development. Among these has been the "open-door" policy of increased economic and cultural interaction with Europe, the United States, and Japan, a departure from the policy that had prevailed for three decades of limiting China's participation in the world economy. (See the **Economics** section, and the unit "*Chinese Leaders*" for more detail.)

### 2. Mao and the Chinese Communist Party.

Mao Zedong laid great stress on the need to adapt Marxism, a Western ideology, to the Chinese context; this led to the development of "Maoism" or "Mao Zedong Thought." (See the unit "*Chinese Leaders*" for selections of Mao's sayings and student activities.)

The Chinese belief in the perfectibility of man through education, self-cultivation, and the moral example of rulers was reflected in the CCP style of rule under Mao. Party members, steeped in ideology, were meant to be led by their personal commitment and moral example. Mao's philosophy was particularly evident in the treatment of those who deviated from party policy-- if anyone strayed from the party line, a "struggle" would be undertaken to reform and return the "deviant" to what was viewed as a useful role in society. "Rectification campaigns" and "criticism/self-criticism" meetings were used to convince people of the error of their opinions.

Also in contrast with orthodox Marxist theory, Mao believed that man could overcome objective conditions and accomplish things by sheer force of will (or "***voluntarism***") as depicted in the traditional Chinese fable of "The Foolish Old Man Who Moved the Mountains," which he cited. (See "Commonly Read Speeches by Mao" in the "*Chinese Leaders*" unit.) This has led to tension between being "***red***" (i.e., politically, and by extension, morally cultivated) and being "***expert***" (i.e., having scientific, technical, or intellectual expertise). This conflict became particularly acute during The Great Leap Forward (1958-1960) and the Cultural Revolution (1968-76), when Mao encouraged "de-professionalization" and "de-urbanization" of industry, and in lieu of formal education, sent students to the countryside to live with and learn from the peasants, who were idealized as the source of revolutionary zeal. (See the "*Education*" unit in the **Society** section for lesson plans and further readings.) Party members, whose qualifications were primarily political, had authority over experts, such as factory managers and school principals, reflecting again the Chinese notion that moral qualities, not technical expertise, ultimately benefit society. (See the unit, "*What Makes a Good Communist Party Member?*", for lesson ideas.)

### 3. Deng Xiaoping and the Economic Reforms.

Following Mao's death a new approach to economic development was espoused by China's leaders under Deng Xiaoping (Teng Hsiao-p'ing). Market mechanisms and material incentives are gradually replacing state control and moral exhortation as techniques for managing the economy, and there is great interaction with international markets. Foreign investment is welcomed and China's provinces, particularly in the coastal areas, are vying to compete with the other newly emerging economic powers in Asia-- Korea, Taiwan, Hong Kong, and Singapore. (See the "*Chinese Leaders*" unit for more detail, and readings on Deng and the recent reform efforts.)

China occupies the ***third largest land area*** in the world (surpassed only by the Soviet Union and Canada), with the world's ***largest population***, estimated at approximately 1.1 billion people in 1989, or approximately 1/5 of the entire world's population. Population control has become a central element in China's economic development policies, in the recognition that continued growth could negate any gains made in this area and would impose impossible demands on the government's plans to provide adequate food, housing, education and health care. (For more detail and lesson plans on population, see the section **Geography and Population** and the introductory essay in the **Society** section.)

## 4. State and Society: Democracy and Centralism

In trying to discover the souce of the strength and success of the West, as they encountered it in the 1800s, the Chinese applied their own basic ideas to the interpretation of Western concepts: "democracy" was understood as a highly developed form of individual respect for the state, and "human rights" were understood as the state's bestowing on every individual, not just officials, the responsibility to speak up on behalf of the welfare of the people and to insist on the moral uprightness of the rulers. By reinterpreting Western ideas, the transitional thinkers of the late 1800s and early 1900s left for later generations an ***unresolved tension between democracy and centralism***. Basically, this dilemma is whether democratic rights and other human rights are valuable only to the extent that they help individuals to serve the state, or whether it is also legitimate for the individual to exercise these rights for his own benefit. Some Chinese argue that if the latter is not permitted, the former cannot be achieved.

The Chinese must address the question of how their understanding of democratic values and human rights fits into the international dialogue. The official position in China is that Western-style "bourgeois" democracy is false and delusionary: only "socialist" democracy is authentic, in the sense that it is founded on a true unity of interests among all citizens and between citizens and the state. But there is a strong popular and reformist view in the PRC today that the official version of democracy is a hollow shell, merely a rationalization for one-party dictatorship or the dictatorship of a strong personality, while the true Chinese democratic ideal of all the citizens pulling together for the welfare of the entire nation can only be achieved if the citizenry enjoys real freedoms, as in the West.

The official position is that human rights are granted and limited by the state in accord with national conditions so as to maintain an orderly process of development. The dissident and reformist view is that Western-style freedoms are a universally valid claim of the individual against the state which must be protected, and that to do so ultimately fosters political stability and economic growth.

The crushing of the pro-democracy demonstrators in Tiananmen square in June 1989 should be seen as an outgrowth of the unresolved tension between democracy and centralism. (See suggestions for independent student reports in the unit on "*Tiananmen Square*".) Also contributing to the demonstrations in 1989 was the partial nature of the reform effort which created significant opportunities for graft, corruption, and inflation. (See **Economics** section.)

**Lesson Suggestion:** Individual student reports can be assigned in three general areas. Divide the class into thirds and give each group one of the following topics: 1) The events of June 1989 at Tiananmen Square and the demands of students; 2) The main issues of the democracy debate in China (for a comparison of Confucian and Western ideas, see attached readings); and 3) The Chinese Communist Party: what is it, what are its goals, and how do they differ from those of Western democracy? Have the three groups present their reports to the class. This will bring out the main themes of the debate and give the students a sense of what it is like to live in a political system like China's.

# Teacher's Reference

(Taken from the U.S. Department of State's *Background Notes: China*)

## HISTORY

### The People's Republic of China

On October 1, 1949, Mao Zedong proclaimed the People's Republic of China in Beijing. The new government assumed control of a people exhausted by two generations of war and social conflict, and an economy devastated by high inflation and the disruption of the transportation and communications systems. Chinese communist leaders quickly installed a new political and economic order modeled on the Soviet example.

In the early 1950s, China achieved impressive economic and social rehabilitation. The government gained popular support by curbing inflation, restoring the economy, and rebuilding many war-damaged industrial plants. The CCP's authority reached into almost every phase of Chinese life. Party control was assured by strong, politically loyal security and military forces, a government apparatus responsive to party direction, and ranks of party members in labor, women's, and other mass organizations.

### The Great Leap Forward and the Sino-Soviet Split

In 1958, Beijing abandoned the Soviet model and announced a new economic program, the "Great Leap Forward," aimed at rapidly raising industrial and agricultural production above the impressive gains already attained. Mao believed that latent potential could be tapped by industrial decentralization and a greater degree of collectivization of China's countryside. Giant cooperatives (communes) were formed, and backyard factories dotted the Chinese landscape. The results were disastrous, as normal market mechanisms were disrupted and China's people exhausted themselves producing shoddy, unsalable goods. Within a year, the Chinese leadership retreated, blaming poor planning and the weather, but an ensuing famine in the countryside resulted in millions of deaths. Later, they were also to blame the Soviets for economic sabotage.

Already strained, Sino-Soviet relations deteriorated sharply in 1959 when Moscow placed restrictions on the flow of scientific and technological information to China and then precipitously withdrew all of its advisers. In 1960, the erstwhile allies began to spar openly in international forums.

### The Cultural Revolution

In the early 1960s, State President Liu Shaoqi and his protege, Party General Secretary Deng Xiaoping, took over direction of the party and adopted pragmatic economic policies at variance with Mao's revolutionary vision. Dissatisfied with this new direction, Party Chairman Mao launched a massive political attack on Liu, Deng, and other pragmatists in the spring of 1966. The new movement, called the "Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution," set China on a course of political and social anarchy that lasted the better part of a decade.

In the early stages of the Cultural Revolution, Mao and his "closest comrade in arms," People's Liberation Army (PLA) strongman Lin Biao and other radical supporters, charged Liu, Deng, and other top party leaders with dragging China back toward capitalism. Radical youth associations, called Red Guards, attacked party and state organizations at all levels, rooting out leaders who would not bend to the radical wind. In reaction to this turmoil, some local PLA commanders and other officials maneuvered to back Mao and his supporters outwardly while actually taking steps to rein in local radical activity. Gradually, the Chinese political situation stabilized along complex factional lines. The leadership conflict came to a head in September 1971, when Party Vice Chairman and Defense Minister Lin Biao reportedly tried to stage a coup against Mao. According to Chinese officials, Lin Biao later died in a plane crash in Mongolia while allegedly fleeing the country.

In the aftermath of the Lin Biao incident, many officials criticized and dismissed during 1966-69 were reinstated. Deng Xiaoping, chief among these, reemerged in 1973 and was confirmed in 1975 to the concurrent posts of Politburo Standing Committee member, PLA Chief of Staff, and Vice Premier. Deng and other veteran officials dominated the Fourth National People's Congress in January 1975. As Premier Zhou Enlai's health slipped, Deng acted as Zhou's alter-ego.

The conflict between veteran officials and the radicals reemerged with "vengeance in late 1975. Mao's wife, Jiang Qing, and three close Cultural Revolution-era associates (later dubbed the "Gang of Four") launched a media campaign against Deng. When Zhou died in January 1976, it was assumed that Deng would take over the premiership. Instead, Minister of Public Security Hua Guofeng was named Acting Premier in February. On April 6, when the Beijing populace staged a spontaneous demonstration in Beijing's Tiananmen Square in Zhou's memory - with strong political overtones in support of Deng - the authorities forcibly suppressed it. Deng was blamed for the disorder and stripped of all official positions, although he retained his party membership.

**The Post-Mao Era**

Mao's death in September 1976 removed a towering figure from Chinese politics and set off a scramble for succession. Hua Guofeng was quickly confirmed as Party Chairman and Premier. A month after Mao's death, Hua, backed by the PLA, arrested Jiang Qing and other members of the "Gang of Four." After "extensive deliberations," the CCP leadership reinstated Deng Xiaoping to all of his previous posts at the 11th Party Congress in August 1977. This symbolized the growing consolidation of control by veteran party officials strongly opposed to the radicalism of the previous two decades.

The post-11th Party Congress leadership has emphasized economic development and renounced the mass political movements of prior years. At the pivotal December 1978 Third Plenum (of the 11th Central Committee), the leadership adopted new agrarian policies aimed at expanding rural income and incentives, endorsed experiments in enterprise autonomy and away from central planning, and approved direct foreign investment in China. The Third Plenum also decided to push the pace of legal reform, culminating in the passage of several new legal codes by the National People's Congress in June 1979.

Beginning in 1979, the Chinese leadership moved toward more pragmatic positions in almost all fields. The party encouraged artists, writers, and journalists to adopt more critical approaches, although it did not permit open attacks on party authority. Former Sichuan Party Chief Zhao Ziyang succeeded Hua Guofeng as Premier in 1980. Zhao had established a record of pragmatic and forceful leadership in Sichuan. The Congress also took other personnel measures to strengthen governmental organization and loosen party control over day-to-day decision-making at all levels. In late 1980, after a succession of attacks on the Cultural Revolution, the party officially proclaimed it to have been a catastrophe. Deng's efforts to institutionalize his policies advanced at the 12th Party Congress in September 1982 as he appeared to benefit from internal party changes. The Congress also highlighted the importance of the economic modernization drive declaring a goal of quadrupling the nation's gross national product (GNP) by the year 2000. Finally, the National People's Congress in December 1982 adopted a new state constitution, the fourth since 1949. This new constitution replaces a much more radically leftist document promulgated in 1978 by the now-disgraced Hua Guofeng; it provides a legal framework for the ongoing reforms in China's social and economic institutions and practices.

Efforts to reform the political structure, however, have been less successful. Student demonstrators protested the slow pace of political reform in December 1986. Deng's effort to institutionalize the leadership succession also received a major blow when Hu Yaobang, a protege of Deng and a leading advocate of reform, was forced to resign as CCP General Secretary in January 1987.

## GOVERNMENT

### State Structure

The Chinese Government is subordinate to the Communist Party. Its role is to implement party policies. The primary instruments of state power are the State Council, an executive body corresponding to a cabinet, and the National People's Congress (NPC), a legislative body. Members of the State Council include a variable number of vice premiers (now five), the heads of ministries, and the heads of other commissions and special agencies attached to the State Council.

Under the Chinese constitution, the NPC is theoretically the state's leading government body. It meets annually for about 2 weeks to review and pass on major new policy directions, laws, the budget, and major personnel changes. These initiatives are advanced to the NPC for consideration by the State Council after previous endorsement by the Central Committee. Although the NPC generally approves State Council policy and personnel recommendations, various NPC committees hold active debate in closed sessions, and changes may be made to accommodate alternate views.

In late 1982, the Fifth NPC adopted a reformist-oriented new constitution and enacted a new 5-year plan keyed to Deng Xiaoping's economic modernization policies, moving China another step away from its Maoist past. The most recent session of this NPC, held in March-April 1987, was marked not by major innovations but rather by continued emphasis on Deng's reform programs.

### Chinese Communist Party

The 46-million member Chinese Communist Party (CCP), authoritarian in structure and intent, dominates virtually all sectors of national society. However, China's geographical vastness and social diversity naturally frustrate any attempt to rule China's 1 billion people by fiat from Beijing. Party leaders rule instead by building consensus for new policies among party members, influential nonparty persons, and the population at large.

In periods of relative democratization, such as began in 1978, the influence of people and organizations outside the formal party structure increased. Nevertheless, in all important government, economic, and cultural institutions in China, party committees work to guarantee that party and state policy guidance is followed and that nonparty persons do not mobilize to create autonomous organizations that could challenge Communist Party rule. Party control is tightest in government offices and in urban economic, industrial, and cultural settings; it is considerably looser in the rural and national minority areas where 80% of the Chinese people live and work.

Theoretically, the highest body of the CCP is the Party Congress, supposed to meet at least once every 5 years. The most recent, the 13th Party Congress, met in October 1987. It adopted important policy and personnel changes and elected the 13th Party Central Committee, a body of 175 full and 110 alternate members.

In terms of day-to-day power, the present hierarchy of the Communist party includes, in descending order of importance:

- The five-member Politburo Standing Committee;
- The Politburo, consisting of 17 full and 1 alternate member;
- The Party Secretariat, the principal administrative mechanism of the CCP, consisting of a party general secretary and 10 secretaries;
- The Party Military Commission, consisting of 1 chairman and 2 vice chairmen;
- The large Discipline Inspection Commission, charged with rooting out corruption and malfeasance among party cadres; and
- The Central Advisory Commission, consisting of about 200 party elders.

## Legal System

China's leaders are determined to develop a legal system that will prevent the recurrence of the unchecked exercise of official authority and revolutionary excess of the Cultural Revolution. In November-December 1982, the Fifth Session of the Fifth National People's Congress adopted a new state constitution that emphasizes a rule of law under which even Communist Party members theoretically will be accountable. In keeping with the emphasis on predictability and the rule of law, the NPC delegates also passed a number of new statutes. One effect will be to provide added assurances to foreigners transacting business with China that agreements and contracts will be honored and that arbitrary behavior will not be sanctioned.

In other legal developments, the first civil procedure law in the history of the People's Republic of China was promulgated for provisional use in 1982, filling a major gap in the legal system. The government announced that more than 300 laws and regulations, most of them in the economic area, have been implemented since 1979, when the drive to establish a functioning legal system began. The use of mediation committees - informed groups of laymen who resolve about 90% of China's civil disputes and some minor criminal cases, at no cost to the parties - continued to expand in 1982. There are more than 800,000 such committees, in both rural and urban areas. However, the dearth of lawyers and trained legal aides in China complicates the delivery of legal services. Law schools closed during the Cultural Revolution decade have been reopened, and the Chinese Government is committed to greatly expanded legal training.

## Unit 2

# Party and Government

### *Teacher's Note:*

This unit has two parts. The first part consists of a student reading introducing general points about the Chinese political system using an organizational flow chart. Questions for discussion follow. The second part provides excerpts from the constitution of the Chinese Communist Party also with questions for discussion. The point to be made in this unit is that the Communist Party is the real political power in China. For instance, the Constitution of the Party notes "The Party must conduct its activities within the limits permitted by the Constitution and the laws of the State." But in the Constitution of the State it is noted that the task of modernization (and running the country in general) falls to "the leadership of the Communist Party of China." These primary documents help highlight the points for the student, and may also be compared to the constitution of other countries for discussion.

Also attached are the Four Cardinal Principles of the People's Republic of China (PRC) and the Four Modernizations of the People's Republic, both of which are included in the constitution. Upholding the four cardinal principles is the basic requirement for maintenance of the political system. (See "Deng Xiaoping" in the "*Chinese Leaders*" unit for a more detailed description of the Four Modernizations.)

## *Student Reading*

### THE CHINESE POLITICAL SYSTEM

1. ***The Chinese contend that the ideal political society is one in which all citizens receive equal economic benefits*** (such as food, clothing, education, health care) and no citizens have greater privileges than others. The Chinese government is supposed to play an active role in seeing that such benefits are provided to all citizens.

2. ***The Chinese view themselves as carrying out a revolution through which they will transform their old society,*** where privilege and economic benefits were unequally distributed, into the new society. The Chinese say they are at present in the "socialist" stage of their revolution, where citizens receive benefits on the basis of their work or contribution. When they reach the final "communist" stage of the revolution, each citizen is supposed to receive goods and benefits according to how much he or she needs. (This supposes, of course, that China's economic development will be successful so that there will be enough food, clothing, school buildings, and health clinics to provide adequately for all citizens.)

3. ***The Chinese Communist Party is composed of people supposedly chosen for their commitment to creating such a communist society.*** The party is thus thought to be the political group most capable of leading the population to establish this society. The party's role is to develop policies that will bring about this society and then to guide the country in carrying out these policies. The party is supposed to consult with the citizens in establishing policy. (Note: individuals join the party by invitation only and must be voted in by other party members.)

4. ***What means does the Chinese Communist Party use to guide the citizens in carrying out its policies?***

- There are party members in every rural village, factory workshop, and school who are meant to set a good example and supervise their coworkers and neighbors.

- When elections take place for local congresses, a committee of party members screens the slate of candidates and removes any candidates whom the party feels would not do a good job of carrying out party policy.

- Television and radio networks, newspapers, and magazines are all under the control of the party and are restricted from voicing opinions or reporting news that would contradict or cause doubt about government policy.

- Jobs, the cities or villages in which people live and work, and housing space are all assigned or controlled by the government with the advice of the party. People who are active in support of party policies are given favorable treatment by the party in establishing their careers or choosing a place to live.

5. ***Chinese citizens are encouraged by the party to be politically active. The party, through its members, tries to insure, however, that the citizens will participate in a way that supports government policy.*** Chinese citizens are organized into small "study groups" in the factories where they work, the schools they attend, the offices where they work, or the neighborhoods where they live. At weekly group meetings, individuals discuss new government policies and decide how they can best be carried out in their factory, school, or neighborhood. They use the group session to criticize themselves when necessary for lack of enthusiasm in supporting policies and they criticize one another for failing to work actively on behalf of a new policy. The use of study groups in the factories has all but been abandoned in the 1980s. But after the crackdown in Tiananmen Square in June 1989, they were revived as a way to keep control and promote the government's opinions.

6. ***In both traditional China, guided by Confucian thought, and contemporary China, guided by Chinese Communist ideology, the Chinese have believed that people can be molded or educated to behave as they "should" behave.*** They believe that it is possible for people to agree on how a person should behave-- that there is a general standard and that this standard can be enforced. The role of ideology has been reduced in the recent period, but some Chinese leaders think ideology should still be stressed.

7. ***The Chinese place great value on the welfare of the group and of the whole society.*** This is a traditional value maintained today. The rights of the individual are secondary to the welfare of the group.

Now examine the charts (appended at the end of the exercise) showing the structure of the Chinese government and that of the Chinese Communist Party. Note that:

8. ***Elections are indirect*** rather than direct. That is, citizens at the local level, or, in the case of the Communist Party, party members in local groups, elect representatives just to the basic level congresses at the bottom of the chart. Then the congress itself elects representatives to the congress or representative body at the next level above it, and so on, up to the top.

9. The system of government is ***centralized***. That is, the executive organs at each level-- the people's government at each level in the government, the party committee at each level in the party-- receive direction from the level above, right on up to the top. These orders are passed down from the central government at the top through the bureaucracy of the executive branches. China does not have a "decentralized" system where each level of government can make decisions

independently (although the government occasionally experiments with some degree of decentralization, allowing local levels to decide certain policies on their own). In the 1980s the government went far in allowing provinces and regions to make many of their own economic decisions.

10. For every office in the government there is a ***corresponding office*** in the party at each level. This is because the party leads the government in establishing laws and setting policy for the whole country. The party uses its offices at every level to supervise the work of the government.

11. According to the Constitution of the People's Republic of China (attached), the executive and judicial branches of the Chinese government report to the legislative branch (the National People's Congress and its Standing Committee). ***All three parts of the government are led by the Chinese Communist Party.*** Review the constitutions of the Party and the Chinese State.

## QUESTIONS FOR DISCUSSION

1. Find a diagram of the United States government and compare it to that of the Chinese government. What is the relationship between the federal, state, and local governments in the United States? Is this similar to or different than the centralized unified system of government found in China? (see Chart)

2. Describe the role played by political parties in the United States, especially by the two major parties-- the Democrats and the Republicans. Is this similar to or different than the role played by the Chinese Communist Party? (see Chinese Political System, point 3)

3. When discussing the U.S. government, we often speak of "the balance of power" between the three branches of government-- the executive (the president), the legislative (Congress), and the judicial (the Supreme Court). What is the "balance of power"? What is its purpose? How is this similar to or different than the Chinese system of government? (see Chart)

Would Americans accept the idea that any one element of the government-- the president, Congress, or the Supreme Court, or one of the political parties-- should be stronger than all the others? Why?

4. What place is given to individual freedom in the American definition of the ideal political society? How does this seem to differ from the Chinese sense of the ideal political society or from their sense of an individual's rights? (see Chinese Political System, points 1, 6, and 7)

5. On what principle do Americans disagree with the Chinese system of government? Think about and discuss the following:

a) Do you and your classmates agree on how people "should" behave? Would Americans in general allow someone else to tell them how to behave? While some Americans might agree with the notion that all people should behave in a certain way, wouldn't they be less confident in deciding how to establish and enforce a standard of behavior? How would the entire society decide what was correct behavior, especially if people disagreed?

b) Is there a committee at your school in charge of monitoring the social behavior of all the students? Is there such a committee in your neighborhood or at you or your mother's or father's place of work?

c) How do Americans feel about laws that affect our personal behavior? What type of arguments are generated by issues such as: school prayer; the banning of books from public libraries or high school reading lists; the opening of a pornographic bookstore? How are the debates generated by these issues resolved?

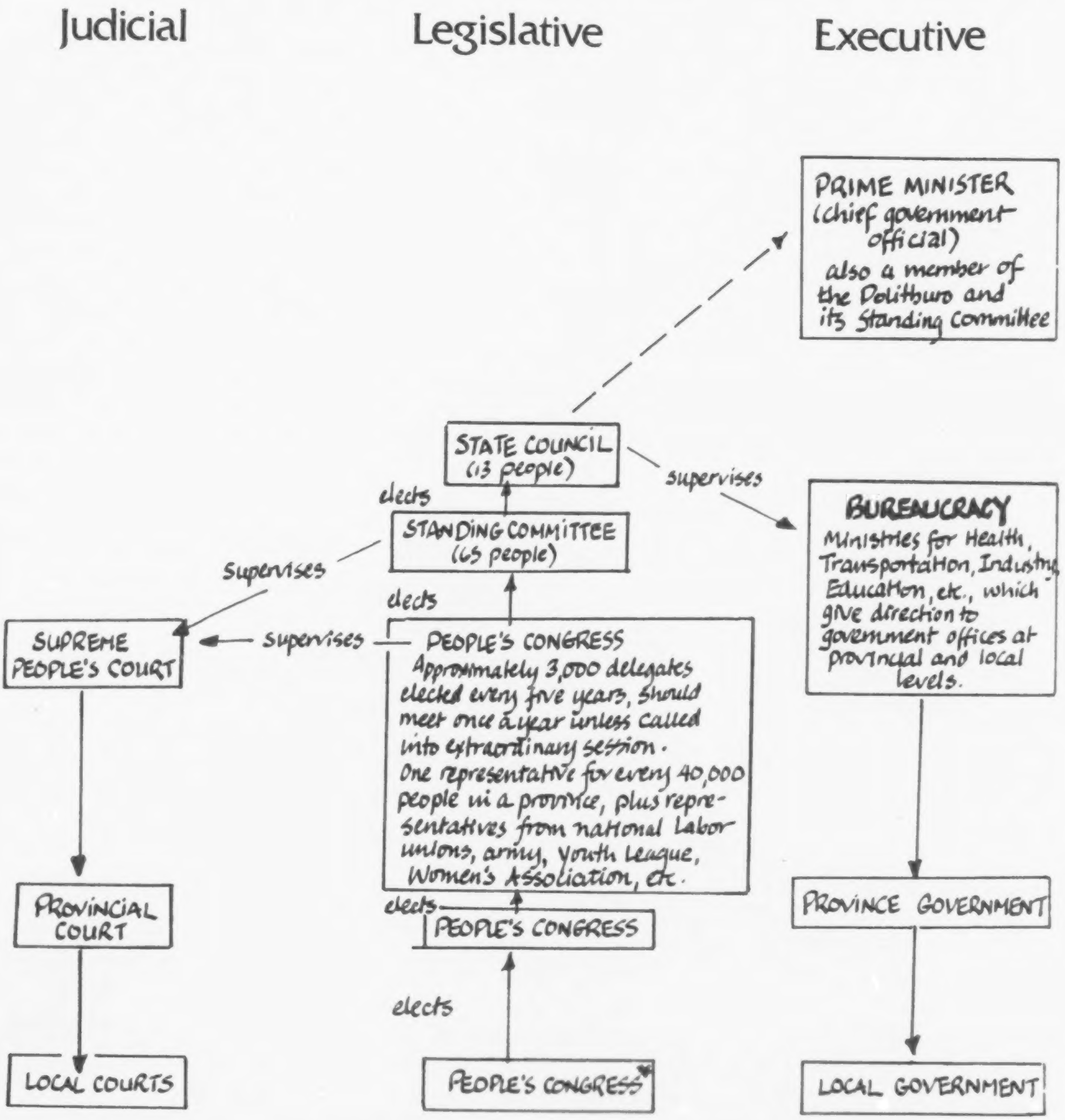
d) Do Americans accept government censorship of the news, media, television, radio, newspapers? Would Americans generally agree that through open discussion and free expression of opinion, the correct ideas emerge? How would this differ from the Chinese view? (see Chinese Political System, point 4)

6. Do we, as Americans, accept the idea that someone in government should be able to tell us how best to arrange our personal affairs? What job we should take? Whom and when we should marry? When we should have children and how many?

Perhaps you know people or perhaps you yourself or your family belong to an organization or a religious group that sets standards for personal behavior. How is this the same or different from the government? Can people choose to belong or not to belong to such a group, or does the group automatically include everyone in the society?

# GOVERNMENT

(Governing 1 billion Chinese)

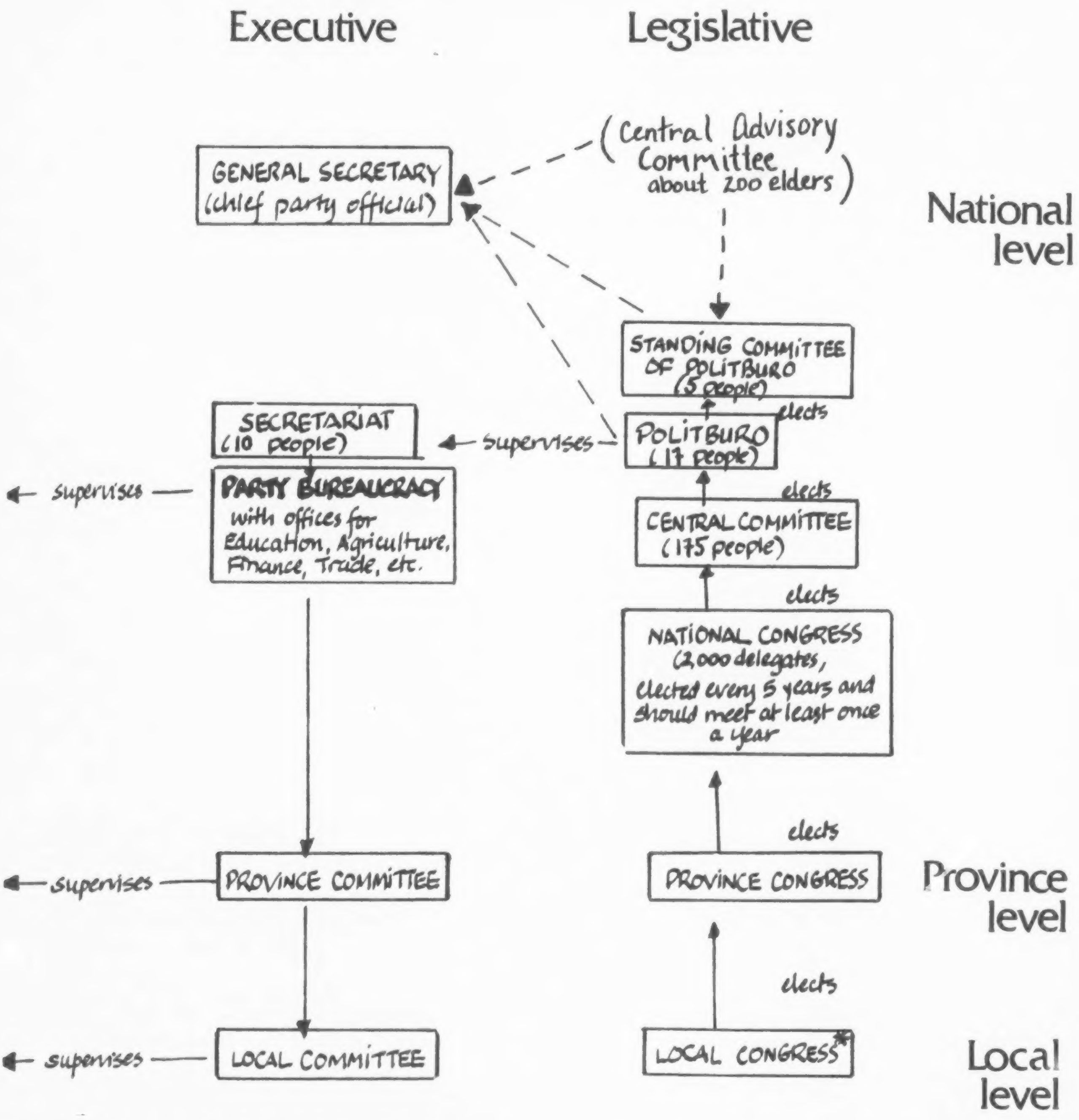

Judicial
Legislative
Executive
PRIME MINISTER (chief government official) also a member of the Politburo and its Standing Committee
STATE COUNCIL (13 people)
supervises
BUREAUCRACY
Ministries for Health, Transportation, Industry, Education, etc., which give direction to government offices at provincial and local levels.
elects
STANDING COMMITTEE (65 people)
supervises
elects
SUPREME PEOPLE'S COURT
supervises
PEOPLE'S CONGRESS
Approximately 3,000 delegates elected every five years, should meet once a year unless called into extraordinary session. One representative for every 40,000 people in a province, plus representatives from national Labor unions, army, Youth League, Women's Association, etc.
elects
PROVINCIAL COURT
PEOPLE'S CONGRESS
PROVINCE GOVERNMENT
elects
LOCAL COURTS
PEOPLE'S CONGRESS*
LOCAL GOVERNMENT

* ELECTIONS: when elections take place for local congresses, the party candidate whom the party thinks would not do a good job

# INA

## COMMUNIST PARTY

(46 million members in 1983)


Executive
Legislative
(Central Advisory Committee about 200 elders)
GENERAL SECRETARY (chief party official)
National level
STANDING COMMITTEE OF POLITBURO (5 people)
elects
SECRETARIAT (10 people)
supervises
POLITBURO (17 people)
supervises
PARTY BUREAUCRACY with offices for Education, Agriculture, Finance, Trade, etc.
elects
CENTRAL COMMITTEE (175 people)
elects
NATIONAL CONGRESS (2,000 delegates, elected every 5 years and should meet at least once a year
elects
supervises
PROVINCE COMMITTEE
PROVINCE CONGRESS
Province level
elects
supervises
LOCAL COMMITTEE
LOCAL CONGRESS*
Local level

committee screens the list of candidates and removes from it any ______________ carrying out party policy.

## *Student Reference*

### THE CARDINAL PRINCIPLES OF THE PEOPLE'S REPUBLIC OF CHINA

1. To keep to the socialist road.
2. To uphold the dictatorship of the proletariat.
3. To uphold the leadership of the Communist Party.
4. To uphold Marxism-Leninism and Mao Zedong Thought.

Vocabulary:

cardinal -
socialist -
proletariat -
Marxism-Leninism -

* * *

### THE FOUR MODERNIZATIONS

1. Modernize Industry
2. Modernize Agriculture
3. Modernize Defense
4. Modernize Science and Technology

## *Student Reading*

# CONSTITUTION OF THE PEOPLE'S REPUBLIC OF CHINA

(Adopted on December 4, 1982 by the Fifth National People's Congress of the People's Republic of China at its Fifth Session.)

## Preamble

China is one of the countries with the longest histories in the world. The people of all nationalities in China have jointly created a splendid culture and have a glorious revolutionary tradition.

Feudal China was gradually reduced after 1840 to a semi-colonial and semi-feudal country. The Chinese people waged wave upon wave of heroic struggles for national independence and liberation and for democracy and freedom.

Great and earth-shaking historical changes have taken place in China in the 20th century.

The Revolution of 1911, led by Dr. Sun Yat-sen, abolished the feudal monarchy and gave birth to the Republic of China. But the Chinese people had yet to fulfill their historical task of overthrowing imperialism and feudalism.

After waging hard, protracted and tortuous struggles, armed and otherwise, the Chinese people of all nationalities led by the Communist Party of China with Chairman Mao Zedong as its leader ultimately, in 1949, overthrew the rule of imperialism, feudalism, and bureaucrat capitalism, won the great victory of the new democratic revolution and founded the People's Republic of China. Thereupon the Chinese people took state power into their own hands and became masters of the country.

After the founding of the People's Republic, the transition of Chinese society from a new-democratic to a socialist society was effected step by step. The socialist transformation of the private ownership of the means of production was completed, the system of exploitation of man by man eliminated and the socialist system established. The people's democratic dictatorship led by the working class and based on the alliance of workers and peasants, which is in essence the dictatorship of the proletariat, has been consolidated and developed. The Chinese people and the Chinese People's Liberation Army have thwarted aggression, sabotage and armed provocations by imperialists and hegemonists, safeguarded China's national independence and security and strengthened its national defence. Major successes have been achieved in economic development. An independent and fairly comprehensive socialist system of industry has in the main been established. There has been a marked increase in agricultural production. Significant progress has been made in educational, scientific, cultural and other undertakings, and socialist ideological education has yielded noteworthy results. The living standards of the people have improved considerably.

Both the victory of China's new-democratic revolution and the successes of its socialist cause have been achieved by the Chinese people of all nationalities under the leadership of the Communist Party of China and the guidance of Marxism-Leninism and Mao Zedong Thought, and by upholding truth, correcting errors and overcoming numerous difficulties and hardships. The basic task of the nation in the years to come is to concentrate its effort on socialist modernization. Under the leadership of the Communist Party of China and the guidance of Marxism-Leninism and Mao Zedong Thought, the Chinese people of all nationalities will continue to adhere to the people's democratic dictatorship and follow the socialist road, steadily improve socialist institutions, develop socialist democracy, improve the socialist legal system and work hard and self-reliantly to modernize industry, agriculture, national defence and science and technology step by step to turn China into a socialist country with a high level of culture and democracy.

## *Student Reading*

# CONSTITUTION OF THE COMMUNIST PARTY OF CHINA

(Adopted by the 12th National Congress of the Communist Party of China on September 6, 1982.)

## General Programme

The Communist Party of China is the vanguard of the Chinese working class, the faithful representative of the interests of the people of all nationalities in China, and the force at the core leading China's cause of socialism. The Party's ultimate goal is the creation of a communist social system.

The Communist Party of China takes Marxism-Leninism and Mao Zedong Thought as its guide to action. ...

In order to lead China's people of all nationalities in attaining the great goal of socialist modernization, the Communist Party of China must strengthen itself, carry forward its fine traditions, enhance its fighting capacity and resolutely achieve the following three essential requirements:

First, a high degree of ideological and political unity. The Communist Party of China makes the realization of communism its maximum programme, to which all its members must devote their entire lives. At the present stage, the political basis for the solidarity and unity of the whole Party consists in adherence to the socialist road, to the people's democratic dictatorship, to the leadership of the party, and to Marxism-Leninism and Mao Zedong Thought and in the concentration of our efforts on socialist modernization. The Party's ideological line is to proceed from reality in all things, to integrate theory with practice, to seek truth from facts, and to verify and develop the truth through practice. In accordance with this ideological line, the whole Party must scientifically sum up historical experience, investigate and study actual conditions, solve new problems in domestic and international affairs, and oppose all erroneous deviations, whether "Left" or Right.

Second, wholehearted service to the people. The Party has no special interests of its own apart from the interests of the working class and the broadest masses of the people. The programme and policies of the Party are precisely the scientific expressions of the fundamental interests of the working class and the broadest masses of the people. Throughout the process of leading the masses in struggle to realize the ideal of communism, the Party always shares weal and woe with the people, keeps in closest contact with them, and does not allow any member to become divorced from the masses or place himself above the masses. The Party persists in educating the masses in communist ideas and follows the mass line in its work, doing everything for the masses, relying on the masses in every task, and turning its correct views into conscious action by the masses.

Third, adherence to democratic centralism. Within the Party, democracy is given full play, a high degree of centralism is practiced on the basis of democracy and a sense of organization and discipline is strengthened, so as to ensure unity of action throughout its ranks and the prompt and effective implementation of its decisions. In its internal political life, the Party conducts criticism and self-criticism in the correct way, waging ideological struggles over matters of principle, upholding truth and rectifying mistakes. Applying the principle that all members are equally subject to Party discipline, the Party duly criticizes or expels those who persist in opposing and harming the Party.

Party leadership consists mainly in political, ideological and organizational leadership. The Party must formulate and implement correct lines, principles and policies, do its organizational, propaganda and educational work well and make sure that all Party members play their exemplary vanguard role in every sphere of work and every aspect of social life. The Party must conduct its activities within the limits permitted by the Constitution and the laws of the state. It must see to it that the legislative, judicial and administrative organs of the state and the economic, cultural and people's organizations work actively and with initiative, independently, responsibly and in harmony. The Party must strengthen its leadership over the trade unions, the Communist Youth League, the Women's Federation and other mass organizations, and give full scope to their roles. The Party members are a minority in the whole population, and they must work in close co-operation with the masses of non-Party people in the common effort to make our socialist motherland ever stronger and more prosperous, until the ultimate realization of communism.

## Unit 3

# "What Makes a Good Communist Party Member?"

### *Student's Note:*

The Constitution of China states that only under the guidance of the Chinese Communist party will China develop and become strong. Only a small percentage of the population is believed to possess the qualifications to be party members and thus play a guiding role in China's development. Being in the Communist Youth League is the first step to becoming a full member of the party, and many young people in China have worked hard to become members of this organization, so that they will have a better chance to get into the party when they are older.

In 1978, Deng Xiaoping began efforts to reform China and called on people to boost their incomes through involvement in economic activities on the side, saying that making money is not all bad. The motto "To Get Rich is Glorious" became popular because getting rich would help raise a person's standard of living, contribute to the overall development of China, and provide the population with greater incentives to work hard. Deng argued that if people had the freedom to produce what they wanted and to sell their surpluses, China would develop faster and more efficiently. It was not clear, however, how Deng's reforms could be reconciled with the ideological basis of "being a good party member;" keep this problem in mind as you read the following essays.

## *Student Reading*

### QUOTATIONS FROM CHAIRMAN MAO ON BEING A COMMUNIST IN CHINA

At no time and in no circumstances should a Communist place his personal interests first; he should subordinate them to the interests of the nation and of the masses. Hence, selfishness, slacking, corruption, seeking the limelight, and so on, are most contemptible, while selflessness, working with all one's energy, wholehearted devotion to public duty, and quiet hard work will command respect.

("The Role of the Chinese Communist Party in the National War," October 1938.)

Communists should set an example in being practical as well as far-sighted. For only by being practical can they fulfill the appointed tasks, and only far-sightedness can prevent them from losing their bearings in the march forward.

*("The Role of the Chinese Communist Party in the National War," October 1938.)*

Communists should be the most far-sighted, the most self-sacrificing, the most resolute, and the least prejudiced in sizing up situations, and should rely on the majority of the masses and win their support.

*("The Tasks of the Chinese Communist Party in the Period of Resistance to Japan," May 3, 1937.)*

(Taken from: *The Little Red Book: Quotations From Chairman Mao*. Beijing Foreign Languages Press, 1972.)

## *Student Reading*

### "HOW TO BE A GOOD COMMUNIST"

by Liu Shaoqi

A good Communist Party member is one who combines the great and lofty ideals of Communism with practical work and the spirit of searching for the truth from concrete facts.

What is the most fundamental and common duty of us Communist Party members! As everybody knows, it is to establish Communism, to transform the present world into a Communist world. Is a Communist world good or not! We all know that it is very good. In such a world there will be no exploiters, oppressors, landlords, capitalists, imperialists, or fascists. There will be no oppressed and exploited people, no darkness, ignorance, backwardness, etc. In such a society all human beings will become unselfish and intelligent Communists with a high level of culture and technique. The spirit of mutual assistance and mutual love will prevail among mankind. There will be no such irrational things as mutual deception, mutual antagonism, mutual slaughter and war, etc. Such a society will, of course, be the best, the most beautiful, and the most advanced society in the history of mankind. Who will say that such a society is not good?

At all times and on all questions, a Communist Party member should take into account the interests of the Party as a whole, and place the Party's interests above his personal problems and interests. It is the highest principle of our Party members that the Party's interests are supreme.

A Communist Party member should possess all the greatest and noblest virtues of mankind. He should also possess the strict and clear-cut standpoint of the Party and of the proletariat (that is, Party spirit and class character). Our ethics are great precisely because they are the ethics of Communism and of the proletariat. Such ethics are not built upon the backward basis of safeguarding the interest of individuals or a small number of exploiters. They are built, on the contrary, upon the progressive basis of the interests of the proletariat, of the ultimate emancipation of mankind as a whole, of saving the world from destruction and of building a happy and beautiful Communist world.

Letter to the Editor

# HOW SHOULD THE CRITERIA FOR ADMISSION TO THE COMMUNIST YOUTH LEAGUE BE ADMINISTERED AFTER INSTALLATION OF THE PRODUCTION RESPONSIBILITY SYSTEM?

Comrade Editor:

Since the production responsibility system was installed in the countryside, we have been at a loss how to administer the criterion for recruiting new members of the Communist Youth League. To determine whether or not a youth meets the standard of a League member, our previous practice was to find out whether or not he devoted himself to the interests of the public, loved the collective, and did his share for the construction of a socialist new countryside. Now production is contracted out to individual households. With the overall contracting system being implemented, the young people are confined to the small world of a family or a household, calculating how to increase the family income and earn a greater bonus for overfulfillment of production quotas. In this way, how can we examine and determine whether a youth has a high degree of political awareness and possesses the collectivist spirit of devoting himself to the interests of the public?

Please give us an answer.

Yours,

Wang Baochang et al., Sichuan
August 26, 1981

Comrades Wang Baochang and Others:

We must examine young people who apply for League membership strictly according to the League membership requirements set forth in the League constitution. The constitution of the Communist Youth League states in explicit terms that a League member must "implement the Party's general and specific policies, enthusiastically fulfill the tasks assigned by League organizations, and play an exemplary role in studies, labor, and work."

continued --

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Right now, different forms of the production responsibility system are being implemented across the countryside; it is precisely the major policy the Party has adopted to regulate production relations. Quite a few young people who apply for League membership are in full support of the policy. They take the initiative in contracting production projects that call for more intensive labor and higher skill in an effort to wrest continuous high yields in the land they have contracted for. This embodies precisely the exemplary role they play in carrying out conscientiously the Party's general and specific policies. Whether a rural youth can wrest high yields, make more contributions, and provide the state and the collective with more agricultural and sideline products has now become a basic criterion for assessing his genuine love of the state, his concern for the collective, and whether or not he is doing his part for the socialist cause. To define without analysis the endeavor of doing a good job with the land one has contracted for as a move to "further one's own interest" is incorrect.

Implementing the different policies the Party adopts toward rural areas adds new content to the criterion a League organization should administer when recruiting new members. For example, whether or not a youth supports the line, the general and specific policies of the Party, and abides by the decrees, rules, and regulations issued by the state serves as a specific criterion for assessing his political awareness. Since implementation of the overall contracting system, for another example, investigation must be made to determine who works the hardest, who studies science and makes use of science, and who provides the state and the collective with more agricultural and sideline products. All this will serve as ironclad evidence. Compared with the previous practice of "everyone eating from the same big pot," don't things at present provide us more accuracy in administering the criterion of recruiting new League members?

Obviously, the situation has changed, but the requirements for a League member set forth in the League constitution remain the same. The problem is some comrades still judge candidates by old standards when recruiting them. In their eyes, going to work like a swarm of bees and allowing "everyone to eat from the same big pot" are precisely a wholehearted devotion to the interests of the public and a love for the collective, while spending more energy on the land one has contracted for is "calculated" to further one's own interests. In this way, they feel everything is out of step with their standard and most young people, it seems, do not measure up to League member requirements. Under the new circumstances, therefore, the basic condition for one to administer correctly the criterion of admitting new League members is to catch up rapidly with the changed situation in terms of one's way of thinking. Of course, this does not mean that we can willfully tamper with the League member requirements set forth in the League constitution and lower our demands on progressive youth. That, too, would also be incorrect.

Organization Department,
League Central Committee

"Shixing zerenzhihou, zenyang zhangwo rutuan biaozhun?" *Zhongguo qingnian* [China Youth], No. 16 (August 26, 1981), p. 21. Translation from *Chinese Education* 18:1 (Spring 1985), pp. 10-12.

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## QUESTIONS FOR DISCUSSION

1) In Liu's writing on how to be a good Communist he talks about the establishment of communism. He indicates that it is up to party members to establish communism. Remembering that this was written very early (1930s), do you think Liu is overly optimistic?

2) How does Mao's statements on being a good Communist party member compare to the situation described in the letter to the editor? Is it possible to be a good Communist when each person works for his/her family instead of the commune?

3) Consider the general points of Mao's statements; how do they compare to the pledge of girl scouts and/or boy scouts? Do members of the Democratic party or Republican party have standards like this?

4) In the letter to the editor the Communist Youth League department states that the household responsibility system is exactly the policy the party has implemented, and therefore supporting the policy is good. Were Liu Shaoqi to come back, what do you think he would have to say about this? What would Mao Zedong, who believed in the commune system, have to say?

A Peoples' Liberation Army cadre helping minorities.

*Unit 4*

# Chinese Leaders

## *Teacher's Note:*

No introduction to contemporary China would be complete without mention of Mao Zedong, Zhou Enlai and Deng Xiaoping. This unit contains a number of lessons on Mao that can be used together or separately, and brief biographies of Zhou and Deng.

### Mao Zedong

1) The 3 student readings about Mao, (2 essays and 1 poem), along with the discussion questions can be assigned as homework.

2) The 2 sets of primary readings of speeches and sayings by Mao Zedong articulate how Mao viewed revolution and the qualities of a good revolutionary. They represent Mao's idealistic and visionary side ("Commonly Read Speeches") in addition to his more calculating, realistic characteristics ("Quotations on Revolution and War"). These aspects of Mao's personality can be clarified by having the class compare the two sets of readings.

3) Alternatively, the readings can be studied together. The essay on "Mao: The Early Years" can be read alongside his report on the peasants in Hunan. The poem on the Long March hints at Mao's sense of determination which Mao makes more explicit in "The Foolish Old Man". Likewise, Mao's quotations on revolution and war highlight the reading "Mao as Leader of the Chinese Revolution."

### Zhou Enlai

The brief unit on Zhou Enlai centers on his pivotal role during President Nixon's visit to China in 1972. Zhou was well loved by the Chinese people and was an early supporter of the reform movement.

## Deng Xiaoping

Deng's importance centers on his position as the architect of recent economic reforms. Deng outlined the Four Modernizations and set China on a forward looking course of development. He allowed criticism of the Maoist years to emerge and set in place the legal foundations for an orderly succession of power which is so difficult to achieve in communist systems. These efforts have largely become unravelled, however, in the events of 1989. Deng's role in the Tiananmen Square massacre and the return of the older retired leaders who are much less sympathetic to reform have greatly hurt Deng's image both at home and abroad. Once *Time* magazine's "Man of the Year," Deng Xiaoping, and his reform movement, now face economic stagnation and an uncertain future.

## *Student Reading*

### MAO ZEDONG: A MODERN CHINESE LEADER

*The Early Years*

Mao was both a product and a part of the revolutionary change in 20th century China. He was born December 26, 1893, in the small village of Shaoshan in Hunan province. Although he described his father as a "rich peasant," the family clearly had to work hard for a living.

From an early age, Mao was a voracious reader. He particularly liked popular historical novels concerning rebellions and unconventional military heroes. At age thirteen, after five years of education in the local primary school, he was forced by his father to leave school and return to the farm. Mao continued to study on his own and at age sixteen left home to complete his elementary school training in the Hunanese capital of Changsha.

It was here that Mao began to experience the powerful revolutionary waves engulfing Chinese society. He read the works of nationalist reformers such as Kang Yuwei (Kang You-wei). He developed an admiration for the strong emperors in earlier periods of Chinese history and for certain Western statesmen including George Washington. Mao watched as China's last dynasty crumbled.

Mao's career in the army was brief and uneventful. From 1913 until 1918 he was in the First Hunan Normal School. His reminiscences indicate that he took himself and his convictions seriously.

In 1918 Mao graduated from Normal School and traveled to Beijing. There he became caught up in the intellectual and political activity of the May Fourth Movement.* He received a minor post at the Beijing University Library where he was exposed to Dean Chen Duxiu (Ch'en Tu-hsiu) and Librarian Li Dazhao (Li Ta-chao) who later became founders of the Chinese Communist Party.

Moving between Changsha and Shanghai in 1919-1920, Mao picked up odd jobs but devoted his energies to reading, writing, and talking about revolution. By 1920 he described himself as "a Marxist in theory and to some extent in action," and in July 1921 he was one of the small group that founded the Chinese Communist Party.

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* The May Fourth Movement was a cultural and intellectual awakening that started as a student movement and spread to a larger group of Chinese, bringing significant social change in urban China.

Mao became a major participant in the United Front. Of great importance to his later career was his appointment as head of the KMT (Kuomintang, or Nationalist Party) Peasant Movement Training Institute. His work at the Institute, which included ideological and organizational instruction for peasant leaders, opened his eyes to the revolutionary potential of the Chinese peasantry.

In 1921 Mao married Yang Kaihui (Yang K'ai-hui), the daughter of one of his mentors at Beijing University. She was later executed by the Kuomintang in 1930. However, in 1928 Mao had begun to live with a young girl of eighteen, He Zizhen (Ho Tsu-chen). Over the next nine years they had five children. In 1937 he divorced He and married Jiang Qing (Chiang Ch'ing).

Nineteen twenty-seven was a cataclysmic year for everyone involved in the Chinese Revolution. After the April Shanghai coup, Mao and his Communist cohorts were involved in the futile uprisings in southern China. This experience led to a lifelong distrust of Soviet advice and intentions, a deep animosity toward Chiang Kaishek and the Nationalists, and a search for new approaches to a mass-based revolution.

Mao retreated with a small band of followers to Jinggangshan (Chingkangshan), a mountainous, forested region in the southeastern province of Jiangxi (Kiangsi). It was here he faced the reality of rural revolution.

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## *Student Reading*

### THE LONG MARCH

The Red Army fears not the trials of the Long March
And thinks nothing of a thousand mountains and rivers.
The Wuling Ridges spread out like ripples;
The Wumeng Ranges roll like balls of clay.
Warmly are the cliffs wrapped in clouds
washed by the Gold Sand;
Chilly are the iron chains lying across the width
of the Great Ferry.
A thousand acres of snow on the Min Mountain delight
My troops who have just left them behind.

Mao Zedong
September 1935

(Reprinted from: David L. Weitzman, *Mao Tse-tung and The Chinese Revolution*. Copyright expired)

## *Student Reading*

### MAO AS THE LEADER OF THE CHINESE REVOLUTION

Mao was one of the historic figures of the twentieth century. A founder of the CCP (Communist Party), he played a major role in the establishment of the Red Army and the development of a defensible base area in Jiangxi province during the late 1920s and early 1930s. He consolidated his rule over the Party in the years after the Long March and directed overall strategy during the Sino-Japanese War and the civil war. He formally assumed the post of Party Chairman in 1945. His reliance on the peasantry (a major departure from prevailing Soviet doctrine) and dependence on guerrilla warfare in the revolution were essential to the Communist triumph in China.

Following the establishment of the PRC (People's Republic of China) in 1949, Mao was responsible for many of the political initiatives that transformed the face of China. These included land reform, the collectivization of agriculture, and the spread of medical services. In particular, this leader of the revolution remained alert to what he saw to be new forms of oppression and sensitive to the interests of the oppressed. In 1958 he advocated a self-reliant "Great Leap Forward" campaign in rural development. The failure of the Leap led Mao to turn many responsibilities over to other leaders (Liu Shaoqi, Deng Xiaoping, etc.) and to withdraw from active decision making.

During the early 1960s, Mao continued his restless challenge of what he perceived as new forms of domination (in his words, "revisionism," or "capitalist restoration"). In foreign policy he led China's divorce from the Soviet Union. Domestically, he became increasingly wary of his subordinates' approach to development, fearing that it was fostering deep social and political inequalities. When Liu, Deng, and others seemed to be ignoring his call to "never forget class struggle," Mao in 1966 initiated the "Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution," exploiting discontent among some students (the "Red Guards") and others. The Cultural Revolution was successful in removing many who opposed his policies but led to serious disorder, forcing Mao to call in the military to restore order in 1967.

In 1969 Mao designated Defense Minister Lin Biao, a Cultural Revolution ally, as his heir apparent. But Mao came to have doubts about Lin and soon challenged him politically. One of the issues of debate was the opening to the United States, advocated by Mao and Zhou Enlai as a counter to the Soviet Union. In 1971 Lin was killed in a plane crash while fleeing China after an alleged assassination attempt on Mao.

Until his death, a failing Mao refereed a struggle between those who benefited from the Cultural Revolution and defended its policies, and rehabilitated veterans who believed that the Cultural Revolution had done China serious harm. It seemed for a while that the veterans, led by Deng Xiaoping, had won the day. But the radicals, either by manipulating Mao or by appealing to his basic instincts, regained momentum after Zhou Enlai's death in January 1976. Mao chose the more centrist Hua Guofeng to carry on his vision. Four weeks after Mao's death, Hua led the arrest of major radical figures, four of whom-- Zhang Chunqiao, Jiang Qing, Wang Hongwen, and Yao Wenyuan-- were dubbed a "gang."

The post-Mao era has seen a reversal of much that Mao stood for and the eclipse of many individuals, living and dead, that he stood behind. His leadership, especially the Cultural Revolution initiative, has been hotly debated. In June 1981 the Party Central Committee approved a resolution that criticized Mao's rule after 1958, but affirmed his place as a great leader and ideologist of the Chinese Communist revolution.

(From China Reconstructs, September, 1973)

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# Chronology of China Under Mao

**1949:** The Communist Red Army defeats the Nationalists in a civil war. The People's Republic of China (P.R.C.) is established on October 1. Chiang Kai-shek and the Nationalists retreat to the island of Taiwan.

**1950:** Signing of Sino-Soviet Treaty. China enters the Korean War; Marriage Law promulgated, providing freedom of marriage and divorce.

**1952:** Basic land reform completed after a five-year campaign. All land deeds destroyed and land redistributed (roughly two million landlords executed).

**1953:** Korean War armistice. Inauguration of P.R.C.'s First Five-Year Plan, relying on Soviet model of industrial development.

**1954-55:** Zhou Enlai plays a major role at the Geneva Convention and the Bandung Conference, establishing a new diplomatic prominence for the P.R.C. First constitution of the P.R.C. is promulgated. Collectivization of agriculture is stepped up.

**1956-57:** In the wake of Khrushchev's denunciation of Stalin and political explosions in Poland and Hungary, Mao calls for a "Hundred Flowers Movement" to improve the relationship between the CCP and the people. Critics soon attack the legitimacy of CCP rule. The Party responds with an "antirightist campaign," suppressing the opposition.

**1958-59:** Mao promotes a "Great Leap Forward" in economic development, relying on mass mobilization, the commune system, and indigenous methods. The effort fails for the most part because of administrative weakness aggravated by bad weather. P.R.C. attacks offshore islands under Nationalist control (September, 1958). In August, 1959, Defense Minister Peng Dehuai ousted after he criticizes Mao's sponsorship of the Great Leap Forward; replaced by Lin Biao.

**1960:** Withdrawal of the Soviet technical advisors, widening the Sino-Soviet rift. Return to more conventional economic development policies to deal with the post-Great Leap Forward depression.

**1961-65:** The polity and economy recover, but the CCP becomes increasingly divided over how to pursue economic development, with Mao and his more radical associates pitted against Liu Shaoqi, Deng Xiaoping, and other moderate leaders. Lin Biao, defense minister and one of Mao's allies, leads campaigns to increase political consciousness in the military by stressing the study of Mao's thought. China detonates its first nuclear device (1964).

**1966-69:** Mao leads the "Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution," to attack the Party bureaucracy that was frustrating his initiatives and to revive revolutionary commitment. Millions of youths (the Red Guards) are mobilized, the Party-state machinery is crippled and a host of Party veterans — most notably Liu Shaoqi and Deng Xiaoping — are purged. Mao is forced to call the army in to end the resultant disorder.

**1969:** The Ninth National Congress of the CCP issues a new Party Constitution that names Lin Biao as "Comrade Mao Zedong's close comrade-in-arms and successor."

**1971:** The beginning of Sino-American rapprochement. Death of Lin Biao after alleged coup attempt (September). P.R.C succeeds to China's seat in the United Nations (October).

**1972:** Nixon visits the P.R.C. Shanghai Communiqué signed.

**1973:** Deng Xiaoping reappears in public for the first time since the Cultural Revolution (April). In August, the CCP's Tenth Congress issues a new Party Constitution, eliminating a clause naming Lin Biao as Mao's successor.

**1974:** Zhou Enlai, Deng Xiaoping, and other moderate leaders chip away at policies introduced during the Cultural Revolution. Radical forces mount a campaign to "criticize Confucius," ostensibly to eliminate feudal ways of thought but actually to defend the Cultural Revolution and indirectly attack Zhou.

**1975:** Fourth National People's Congress is convened. Zhou Enlai outlines an economic modernization plan for the P.R.C, but radical opposition is apparent. Deng Xiaoping is elected to Politburo Standing Committee. However, his approach to economic development, education, and science comes under increasing attack by Mao's more radical followers.

**1976:** Zhou Enlai dies (January 8). Hua Guofeng is named acting premier (February 7) amid expectations that Deng Xiaoping would succeed Zhou. A mass demonstration occurs in Beijing's Tiananmen Square over the removal of wreaths honoring Zhou Enlai (April 5). The Politburo strips Deng of all his posts and names Hua Guofeng full premier and first vice chairman of the CCP (April 7). Zhu De dies (July 6). The northern city of Tangshan is struck by a massive earthquake (July 28) that kills close to a million people. Mao Zedong dies (September 9). Four weeks later (October 6), Hua Guofeng leads the arrest of influential radicals, including Jiang Qing, Zhang Chunqiao, Wang Hongwen and Yao Wenyuan (soon labeled the "gang of four"). Hua, already Premier, now becomes chairman of the CCP and chairman of its Military Affairs Commission, thus officially succeeding Mao.

**From Focus on Asian Studies, Vol. IV, No. 1, Fall 1984 (New York: The Asia Society)**

## *Student Readings*

### COMMONLY READ SPEECHES BY MAO

*Student's Note:*

The following speeches by Mao Zedong highlight two important themes both in Mao's thinking and in the goals of the communist revolution.

1) The notion of "voluntarism" in Mao's thought. He believed that any task could be accomplished through sheer will. (See "The Foolish Old Man...") He also had great confidence in the power of the "harnessed" will of the people--especially the peasants. (See "Report on the Peasant Movement."

2) The idea of selflessness. This is brought out quite clearly in the speeches "In Memory of Norman Bethune," and "To Serve the People." The notion of sacrificing one's own interest to the interests of the greater good is universal, and greatly influenced Mao's thinking (see also Mao's statements on being a good communist). As a good comparison to traditional Chinese thought, see some of the sayings of Confucius.

(The speeches are reprinted from: *The Selected Readings of Mao Zedong*. Beijing Foreign Language Press, 1971.)

### REPORT ON THE INVESTIGATION OF THE PEASANT MOVEMENT IN HUNAN*

March 1927

#### *The Importance of The Peasant Problem*

During my recent visit to Hunan I made a first-hand investigation of conditions in the five counties of Hsiantan, Hsianghsiang, Henshan, Liling and Changsha. In the thirty-two days from January 4 to February 5, I called together fact-finding conferences in villages and county towns, which were attended by experienced peasants and by comrades working in the peasant movement, and I listened attentively to their reports and collected a great deal of material. Many of the hows and whys of the peasant movement were the exact opposite of what the gentry in Hankow and Changsha are saying. I saw and heard of many strange things of which I had hitherto been unaware. I believe the same is true of any other places, too. All talk directed against the peasant movement must be speedily set right. All the wrong measures taken by the revolutionary authorities concerning the peasant movement must be speedily changed. Only thus can the future of the revolution be benefited. For the present upsurge of the peasant movement is a colossal event. In a very short time, in China's central, southern and northern provinces, several hundred million peasants will rise like a mighty storm, like a hurricane, a force so swift and violent that no power, however great, will be able to hold it back. They will smash all the trammels that bind them and rush forward along the road to liberation. They will sweep all the imperialists, warlords, corrupt officials, local tyrants and evil gentry into their graves. Every revolutionary party and every revolutionary comrade will be put to the test, to be accepted or rejected as they decide. There are three alternatives. To march at their head and lead them. To trail behind them, gesticulating and criticizing. Or to stand in their way and oppose them. Every Chinese is free to choose, but events will force you to make the choice quickly.

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* This article was written as a reply to the carping criticisms both inside and outside the Party then being levelled at the peasants' revolutionary struggle. Comrade Mao Zedong spent thirty-two days in Hunan Province making an investigation and wrote this report in order to answer these criticisms.

## IN MEMORY OF NORMAN BETHUNE*

December 21, 1939

Comrade Norman Bethune, a member of the Communist Party of Canada, was around fifty when he was sent by the Communist Parties of Canada and the United States to China; he made light of travelling thousands of miles to help us in our War of Resistance Against Japan. He arrived in Yenan in the spring of last year, went to work in the Wutai Mountains, and to our great sorrow died a martyr at his post. What kind of spirit is this that makes a foreigner selflessly adopt the cause of the Chinese people's liberation as his own? It is the spirit of internationalism, the spirit of communism, from which every Chinese Communist must learn...

Comrade Bethune's spirit, his utter devotion to others without any thought of self, was shown in his boundless sense of responsibility in his work, and his boundless warm-heartedness towards all comrades and the people. Every Communist must learn from him. There are not a few people who are irresponsible in their work, preferring the light to the heavy, shoving the heavy loads on to others and choosing the easy ones for themselves. At every turn they think of themselves before others. When they make some small contribution, they swell with pride and brag about it for fear that others will not know. They feel no warmth toward comrades and the people but are cold, indifferent and apathetic. In fact such people are not Communists or at least cannot be counted as true Communists...

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We must learn the spirit of absolute selflessness from him. With this spirit everyone can be very useful to the people. A man's ability may be great or small, but if he has this spirit, he is already noble-minded and pure, a man of moral integrity and above vulgar interests, a man who is of value to the people.

* The distinguished surgeon Norman Bethune was a member of the Canadian Communist Party. In 1936 when the German and Italian fascist bandits invaded Spain, he went to the front and worked for the anti-fascist Spanish people. In order to help the Chinese people in their War of Resistance Against Japan, he came to China at the head of a medical team and arrived in Yenan in the spring of 1938. Soon after he went to the Shansi-Chahar-Hopei border area. Imbued with ardent internationalism and the great communist spirit, he served the army and the people of the Liberated Areas for nearly two years. He contracted blood poisoning while operating on wounded soldiers and died in Tanghsien, Hopei, on November 12, 1939.

## SERVE THE PEOPLE

September 8, 1944

Our Communist Party and the Eighth Route and New Fourth Armies led by our Party are battalions of the revolution. These battalions of ours are wholly dedicated to the liberation of the people and work entirely in the people's interests. Comrade Chang Szu-teh was in the ranks of these battalions.

All men must die, but death can vary in its significance. The ancient Chinese writer Szuma Chien said, "Though death befalls all men alike, it may be weightier than Mount Tai or lighter than a feather."[1] To die for the people is weightier than Mount Tai, but to work for the fascists and die for the exploiters and oppressors is lighter than a feather. Comrade Chang Szu-teh died for the people, and his death is indeed weightier than Mount Tai.

If we have shortcomings, we are not afraid to have them pointed out and criticized, because we serve the people. Anyone, no matter who, may point out our shortcomings. If he is right, we will correct them. If what he proposes will benefit the people, we will act upon it. The idea of "better troops and simpler administration" was put forward by Mr. Li Ting-ming,[2] who is not a Communist.

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[1] Sima Qian, the famous Chinese historian of the 2nd century B.C. was the author of the Historical Records. The quotation comes from his "Reply to Ren Shaoqing's Letter".

[2] Li Ting-ming, an enlightened landlord of northern Shensi Province, was at one time elected Vice-Chairman of the Shensi-Gansu-Ningxia Border Region Government.

administration" was put forward by Mr. Li Ting-ming,[1] who is not a Communist. He made a good suggestion which is of benefit to the people, and we have adopted it. If, in the interests of the people, we persist in doing what is right and correct what is wrong, our ranks will surely thrive.

We hail from all corners of the country and have joined together for a common revolutionary objective. And we need the vast majority of the people with us on the road to this objective. Today, we already lead base areas with a population of 91 million[2] but this is not enough; to liberate the whole nation more are needed. In times of difficulty we must not lose sight of our achievements, must see the bright future and must pluck up our courage. The Chinese people are suffering; it is our duty to save them and we must exert ourselves in struggle. Wherever there is struggle there is sacrifice, and death is a common occurrence. But we have the interests of the people and the sufferings of the great majority at heart, and when we die for the people it is a worthy death. Nevertheless, we should do our best to avoid unnecessary sacrifices. Our cadres must show concern for every soldier, and all people in the revolutionary ranks must care for each other, must love and help each other.

From now on, when anyone in our ranks who has done some useful work dies, be he soldier or cook, we should have a funeral ceremony and a memorial meeting in his honor. This should become the rule. And it should be introduced among the people as well. When someone dies in a village, let a memorial meeting be held. In this way we express our mourning for the dead and unite all the people.

## THE FOOLISH OLD MAN WHO REMOVED THE MOUNTAINS

June 11, 1945

We have had a very successful congress. We have done three things. First, we have decided on the line of our Party, which is boldly to mobilize the masses and expand the people's forces so that, under the leadership of our Party, they will defeat the Japanese aggressors, liberate the whole people and build a new democratic China...

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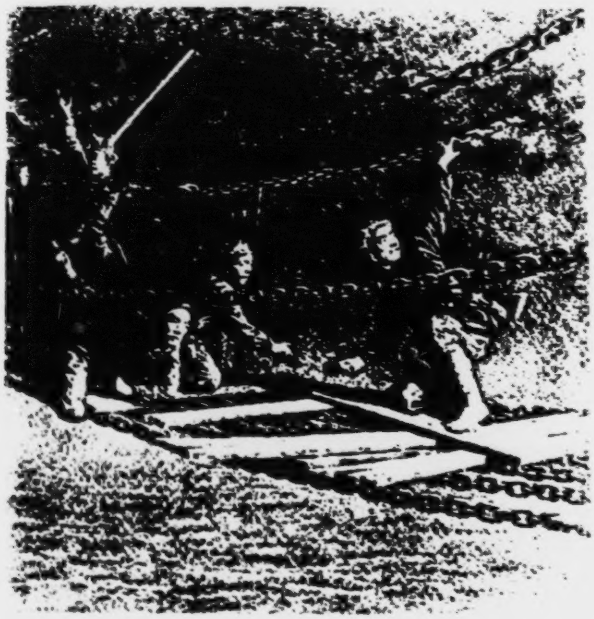
[1] Li Ting-ming, an enlightened landlord of northern Shensi Province, was at one time elected Vice-Chairman of the Shensi-Gansu-Ningxia Border Region Government.

[2]. This was the total population of the Shensi-Gansu-Ningxia Border Region and all other Liberated Areas in northern, central and southern China.

that they may willingly and gladly fight together with us for victory. We should fire the whole people with the conviction that China belongs not to the reactionaries but to the Chinese people. There is an ancient Chinese fable called "The Foolish Old Man Who Removed the Mountains." It tells of an old man who lived in northern China long, long ago and was known as the Foolish Old Man of North Mountain. His house faced south and beyond his doorway stood the two great peaks, Taihang and Wangwu, obstructing the way. With great determination, he led his sons in digging up these mountains hoe in hand. Another greybeard, known as the Wise Old Man, saw them and said derisively, "How silly of you to do this! It is quite impossible for you to dig up these two huge mountains." The Foolish Old Man replied, "When I die my sons will carry on; when they die, there will be my grandsons and then their sons and grandsons, and so on to infinity. High as they are, the mountains cannot grow any higher and with every bit we dig, they will be that much lower. Why can't we clear them away?" Having refuted the Wise Old Man's wrong view, he went on digging every day, unshaken in his conviction. God was moved by this, and he sent down two angels, who carried the mountains away on their backs. Today, two big mountains lie like a dead weight on the Chinese people. One is imperialism, the other is feudalism. The Chinese Communist Party has long made up it mind to dig them up. We must persevere and work unceasingly, and we too, will touch God's heart. Our God is none other than the masses of the Chinese people. If they stand up and dig together with us, why can't these mountains be cleared away?



A Chinese painting of Mao's forces crossing the Yalu River on the Long March.

## *Student Reading*

### MAO ON REVOLUTION

*Student's Note:*

A revolution is commonly understood to be an event which seeks to overthrow one political order in society and replace it with another. For instance, the revolutionary war in America sought to replace the political rule of England which has a monarch, with the parliamentary rule of two political parties and an elected president like we have today. In China, Mao wanted to overthrow the rule of the Guomindang (or KMT) and establish a new communist political order under the leadership of the Chinese Communist Party.

As demonstrated by the following quotations, Mao believed that violence and support from the masses were necessary for the achievement of a peaceful communist order. One of the most critical challenges faced by Mao in this regard was establishing strong military support for the revolution while simultaneously preventing the armed forces from becoming too powerful. Mao's concerns are reflected in the last two quotations; while arguing that political power cannot be achieved without resorting to the use of force, ("Political power grows out of the barrel of a gun"-- the gun being a metaphor for the military), Mao also believed that the party must always remain in ultimate political control of the nation in order for peace and prosperity to be achieved ("...the gun must never be allowed to command the Party").

### QUOTATIONS FROM MAO ZEDONG ON WAR AND REVOLUTION

> A revolution is not a dinner party, or writing an essay, or painting a picture, or doing embroidery; it cannot be so refined, so leisurely and gentle, so temperate, kind, courteous, restrained and magnanimous. A revolution is an insurrection, an act of violence by which one class overthrows another.
>
> "Report on an Investigation of the Peasant Movement in Hunan"

The revolutionary war is a war of the masses; it can be waged only by mobilizing the masses and relying on them.

"Be Concerned with the Well-Being of the Masses, Pay Attention to Methods of Work"

War is the highest form of struggle for resolving contradictions, when they have developed to a certain stage, between classes, nations, states, or political groups, and it has existed ever since the emergence of private property and of classes.

"Problems of Strategy in China's Revolutionary War"

Every Communist must grasp the truth, "Political power rows out of the barrel of a gun."

"Problems of War and Strategy"

Our principle is that the Party commands the gun, and the gun must never be allowed to command the Party.

"Problems of War and Strategy"

## QUESTIONS FOR DISCUSSION

I. On the Primary Source readings from Mao:

1) In "Serve the People,", Mao argues that the masses are the leaders of the revolution while the actions of revolutionaries are guided by love for the people. In his quotation on political power, however, he says that power grows out of the barrel of a gun. Is this a contradiction? Why or why not?

2) Do you feel that all revolutions must be violent? Why or why not?

3) In "In Memory of Norman Bethune," Mao speaks of "utter devotion to others without any thought of self." Do you know of anyone like that? Do you agree with Mao that a person's ability is only as great as his moral integrity?

II. On the Essays about Mao Zedong:

1) How do you think Mao's childhood influenced his later years?

2) What tactics did Mao use that were different from other revolutionaries that helped him win the revolution?

3) Some have said that Mao was a visionary who slowly lost touch with reality as time went on. Do you agree or disagree? Answer by citing 2 examples or events from the reading to support your position.

## *Student Reading*

### ZHOU ENLAI

Zhou Enlai (Chou En-lai, 1898-1976) was, for decades, one of the most prominent and respected leaders of the Communist movement. Born into an upper-class family, he was drawn into the vortex of Chinese politics during the May Fourth Movement. In 1920 he traveled to Europe on a work-study program in which he met a number of future CCP leaders. He joined the Party in 1922 and returned to China in 1924, becoming the political commissar of the Whampoa Military Academy in Canton during the first united front with the Nationalists. He was in charge of labor union activity in Shanghai when Chiang Kaishek attacked the CCP in April 1927 and helped to plan the Nanchang Uprising against the Nationalists in August-- the event now celebrated as the founding of the CCP's Red Army.

But Zhou was always most prominent during periods in which the CCP reached out to otherwise hostile political forces. He played an important role in securing Chiang Kaishek's release during the Xian (Sian) Incident of December 1936. Once the Nationalists and CCP had formed a second united front to oppose Japanese imperialism, it was Zhou who headed the CCP liaison team. Similarly, Zhou represented the CCP in negotiations with the Nationalists during the mediation effort of U.S. General George Marshall.

After the founding of the People's Republic in 1949, Zhou became premier of the Government Affairs (later State) Council and foreign minister. In 1955 he acted as China's bridge to the non-aligned world at the Bandung Conference, and in the same year helped engineer initial contacts with the U.S. He passed the foreign minister portfolio to Chen Yi in 1958 but continued to play an active role in foreign policy.

Zhou supported Mao Zedong in the latter's Cultural Revolution attack on the entrenched Party bureaucracy, and subsequently played a critical role in rebuilding political institutions and mediating numerous political quarrels. With the Soviet invasion of Czechoslovakia, Zhou advocated an opening to Japan and the West to counter the Russian threat. Zhou welcomed President Nixon to China in February 1972, and signed the historic Shanghai Communique for the PRC. That same year Zhou was diagnosed as having cancer, and he began shedding some of his responsibilities, especially to Deng Xiaoping who was rehabilitated in April 1973. Zhou was also a strong advocate of modernization, particularly at the Fourth National People's Congress in January 1975. Amid radical attacks on him during the Anti-Confucius Campaign, Zhou entered the hospital during 1974 and died on

January 8, 1976.

Zhou continued to affect Chinese politics even after his death. In April 1976 the removal of memorial wreaths placed in Tiananmen Square (in Zhou's honor, sparked riots that led to the second ouster of Deng Xiaoping. With the purge of the "Gang of Four" in October 1976, his policy of "four modernizations" received the full endorsement of the new leadership. His selected works were published in December 1980, and three years later a memorial room for him was established in Mao's mausoleum.

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## *Student Reading*

### DENG XIAOPING: THE ECONOMIC REFORMER

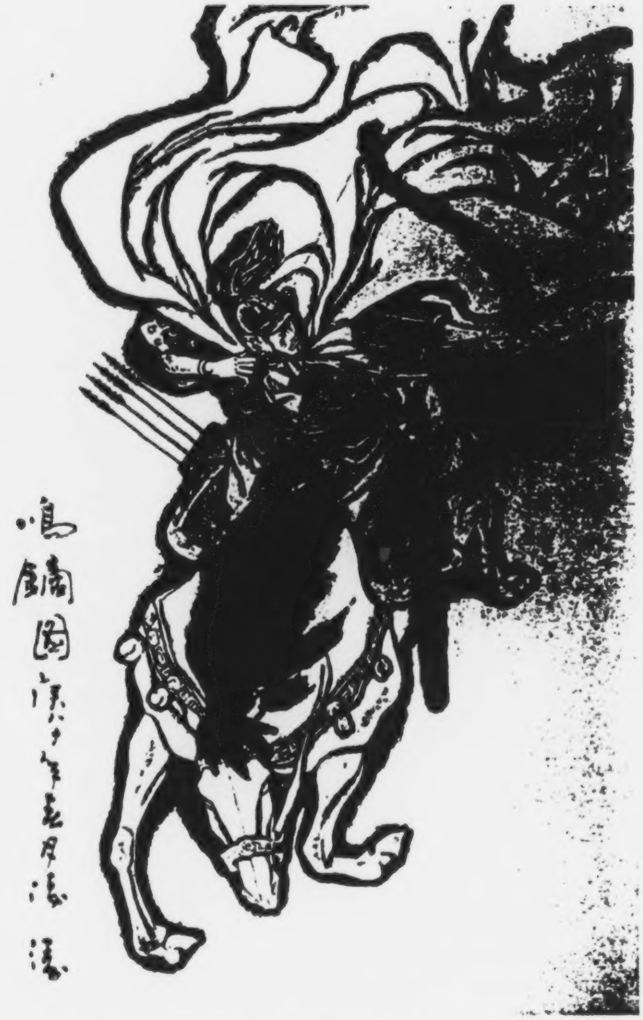
Deng Xiaoping came to power shortly after the death of Mao in 1976. His goal was to set China back on the course of economic development that had been badly interrupted during the final years of Mao's leadership. Deng's rallying cry became the "Four Modernizations," articulated by Zhou Enlai in 1975, which entailed the development of industry, agriculture, defense, and science and technology. He set the course of reform by dismantling the communes set up under Mao and replaced them with the Household Responsibility System (HRS), within which each household must be held accountable to the state for only what it agrees to produce, and is free to keep surplus output for private use. In addition to this program, which was an incentive for households to produce more, Deng encouraged farmers to engage in private entrepreneurship and sideline businesses in order to supplement their incomes.

Deng Xiaoping said that "practice is the sole criterion of truth," and believed that only by experimenting with alternative forms of production and entrepreneurial activity would China find the best path for economic development. Thus began China's experiments with capitalist methods of production. As Deng said, "it does not matter if a cat is black or white so long as it catches the mouse;" it no longer matters if an economic policy is capitalist or socialist, in other words, as long as it results in economic growth.

Deng also wanted to set up an arrangement whereby leadership succession would take place according to legal guidelines rather than personality struggles. In general, he hoped to establish a social and political order governed by "rule by law, not by man." Even after he had retired from his formal positions, Deng encouraged his ageing comrades to follow this example. Deng's commitment to replacing the aging leaders suffered a setback, however. When faced with demands for political reforms by students and citizens throughout China in 1989, Deng ordered the military to move in and clear Tiananmen square, where they were demonstrating for greater freedom of speech and press, and greater accountability on the party of government. Pro-reform leaders like Zhao Ziyang were removed from office and many of the retired leaders, many of whom did not support Zhao's reform effort, returned to power after June 4, 1989.

Economically, China has entered a very difficult period characterized by unemployment and general uncertainty. Also unclear is how history will view the role and achievements of Deng Xiaoping in light of the events at Tiananmen square.

*Composed by Catherine H. Keyser*



A General Shooting From Horse's Back.

Jiang Lingtao

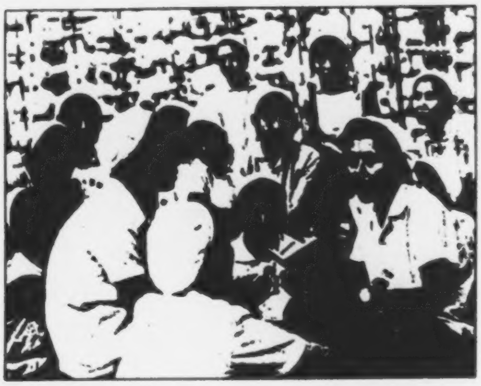
## *Unit 5*

# Chinese Views of Political Life in China, 1949-1990

### *Teacher's Note:*

The book reviews, excerpts, and essays in this unit all address, in some fashion, what it has been like to live in China under communist rule. In recent years a number of autobiographies have emerged which recount the excitement, exhilaration, chaos, excesses and terror of the socialist revolution. Told by young Chinese, many of whom are now emigres, they offer a vivid picture of what it was like to be young and involved in the remaking of a nation.

Since many of the stories address some aspect of the Cultural Revolution, assigning different books to different class members and then having them each present reviews of their story would be a good way to discuss a very difficult and tragic period in Chinese history.



Workers at a political study session.

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## *Student's Note:*

The period of The Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution (approximately 1966-76) was the most extreme in modern Chinese history. Though its underlying causes were political, it had profound cultural and economic consequences. Chairman Mao began the Cultural Revolution as an attempt to regain power after criticisms emerged about the ruling of China. His goal was to return to the ideals of the Chinese Communist Revolution. Liu Shaoqi and other "revisionists" had advocated relying on an urban intellectual elite to lead national development, and they favored using bonuses as incentives to increase production. Mao Zedong, however, emphasized that workers and peasants were the true revolutionary forces, and he sought to increase production through political idealism (including propaganda and "re-education"). With the support of the Red Guards and the army, Mao had Liu Shaoqi removed from power by the end of 1968; revolutionary committees were established at all levels to replace the centralized bureaucracy associated with Liu. Party cadres were sent to the countryside to learn respect for physical labor and "correct" political thinking. The Red Guards attempted to eliminate the "Four Olds": old ideas, old culture, old customs, and old habits. They traveled around the country destroying religious icons and ancient art works, changing names of streets and parks, forcing women to avoid "bourgeois" clothing and long hair, and violently attacking counter-revolutionaries and foreigners. The Red Guards purged one faction after another, often with no apparent consistency. Thus, it was dangerous to speak and write, because what was proper one day might be considered counterrevolutionary the next day.

### **Vocabulary**

mass audience
popular idiom
ideology
revisionists
eradicate
revolutionary committees
centralized bureaucracy
bourgeois
faction
incentives
confiscated
proletarian
denunciation
elite

*FEATURED RESOURCE*

# The Dragon's Village

by Yuan-tseng Chen

The Dragon's Village is an autobiography of a young city girl who took part in land reform in a remote mountain village as a teenager. This book will engage students personally while giving them a firsthand account of how the revolution developed. The protagonist chooses to remain in China after the Communists assume power in 1949, while her family and fiance flee to Hong Kong. Her patriotism and dedication to the ideals of the revolution are then tested as she finds herself alone with two other urbanites in a remote peasant village, struggling not only with the hardships of life but also with being a young woman in a male-dominated society. The moral dilemmas of the revolution-- its complexity, excesses, and human dimension-- are well-portrayed in the book providing good background for discussion.

Available from:

Penguin Books USA
120 Woodbine St.
Bergenfield, NJ 07621

Price: $ 8.95 (paper)

## The Dragon's Village. An Autobiographical Novel of Revolutionary China

**Yuan-tsung Chen**

*New York: Penguin Books, 1981, paper, 285 pp., $4.95.*

Yuan-tsung Chen was raised in a wealthy Shanghai family, educated in a Western missionary school, and grew up in as cosmopolitan a fashion as any Chinese could in the years before 1949. In 1949 Chen, at the age of 17, found herself facing a difficult choice. The Chinese Communist Party (CCP) had just achieved victory in the civil war and wealthy families such as hers were fleeing the mainland of China for Taiwan, Hong Kong, and points beyond. Many young people—rich as well as poor—found themselves intoxicated with the opportunity to rebuild a once-great but now weak and war-torn China. She chose to stay and within a year had volunteered to be a land-reform cadre in western Gansu province. *The Dragon's Village* is essentially an account of that experience.

Chen originally wrote up her experiences in Chinese during the 1950s. She continued to write—unpublished, as far as I can determine—until the beginning of the Cultural Revolution in 1966. Fearing she might be found out and attacked for her writings, which did not adhere to the narrow ideological guidelines of the period, she destroyed everything. In 1972 Chen, her son, and husband (Jack Chen, son of China's former Foreign Minister Eugene Chen) came to the United States. It was here, after several years of work on her English, that she rewrote and published *The Dragon's Village*.

### Objectives

In the short time usually reserved for studying China, the vastness of its civilization and history force teachers to be highly selective as to what they will teach. *The Dragon's Village* can aid in that selection process, for it succeeds in two crucial ways. First, the novel structure allows for character development. There are no one-dimensional revolutionary heroes here. Each individual is three-dimensional; down-to-earth; easily identifiable; full of self-doubt, misgivings, and weaknesses in addition to heroism. In many ways American students will find these people recognizable and will readily relate to them. Consequently, I have found students are anxious to finish the book in order to find out what happens to the characters. This not only heightens interest but makes the story less foreign.

Chen's second success is equally important, for the story clarifies what I would consider to be the most important characteristics of modern and contemporary China:

- the nature of Chinese life and society in various social strata prior to 1949;
- the conditions that fostered a communist movement;
- the objectives of the Chinese communists;
- the reasons for their victory; and
- the changes brought about by the establishment of the People's Republic of China (P.R.C.) in 1949.

This book does *not* provide an instant course on China. Rather, what Chen has accomplished in a thoughtful, clear, exciting, and, at times, quite moving way, is to touch on all of these themes.

A. Tom Grunfeld
*Empire State College*
*State University of New York*

From FOCUS Magazine, Spring 1983

## A TALK WITH THE AUTHOR/ READING

# An Author's Ordeal

By JUDY STONE

YUAN-TSUNG CHEN is a tiny, vivacious and irreverent woman with an incongruously booming laugh, but her voice drops to a whisper when she talks about her year of excruciating hunger during China's Great Leap Forward in 1959-60.

The one-time pampered Shanghai girl had left her year-old son and her husband in Peking to go to a remote northern province to prove that she wanted to share the suffering of the peasants. She thought that the books she took along would be her salvation, but after a few days of back-breaking work in the blistering sun and bare minimum meals (a thin pancake of rough cornmeal — if she was lucky), she dreamed only about food.

Not even her scorn for the excesses of the Cultural Revolution can diminish the lesson of that terrible period. "What are human rights?" she asked quietly. "The first human right is to eat." She tells about that numbing experience in her autobiographical novel, "The Dragon's Village," which Harrison Salisbury called "The Chinese equivalent of Sholokhov's 'And Quiet Flows the Don.' " The heroine of "The Dragon's Village" is Guan Ling-ling, an apolitical middle-class Shanghai teen-ager, delighted to get a job away from home as a librarian at the Central Film Bureau in Peking. A year later, she eagerly shares in the new Communist government's initial step toward land reform in 1951.

The first time Yuan-tsung Chen herself "went to the countryside," she was only 19. She was staggered by the harshness of the peasants' lives in Gansu province in northwest China and the poverty she shared with them. She was one of a group of 70, but only four or five were Communists.

"We went not because we understood Marxism, but to help the poor. Land reform was a dream of many centuries, especially among the intellectuals," she said, as we talked in the modest frame home near Berkeley that she shares with her husband, Jack Chen, an artist and author of "Inside the Cultural Revolution" and "A Year in Upper Felicity." He is a British citizen, born in Trinidad, son of a French Creole mother and Eugene Chen, a British solicitor and crusading journalist who became foreign minister, under Dr. Sun Yat-sen, of the Wuhan Revolutionary Government in 1927. They have lived in the United States since 1972, first in Albany, N.Y., where Mr. Chen was consultant on Chinese studies for the New York State Department of Education.

Yuan-tsung Chen's original exposure to rural life lasted about five months. Later, she would "go to the countryside" near Peking for a month or so almost every year until she volunteered to join in the Great Leap Forward, a time of terrible food shortages brought on by what she called the government's mistaken policy of taking small plots of land away from the peasants and offering no incentives to work.

Although food was scarce then, the Chens were among the privileged. The Chinese Foreign Press Office, which employed her husband, took care of its valuable overseas workers. Additional food was brought to their home by her sister-in-law and her American husband, Jay Leyda, the American film historian.

But Yuan-tsung felt guilty about the country's hardships. "I ate very little for lunch. I tried not to eat eggs. Here an egg is nothing. There it was a luxury. To ease my conscience, I volunteered to go to the country again, this time for a year, and they sent me to northern Jiangsu province. It was very hard to leave our baby. Later, I cursed myself when I was in that mess. But since I survived it, I would not like to have missed that experience. It was unique. Without it, I couldn't have written that chapter, 'Spring Hunger' in my book."

As a girl, when she had read about people starving and later gorging themselves to the point of death, she couldn't believe it. Then something similar happened to her the day before she returned to Peking from Jiangsu province.

"Several villages invited us for a meal. It was not good food, but I ate, ate, ate. I nearly died of over-eating. After I came back to our own courtyard, I couldn't stand. I couldn't sit. It was awful, but when I heard there was porridge in our canteen, I went to get some. I couldn't eat it. I just *wanted* it."

The hunger of that year haunts her. "I never forget those people. I felt guilty and I'm still feeling guilty because I'm so lucky. One of the reasons I drive myself so hard to write, to convey something to Western readers, is because it eases my conscience that I'm not just sitting here and enjoying myself."

She doesn't stay somber for long. Her irrepressible sense of humor erupts in laughter as she tells her story, interspersing it frequently with the phrase, "I am frank with you" or "now here is my weak point — I al-

The New York Times Book Review, May 4, 1980. © 1980 by The New York Times Company. Reprinted by permission.

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ways have a very sharp tongue." The first time she recalls using it was to lash out at her family's older servants when they beat a younger one, a slave who used to steal their belongings. Her mother had bought the girl "for maybe nine silver dollars" because the child's father threatened to sell her to a brothel. Yuan-tsung's family was not wealthy, but comfortably well-off in the French quarter of Shanghai. Her father, sometimes a banker and sometimes an engineer, had studied at Columbia University for six years, and her mother had been educated at a missionary school. Yuan-tsung was taught that her pretty face was less important than a well-developed mind.

Even as a child, her sharp eye didn't miss much when she observed the spoiled, elegant, selfish Shanghai women. "I think we were rather decadent in Shanghai," she laughed. "It was a very strange world." Too frail to attend school regularly, she immersed herself in books, translated into Chinese: Dostoyevsky, Chekhov, Turgenev, Dickens and Zola. She was nicknamed "the little old lady." By the time she was 12, she had decided to have her own career as a writer because she never saw a happy woman in her family's circle.

The war years were spent mostly in Chungking, the nation's capital, but she never recalled hearing anything about the Communist-led Eighth Route Army. After she returned to Shanghai, with the Communists advancing on the city, her schoolmates advised her to leave, but she already thought that Hong Kong was too small for her ambitions.

She had heard that a "writer could only grow in his own country, on his own soil. At that time, I didn't know how tough the Communists could be," she said. "Like a typical young person, I thought I could deal with them."

Just before the Communist take-over, one friend gave her a pamphlet, Mao's "New Democracy," and advised her to "accumulate some political capital." She never did. "They gave up on me," she said pertly, looking about half of her 47 years. "They always criticized me but you can see they didn't do a very good job. I was never interested in politics. Never or now."

She loved her job as a translator of English-language books and articles on film because it kept her in touch with the outside world. Later, during the Cultural Revolution, she had access to the personal libraries of her husband's friends in the Foreign Press Office, and she said with some pride that she read the angry young men of England and the work of the beat generation in the United States.

The chapter in her book about Chinese writers — whose real names are used — is based on actual discussions at which she took notes. "Many of them died in the Cultural Revolution, and the others are precious now [because they are reinstated] to the new government. Nothing I wrote would hurt them. They always talked a lot about how to write a good book and a good play, but I realized I couldn't write that way. It was like collective work."

Ai Qing, one of the best contemporary poets, did influence her. "He read my short stories and said, 'You have a rich imagination. The stories are good, but I don't think we can publish them. In China, if you choose to write, you have to prepare to go all alone sometimes.' A friend of his, a French translator, was having tea with us and he told me, 'Even when you are alone, you should go on.' "

In China, she pointed out, all the stories had to have formulas: "There had to be a party secretary, a Communist. The Communist must be good. You must speak certain things. If I describe the moonlight as beautiful, a Communist must not think that way. He must think of something more important. Moonlight is petty bourgeois."

Although at times she tried to fit her stories to the formula, she didn't succeed by Party standards. "I wrote about a girl who worked in a factory. She tried to improve her work but she was not thinking only for the Party, for the revolution. She was disappointed in love. She wanted to show she was not the kind of old-fashioned girl who would stop her work just because she was disappointed in love. But they didn't like it because you should *only* think of work for the revolution, for a great ideal."

Her hopeful novel "Sisters," about the economic struggle of a family before 1949, was written along the accepted lines of "exposing the old society," but it had no Communists in it. Despite this, the novel was going to be published during the liberal "100 flowers of thought" period, but they bloomed too briefly.

During the Cultural Revolution, when her husband was attacked, reading became even more important to them. One day, she borrowed a book about Tom Paine. When the Chens learned how the American revolutionary was imprisoned by the Jacobins and narrowly escaped the guillotine, they couldn't help laughing. "I was comforted," she said, "that other people were stupid like us."

That thought didn't help the day the Red Guard cadre from the Foreign Press, office invaded her home and tore down Botticelli's "Birth of Venus," which they called "decadent," and her husband's early paintings. They confiscated precious art books, their sofa and electric stove, as well as some jewelry that had mainly sentimental value, and warned that they could return at any time.

As soon as "the scoundrels" left, she burned the manuscripts of her two novels and a collection of short stories she had hastily hidden.

"Life is more important than manuscripts," she said. "I didn't cry, but I felt as if I was burning myself. I thought, 'I will remember everything and some day, I will settle accounts with them.' " ■

*FEATURED RESOURCE*

# Born Red

by Gao Yuan

"Extremely well written and absorbing...No previous work conveys the absurdities of the Red Guard movement as effectively as Born Red."
*Journal of Asian Studies.*

"The latest of a number of personal accounts of the youth involved in the Cultural Revolution is in many ways the most useful and credible."
*History.*

"The best Red Guard autobiography published in English to date."
*Problems of Communism.*

Available from:

Stanford University Press
Stanford, CA 94305
(415) 723-9434

Price: $ 7.95 (paper)

*Born Red: A Chronicle of the Cultural Revolution.* By GAO YUAN. Foreword by WILLIAM A. JOSEPH. [Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1987. 380 pp. Hardcover, $39.50; paperback $7.95.]

This book is another big nail in the coffin of the onçe popular theory that the Cultural Revolution was a consciousness raising, idealism inspiring movement. It is a step-by-step, blow-by-blow account of how a bright Chinese middle-school student went about "making revolution," the name Red Guards gave their blend of high jinks and vicious cruelty. It all began with a school-boy's dream come true of being granted the gleeful pleasures of licence both to attack their teachers and to play "hooky" to their heart's content. Soon escalation took over: playfulness was transformed into the wanderlust of street-smart, child delinquents, and the releasing of aggression became vicious abuses and even the killing of defenceless victims.

Gao Yuan's story adds little that is new to what we should have known about the Red Guard experience, but coming now at a time when the Chinese orthodoxy is that the Cultural Revolution was bad, it will be more widely accepted as being an authentic voice, one that cannot be suspected of masking a hidden partisan agenda. The book is excellent in providing a vivid Red Guard perspective on how one thing led to another as slogan shouting gave way to torture and fighting. Thus, it can be a useful introduction for students new to that strange period of Chinese history.

Gao Yuan adds to the mass of incontrovertible evidence we now have that the unrelenting pressures of conformity in the socialization of a whole generation of Chinese was more repressive and productive of deeper frustations than we imagined at the time. The violence that was driven by moral indignation had as its roots a profound resentment that some people in authority were getting away with practices denied to those who were taught that they had to toe the line no matter how painful the sacrifice.

LUCIAN W. PYE

Reprinted with permisson from *China Quarterly*, No. 114, June 1988. (c) by China Quarterly 1988.

*FEATURED RESOURCE*

# Morning Breeze: A True Story of China's Cultural Revolution

by Fulang Lo

This compelling autobiography is not just another bitter expose, but an inspiring reaffirmation of human integrity, courage and friendship in the face of chaos and hypocrisy. As a teenager, Fulang Lo had complete faith in Chairman Mao, and plunged whole-heartedly into the struggle for purity and idealism. Leader of one of the largest Red Guard groups in Sichuan province, she was also a singer, a student, a peasant, a teacher and a self-taught "barefoot doctor" in the countryside. Her gradual disillusionment with Mao and the Cultural Revolution was devastating, but it did not turn her against China, nor did it destroy her will to continue helping her people. Rich in poetic imagery, ***Morning Breeze*** leaves one filled not with horror and despair, but with love and hope for the future.

Available from:

China Books & Periodicals
2929 24th Street
San Francisco, CA 94110

Price: $ 9.95 (paper)

*FEATURED RESOURCE*

# Son of the Revolution

by Liang Heng and Judith Shapiro

Available from:

Vintage Books (Random House) New York

price: $5.95 (paper)

*THE NEW YORK TIMES, THURSDAY, FEBRUARY 24, 1983*

# Books of The Times

## By Anatole Broyard

*SON OF THE REVOLUTION. By Liang Heng and Judith Shapiro. Illustrated. 301 pages. Knopf. $15.*

"SON OF THE REVOLUTION" reads like a painful cross between a comic strip and a nightmare, which is not surprising, as it is the biography of a young man in a country that is continually revising itself. In a sense, it is the story of someone who is desperately trying to *have* a biography.

Liang Heng, who wrote "Son of the Revolution" with his American wife, Judith Shapiro, was born in central China in 1954, just in time to be nursed and weaned on political turbulence. His parents were casualties of the "anti-rightist" campaign of 1957-58 and of the "Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution" that lasted from 1966 to 1976.

His father was guilty of being an intellectual, a newspaper reporter, a poet and a composer — all symptoms of political instability. His mother, who was an official of the local police, had already made the mistake of taking literally an invitation to "criticize" her organization. Criticism, at that time, was one of the most frequently used and ambiguous words in the Chinese language.

Mr. Liang's mother was sent to the country for a course of "labor reform," a gentler Chinese equivalent of being sent to Siberia. Because one "questionable" member could close off all opportunity for an entire family, Mr. Liang's father, who had not yet been "criticized," saw it as his duty to divorce his wife. One of the cruelest effects of the Revolution seems to have been its ability to separate families and set their members psychologically adrift.

On the evidence of "Son of the Revolution," this practice had a depersonalizing effect on Mr. Liang's generation. They were orphans of politics, with none of the emotional nuances that only family life can develop. When the author's father was denounced as an elitist and "capitalist-roader," his eldest daughter publicly dissociated herself from both parents and even went so far as to volunteer for the job of collecting ordure "in order to struggle against her capitalist vanity and capitalist fear of filth."

Mr. Liang's father lost his job, his books were burned and the neighborhood children threw stones through his windows while he devoted himself to daily ordeals of "self-criticism." Eventually both father and son were sent to the country to learn resignation from the peasants. According to Mr. Liang, this was a common fate for intellectuals, a combination of exile and a return to the Garden of Eden.

Penelope Maunsell

Liang Heng and Judith Shapiro, his wife.

For all this, the author still managed to lead a varied and rather adventurous life. He joined the Red Guards at age 12, traveled by hook or by crook to other cities, and even lived for a while with the local equivalent of street people or dropouts. At 15, he read, among other things, a forbidden copy of "Madame Bovary," and one wishes he had told us what he thought of the book, for it is details like this that we miss in his account.

While he was still a teen-ager, Mr. Liang's unusual height won him a job at a factory that prided itself on its competitive basketball team. A few years later, he was able to pull strings and bribe his way to a college application. In this, as in everything else, he is disarmingly frank. In another place, he tells us that after giving his last penny to a needy girl, he cheated a restaurant out of the price of his meal.

The college entrance examination gave some idea of what to expect when it asked for a composition on "The words I have in my heart to tell the party." But while classes turned out to be disappointing rehearsals of official dogma, Mr. Liang discovered that some teachers were willing to talk freely to a select few of students in their rooms.

At a recital at Hunan University, a young American woman performed a piece called "Insect Dance," and another work titled "Dance to U.S.-Chinese Friendship." This was Judith Shapiro, a teacher in the Foreign Languages Department, and soon she and Mr. Liang were exchanging cultural confidences.

In a Cinderella-like ending, where it is not clear which of them is Cinderella, they fell in love, married and moved to New York City, after first securing the permission of his parents, the university and a suddenly sympathetic Government. At their wedding, the authors say, most of the congratulatory speeches used the language of international relations. And perhaps that is how "Son of the Revolution" should be praised too: not in the language of literary appreciation, but of international relations.

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

# An Enemy of the Chinese State

**SON OF THE REVOLUTION**

*By Liang Heng and Judith Shapiro.*
*301 pp. New York:*
*Alfred A. Knopf. $15.*

By ORVILLE SCHELL

EVERY now and again a book will come out that is so well written and revealing that it makes most other works on the same subject seem little more than dress rehearsals. Liang Heng, a young man who grew up in Mao Zedong's native province of Hunan, and Judith Shapiro, his Chinese-speaking American wife, have written just such a book on China.

"Son of the Revolution" is the harrowing but spellbinding account of Mr. Liang's growing up and coming of age in the political maelstrom of the Cultural Revolution. During the Hundred Flowers Campaign in 1957, in which "rightists" were ultimately persecuted, Mr. Liang's mother, who ironically worked at the Security Bureau validating arrests, was accused of being "antiparty." Although the charges against her were groundless, the allegation was sufficient to ruin her career and brand her as a "bad element" for life. "The custom in such instances was that the whole family be considered as guilty as the single member who had committed the crime," Mr. Liang explains. As a result his father sought divorce to protect his own name and the future of his three children.

"I came to resent my mother for making my life so miserable," recounts Mr. Liang, who was only 6 at the time of this painful divorce. "I began to believe that she really had done something wrong. My father and teachers said so, and my classmates hated me for her supposed crimes. At last I no longer wished to visit her despite my loneliness, and when I saw her at a distance I didn't even call out to her. I cut her out of my life just as I had been told to do, and became solitary and self-reliant."

Despite his efforts to remain uncontaminated by the supposed rightist impurity of his wife, Mr. Liang's father was also accused of opposing "the Party and socialism" and lost his job as a journalist at The Hunan Daily. Ultimately he was sent off to a cadre reform school, leaving young Liang to fend for himself in his hometown of Changsha.

"Everything was backwards, distorted, corrupted, insane," Mr. Liang felt after seeing the wall poster that condemned his father. "I didn't know if I was dreaming. . . . I hugged myself, pinching my arms, but I didn't wake up. I closed my eyes and opened them but the words were still there. My Revolutionary father was an enemy. My father whose dream it was to join the Party was a Capitalist. How had things been ruined? Why had he ruined things? I didn't know where to put my misery and my hatred."

In 1966, when he was 12, Mr. Liang set off, like so many other Chinese youths, with a group of Red Guards on a pilgrimage to various revolutionary shrines and Peking, in hopes of catching a glimpse of Chairman Mao, "the great helmsman" himself. He recounts how, in spite of his family's suffering, his belief in the revolution nonetheless persevered on this trying trip: "The excitement of such times was tremendous; I had never felt closer to the glorious Revolution, which has saved China from a thousand evils."

*Liang Heng in front of The Temple of Heaven, Peking.*

Finally returning home after spending several months observing the political turmoil in Peking, he found Changsha disintegrating just as his family had. Rather than opposing the "counterrevolutionaries," Red Guard factions had turned on, and brutally set about slaughtering, one another. "Those who had once been comrades," he remembers, "became mortal enemies, and the streets of Changsha ran with blood in the humid hundred-degree heat of August. . . . A civil war was going on, each side claiming to love Chairman Mao better than the other. . . . The Rebels [the Red Guard] had guns now, and more. They had grenades and bayonets and machine guns and cannon and tanks and anti-aircraft missiles. . . . It was during this gory climax that people began to realize that the Cultural Revolution would never make sense."

> "Those who had once been comrades became mortal enemies, and the streets of Changsha ran with blood."

Increasingly lonely and disillusioned, Mr. Liang ended up on the streets, smoking, drinking, thieving, sleeping where he could and working at menial jobs such as tending boxcars of pigs being shipped by rail to Hong Kong. "All the violence had numbed me, and I didn't care if I ever participated in the Revolution again," he writes. "My family had sacrificed so much for it, but it had given us nothing in return."

When Mr. Liang's father was finally released from his Chairman Mao Thought Study Class, both he and his son were ordered off to the countryside for further "re-education" among the poor peasantry. Even there young Liang found no respite from the political inferno. He was detained, informed on by his friends and interrogated by an overly zealous cadre because of his association in Peking with a certain Red Guard whose political faction had fallen into disfavor. Locked up by himself, Mr. Liang contemplated suicide: "I think what hurt me most during that time was the way my friends betrayed me. . . . That night, as I lay on my desk, I had no tears left. I had lived fifteen years, but I had no desire to live even one more. I had been the victim of political movements since the age of three, first through my mother, then through my father, and now through an absurd coincidence in my own affairs. Society hated me. It had turned me into an outcast and a thief."

Curiously, it was basketball that finally saved Mr. Liang. As he grew taller and stronger, he became a skilled player and was soon sought after by teams in Changsha. And it was there, at Hunan Normal College (to which he was admitted after entrance exams were reinstated following the fall of the Gang of Four in 1976), that he met his future wife, Miss Shapiro, an English teacher from the United States.

But even then Mr. Liang's happiness was obstructed: Approval for the marriage was denied by college officials wary of encouraging intimacy between Chinese and foreigners. After months of waiting and an appeal to Peking, Mr. Liang and Miss Shapiro received permission from Deng Xiaoping himself and became one of the first Chinese and American couples to marry since the thaw in Sino-American relations in the early 70's. Soon after, they came to the United States, where Mr. Liang is now a graduate student in Chinese literature at Columbia University.

What makes the retelling of Mr. Liang's life so worthwhile is not only that his experiences cover such a tragic and interesting period in contemporary Chinese history but that his style as a writer is so disarmingly open. Unlike most authors whose literature and journalism have come out of China during the last three decades (and many who have been describing China from the West as well), Mr. Liang writes without apparent regard for how his work will be received in official Chinese circles, which will determine how he may be received at home if he ultimately decides to return. He refuses to allow the withering shadow of Chinese politics to eclipse the factual and emotional honesty of his tale, even when what he has to say indicts whole aspects of his country's revolution.

The Chinese aversion to revealing interior affairs, whether personal or political, to the outside world is, of course, not new and was responsible for imbuing that country with a certain air of impenetrability. After China endured more than a century of being hectored by the stronger imperialist powers, this aversion was compounded in modern times by the humiliation the Chinese felt in knowing that judgmental foreigners could peer into their country at will and bear contemptuous witness to its sorry state of affairs. When Mao took power in 1949 and closed China off from the world, he was not only endeavoring to make a revolution but also, I think, trying to shield his country from this sort of outside scrutiny.

Since then there seems to have been a compact between Chinese writers and intellectuals, on the one hand, and their Government, on the other, not to expose their motherland to further ridicule by publicly revealing its failures. But as in the fable of the emperor's new clothes, in which, out of a similar mixture of fear and patriotism, people refrained from making truthful comments, this compact has deprived China of just those critically honest voices like Liang Heng's that might have helped its leadership better steer through some parlous times. In being unable to portray honestly lives they knew all too well, Chinese writers (and their readers) were literally dispossessed from their own experiences.

WE have in Mr. Liang a writer who has not only refused to tailor his work to remain within the acceptable boundaries of official criticism but who has avoided the kind of biased polemic that has marred so many accounts of life in China written by defectors and refugees or by foreigners looking in from the sidelines.

After finishing Mr. Liang's account, one feels a tremendous sense of relief that at last a major work about contemporary life in China by a Chinese has been published so that the experiences of the bitter years Mr. Liang writes about can finally come home, so to speak, to be repossessed in a conscious way by the people who lived them. For even though it is unlikely that "Son of the Revolution" will be published for mass circulation in China, important works like this one have a way of getting around on the Chinese grapevine. Not only are English copies smuggled into China and circulated sub rosa among intellectuals but the Government issues two quite candid compendiums of foreign articles and book excerpts in translation (Reference News and Reference Materials) on a "*nei bu*" ("internal consumption") basis to cadres and other high-ranking officials.

And so, like those art treasures that were carted off during the 20's and 30's and taken abroad but are now at last being restored to China, books like "Son of the Revolution" cannot but help those Chinese who read it come to terms with their often perverse revolution.

OF course, Mr. Liang has one notable advantage over his confreres in China. He has an American wife who is not only familiar with the American vernacular (Miss Shapiro helped edit a wonderfully frank dictionary of "current Americanisms" that, surprisingly, was published in China) but was also able to secure an exit permit for her husband. These are two windfalls that would doubtless bolster the courage of many Chinese to write more freely.

Nonetheless, this book is an indelibly Chinese one. In fact, it stands so well on its own feet that one wonders why an introduction, in this case by the American specialist on China Jerome Alan Cohen, was thought necessary. Its presence here impresses one as being a throwback to the old presumption that until the official imprimatur of a Western "expert" is given, news from China is not real.

When the 18-year-old Liang's prowess at basketball finally won him his reprieve from the countryside, he went to bid farewell to his father. Broken in spirit and ailing, his father told him: "In our society you can't choose your occupation freely. As a father, I know you have a talent for literature. Even though the writing profession is a dangerous one, I still want you to follow that road."

Liang Heng's father can take heart that, even though the writing profession is indeed a "dangerous one," his son has emphatically succeeded in it. With the help of his wife, Mr. Liang has written an unusual book that will doubtless serve as a model for other Chinese writers as they also begin to plumb the depths of their individual experiences in the vortex of one of the century's most frightening but fascinating political mass movements. ■

*FEATURED RESOURCE*

# To the Storm: The Odyssey of a Revolutionary Chinese Woman

by Yue Daiyun and Carolyn Wakeman

Available from:

University of California Press
2120 Berkeley Way
Berkeley, California 94720

price: Inquire

SEE EXCERPT THAT FOLLOWS REVIEW BELOW

*To the Storm: The Odyssey of a Revolutionary Chinese Woman.* By
YUE DAIYUN and CAROLYN WAKEMAN. [Berkeley: University of
California Press, 1985. 405 pp. $17.95.]

In the spring of 1957, Yue Daiyun, a young, vibrant and leading member of the literature department of Beida University wrote a poem entitled "To the Storm" in which she welcomed the coming political campaigns as a means of acquiring "new levels of awareness" and renewing her "commitment to the revolution and the country's socialist future." Busy in her research, teaching and Party activities, surrounded by supportive colleagues and family, with a young husband and two small children and residing in privilege on the Beida campus within the household of her husband's father, a vice-president of the university, it seemed that she had little to fear personally. Indeed with her impeccable revolutionary record and with few personal or professional worries, her future seemed secure and full of promise. Within a year, however, she had been publicly criticized and labelled a "rightist," ostracized and scorned by colleagues and friends alike and separated from her family including her infant son of a few months and sent to the countryside for re-education. This sudden transformation was to be the first in a relentless cycle of events in which either Yue Daiyun or her philosophy-lecturer husband was criticized, ostracized and rehabilitated as part of the successive political movements which swept Beida and the country for the next 20 years.

This account of the revolution from within is almost entirely based on the personal observations and reflections of an articulate and well-informed young woman intellectual. She told her story to Carolyn Wakeman, and both authors are to be congratulated on producing a very interesting, well written book,Covering a time span of more than 20 years and embracing a range of political movements from the 100 Flowers, the anti-rightist campaign and the Great Leap Forward of the 1950s, through the Socialist Education Movement and the Cultural Revolution of the 1960s to the anti-Confucian and Lin Biao campaign and the death of Mao Zedong in the 1970s, there is something of interest in this book for both the specialist and general reader.

At the centre of Yue Daiyun's account is the influence of events on both her intimate and extended family embracing divergent generational experiences, backgrounds and political interests. A constant factor pre-occupying both herself and her husband is the gradual and acutely painful realization that they have bestowed a negative revolutionary inheritance on their own children, and there are some interesting insights into the working of the political system in the 1970s when Yue Daiyun battles to have her daughter returned from the countryside and her children enter university. In this respect the book has some parallels with *Son of the Revolution* written by Liang Heng and Judith Shapiro, but in this case it is the political activist herself who documents her own public and domestic story.

One of the most interesting of the many themes running through the book is the recurring dichotomy between the private and public responses of intellectuals to new policies and campaigns. In public they aligned themselves with the prevailing political will, bowed their heads and accepted their counter-revolutionary status. In private they had many private doubts and misgivings and what is interesting about these doubts and misgivings is that even in times of severe harassment and extreme hardship their interior debates seem to have centred on the correctness or not of their individual behaviour or the foolhardiness or not of individual political activism drawing exaggerated public attention, rather than on the political system itself.

It is perhaps the greatest indictment of the political system itself that so many like Yue Daiyun had to wait until this decade publicly to express their own private doubts and misgivings. However the book is by no means a catalogue of doubts and misgivings latterly expressed and vindicated by hindsight, for what also characterizes this personal account is the underlying hope, idealism and dedication to the long-term future which survives albeit sometimes battered so that temporary aberrations can be tolerated in its interests.

Elizabeth Croll

See excerpt that follows

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# *A Chain of Judgment*

Outside the classroom building, wall posters attacking our magazine greeted me. Some proclaimed that Lao Lu and I advocated individual heroism and opposed Chairman Mao's thought; others announced, "The Traitor Yue Daiyun must be expelled," or urged people to "See the true face of *Contemporary Heroes*." Inside the door a poster declared this a "Meeting to denounce the reactionary gang of *Contemporary Heroes*," while an even more threatening banner warned: "If the rightists don't surrender we will smash them." In 1956 I had walked happily and confidently into this same lecture hall many times to deliver my course on the history of modern Chinese literature to perhaps a hundred eager students. Now I saw twice that many expectant faces, almost all of the teachers in the department and many students, but this time they looked at me suspiciously, condemningly, as I slid into an empty seat in the second row, feeling like a criminal about to be sentenced.

Recalling a scene from my childhood, I saw again the crowd that had gathered one summer's day in a small Guizhou town to watch a water buffalo being killed. The farmer, unable to feed his draft animal once it was too old to work in the fields, had no choice but to sell its hide for leather. We had all heard that when a buffalo was about to be slaughtered tears welled up in its eyes, as if in anticipation of its fate, and I had joined the group of onlookers waiting curiously to learn whether this rumor was true. Watching the buffalo kneel down, its eyes indeed brimming with tears, its expression suggesting that somehow it knew its destiny, I had felt enormous pity. Now as I glanced around the lecture room and saw the look of cold curiosity on the faces of those assembled to watch my own fate decided, I remembered that distant scene. Nobody spoke to me; some even seemed to wear looks of distinct satisfaction, perhaps thinking that now I would be judged, I who had been responsible for the condemnation of five other department members. The crowd seemed to be saying accusingly that now it was my turn.

Outside the window the snow kept falling, but everyone's attention was directed toward the drama about to be enacted inside those walls. Some eyes had sympathy, I could feel it, while others were merely detached, grateful that the proceedings would not concern them personally. Some were simply curious to see what would happen to such a woman, a person who had been sent to the Soviet Union and to Czechoslovakia as a representative of Beijing's students, a person who had been asked to report on her studies as a model for others, a person who had progressed so smoothly to be a high-ranking Party cadre, a person who had fallen so low.

My mind continued to race in the moments remaining before the meeting began. Again I remembered those five people I had helped to judge. Even when I had not understood the Party's decisions, even when I had disagreed, I had felt obligated to carry out official policy. A person in my position should always act with confidence to convince others, be worthy of the Party's trust, stifle any doubts or confusion, remembering always that the Party has greater wisdom than any individual, that it liberated all of China, that its judgment was therefore above question. Obedience to higher authority was pledged by everyone who joined the Party, and I had accepted this strict discipline willingly. Trusting in Chairman Mao and the Beida Party Committee, believing that they knew more than I, that their decisions must be necessary and correct, I had collected material that would be used to accuse five of my colleagues. Now I questioned those judgments.

Perhaps the others were just like me, never intending to do or say anything to harm the Party. Throughout my maternity leave, I had tried not to think about my role in that process, but now I saw a chain of involvement and accusation, with people meting out judgment and then being judged in turn. As I sat in the lecture hall, I too thought that now it was my turn. . .

When Lao Lin stood up in the criticism meeting and claimed that I had used poetry like opium to harm the younger generation, I felt a stab of pain that my trust and confidence could be so betrayed. In a cold voice this young man asserted that while my poem "To the Storm" had spoken of renewing my soul, it was obvious that a person with a soul would not have tried to harm the youth of China. Then he became irate, shouting, "Stand up, stand up; you must take responsibility for poisoning so many students!" In Lao Lin's words, facts had become totally distorted, meaning falsified, intentions belied.

This student had just graduated. He hoped to stay at the university as a teacher, and knew that the competition for those coveted positions was keen. Future teachers would be chosen partly because of their academic achievements, but more importantly, because of their political reliability. I understood why he was speaking against me. . .

The audience grew aroused, thinking all of us greedy for power. After those last charges everyone began to shout, "Stand up, you must stand up!" Finally I stood, but just for a short time, as the vice-secretary soon said, "Let her sit down and listen to the judgment of the people."

The accusations reverberated in my head. Since the facts are nothing like what I have heard, how can I know what is right or what my future will be, I thought despairingly. . .

My mind struggled to absorb my new circumstances, but I couldn't believe what had taken place. After the lecture hall emptied, I remained behind, plagued by self-doubts. Was I really a counter-revolutionary, I queried, recalling how deeply committed I had been to revolutionary ideals. . .

As I recalled the intensity of my commitment to the ideals of the Party, I heard footsteps approaching from the back of the deserted lecture hall. My brother, then twenty-one and a student of physics at Qinghua University, had been sitting somewhere behind me all this time. Since I was now an enemy, he dared not speak and instead slipped a sheet of paper onto my knee as he walked past. All I saw was his back as he headed toward the door. On the paper was written one verse of the Stephen Foster folk song, "My Old Kentucky Home."

> Weep no more, my lady,
> Oh, weep no more today!
> We will sing one song for the old Kentucky home,
> For the old Kentucky home, far away.

We had always been very close, especially after 1940 when I would carry my brother on my back as we sought refuge from the Japanese air raids. . .

Guiyang was only bombed six or seven times, but nearly every day the tall signal pole in the center of the city, just visible from our house, would raise one yellow ball of woven bamboo, meaning enemy planes were near and we must prepare for an attack. When two red balls appeared, we knew the planes were very close and we must immediately take shelter. Many times we sought refuge in a village outside the old city walls, fearing that we might be buried alive in the crowded bomb shelters. We never knew if our home would be destroyed while we were gone, so my mother would carry a bag containing food, money, and valuables, and my baby sister as well. I was nine and strong enough to hoist my brother onto my back for the half hour walk to the village. My father, then an English teacher in a Guiyang middle school that had moved outside of the city to Wudang because of the danger of enemy bombs, came home only on weekends and missed most of those hurried treks. . .

After dinner we children would chase away our fear of the darkness by singing the Western folk songs I had learned in my middle school. I taught my brother one about San Francisco and one about hibiscus flowers in Hawaii, but our favorite was "My Old Kentucky Home." Sitting on the porch overlooking the river, we would sing this simple two-part harmony. Thus the folded paper my brother dropped into my lap evoked all the memories of our childhood together, and the closeness we had shared in that peaceful time now so far away. I understood that he hoped to ease my present pain by reminding me of our country home, reassuring me that such good times would come again.

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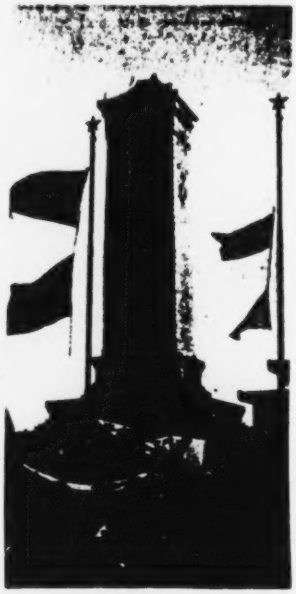
## *Unit 6*

# Democratic Theory in China & Tiananmen Square



*Student's Note:*

Chinese political history has been significantly different from the political history of Western Europe and the United States. In traditional China, under the influence of Confucian thought, political philosophy focused on the role of the benevolent ruler who, by proper performance of his duties and close attention to the upkeep of dikes and the maintenance of public order, would keep the society peaceful and productive. Little attention was paid to the right of citizens to be "represented."

When traditional China was challenged by Western armies and traders in the late 1800s, Chinese leaders studied Western democracy to see if it provided a clue to the strength of these Western nations. Democracy came to be seen in China as a way to mobilize the population and make China stronger, and Chinese leaders tried to establish democratic government in China. The experience of revolution, political chaos and foreign invasion which ensued from 1900 to 1949, however, convinced many Chinese leaders that democracy must be tightly controlled and channeled by the government in order for China to maintain itself as a unified country.

After 1949, the Chinese Communist Party argued that only under the guidance of the party could the true ideals of democracy, equality and freedom for all, be reached.

Keep this background in mind as you read the following essays.

## *Student Reading*

### Liang Qichao - China's First Democrat

Liang Qichao, who was born in 1873 in a small southern village, not far from the Portuguese colony of Macau, died in 1929 after an intellectually tumultuous life. He wrestled continuously with the problem of how to reform China without destroying what he took to be its cultural essence and without humiliating its people with cultural annihilation. Among Liang's formative political experiences was his participation in China's first student demonstration, in 1895. The Imperial government had just signed a humiliating peace treaty with Japan following China's defeat in the Sino-Japanese War; in response, eight thousand young Chinese scholars, who had come to Beijing to take the national civil service exams, signed a petition expressing their opposition to the treaty. They then formed a line one-third of a mile long in front of Duchayuan, the Censorate of the Qing government, in protest. Their public demonstration proclaimed for the first time that Chinese citizens had the right, indeed the obligation, to regulate those by whom they were governed. Confucius's disciple Mencius had written, "He who restrains his prince, loves his prince." But Liang belonged to the first generation of scholars who, instead of going into voluntary exile when their entreaties were rebuffed by the Imperial government, dared to organize a constituency outside of the government to apply political pressure.

Like other forward-thinking Confucian scholars, Liang came to see "wealth and power" as the only salvation for a beleaguered China living under the threat of national extinction at the hands of Japan and the technologically advanced, rapacious Western powers. Just as intellectuals in the nineteen-eighties were debating the causes of China's backwardness and searching for ways to remedy it through "modernization," so too had Liang and his generation of reform-minded scholars sought to understand the origins of China's dynastic weakness and to suggest remedies.

A brilliant Confucian scholar, Liang came to believe that the source of Western wealth and power lay in democracy. He held that the energy generated by popular participation in the political process was what drove any dynamic society forward. But while he valued the dynamism that free, competing individuals might contribute to the building of a nation, he was vague indeed about how these Promethean, alien forces he wished to see released in China might be reconciled with the interests of the Chinese state. In fact, in optimistically Confucian fashion, he avoided entirely the problem of possible conflict by assuming that the natural order of things was harmony between rulers and the ruled. Whereas Western thinkers such as Hobbes and Rousseau (who recognized how particular interests easily come into conflict with the "general will") had immediately identified this obvious point of discord in any democratic social contract, Liang missed it completely. In holding his new convictions that individuals should and did have "rights" (*quan*), he never imagined that a state might become tyrannical or that its people might become rebellious.

Excerpted from Orville Schell's *Discos & Democracy: China in the Throes of Reform*

## The May 13 Hunger Strike Declaration

*In these bright and beautiful days of May, we are beginning a hunger strike. We are young, but we are ready to give up our lives. We cherish life; we do not want to die.*

*But this nation is in a critical state. It suffers from skyrocketing inflation, growing crime rates, official profiteering, and other forms of bureaucratic corruption, concentration of power in a few people's hands, and the loss of a large number of intellectuals who would now rather stay overseas. At this life-and-death moment of the nation's fate, countrymen, please listen to us!*

*China is our motherland.*

*We are the people.*

*The government should be our government.*

*Who should speak out, if we should not?*

*Who should act, if we should not?*

*Although our bones are still forming, although we are too young for death, we are ready to leave you. We must go; we are answering the call of Chinese history.*

*Our honest feelings of patriotism and loyalty to the nation were distorted as "turmoil," and we were accused of being the tools of a "handful" who have "ulterior motives."*

*We ask of every Chinese citizen—every worker, peasant, soldier, civilian, celebrity, every government official, policeman, and our accusers—that you place your hand on your heart and ask yourself: What wrong have we done? What "turmoil" have we created? What causes have led us to protest, to demonstrate, to boycott classes, to fast, to hide ourselves? Why did this happen? Our words were not heard in good faith. We were beaten by police when we marched, though we were only hungry for the truth. Our representatives knelt for hours, presenting our petition, only to be ignored by the government. Our request for dialogue has been put off again and again. The safety of our student leaders is now uncertain.*

*What shall we do?*

*Democracy is supposed to be the highest of human aspirations and freedom a sacred human right, granted at birth. Today these must be bought with our lives.*

*We say to our dear mothers and fathers, do not feel sorry for us when we are hungry. To our uncles and aunts, do not feel sad when we leave this life. We have one wish, that the lives of everyone we leave be better. We have one request, that you remember this: our pursuit is life, not death. Democracy is not a task for a few; it takes generations.*

*May this declaration, written with our lives, break up the clouds that cast their shadows on the People's Republic of China. We are doing this:*

1. *To protest the government's indifference to the student demonstrations;*
2. *To protest the government's failure to enter into a dialogue with students;*
3. *To protest the government's unfair characterization of the student democratic movement as "turmoil" and the further distortion of it in newspaper coverage.*

*We request:*

1. *An immediate dialogue between the government and the students on substantial topics with equal status;*
2. *An acknowledgment by the government of the legitimacy of the student democratic movement.*

*Time of the hunger strike: Begins at 2:00 P.M., May 13, 1989.*
*Place of the hunger strike: Tiananmen Square.*

*—The hunger-strike volunteers*

# Student Reading

## *Interview at Tiananmen Square with Chai Ling*

I think these may be my last words. My name is Chai Ling. I am twenty-three years old. My home is in Shandong Province. I entered Beijing University in 1983 and majored in psychology. I began my graduate studies at Beijing Normal University in 1987. By coincidence, my birthday is April 15, the day Hu Yaobang died. . . .

The situation has become so dangerous. The students asked me what we were going to do next. I wanted to tell them that we were expecting bloodshed, that it would take a massacre, which would spill blood like a river through Tiananmen Square, to awaken the people. But how could I tell them this? How could I tell them that their lives would have to be sacrificed in order to win?

If we withdraw from the square, the government will kill us anyway and purge those who supported us. If we let them win, thousands would perish, and seventy years of achievement would be wasted. Who knows how long it would be before the movement could rise again? The government has so many means of repression—execution, isolation. They can wear you down and that's exactly what they did to Wei Jingsheng.

I love those kids out there so much. But I feel so helpless. How can I change the world? I am only one person. I never wanted any power. But my conscience will not permit me to surrender my power to traitors and schemers. I want to scream at Chinese people everywhere that we are so miserable! We should not kill each other anymore! Our chances are too slim as it is.

I was extremely sad because, once again, I saw all kinds of people trying to betray us and put an end to this movement. At the start of the hunger strike there were about a thousand students participating, ruining their health. It infuriates me to think that there are people who want to ruin what these 1,000—and later several thousand—students are risking their lives for.

Within the intellectual circle, however, two supportive friends suggested that we call things off and take on another duty, like writing a book to be entitled *Let the Whole World Know.* They also said that if this book were circulated, the world would be told exactly what was going on. Then we could be satisfied at the sight of our execution.

I had a conversation with a plainclothes cop on April 25. I asked him what the sentence was for counterrevolutionary activities. He said that it used to be three to five years, but now it is seventeen. I'd be forty after seventeen years in prison. I'm really not willing to do that.

Yesterday I told my husband that I was no longer willing to stay in China. I realize that many students won't understand why I'm withdrawing from this movement and I will probably be criticized for this. But I hope that while I can no longer continue with this work there will be others who can. Democracy isn't the result of just one person's efforts. During the hunger strike I had said that we were not fighting so that we could die but so that we could live. I was fighting for life, because democracy cannot be accomplished by a single generation. Now I'm even more convinced of this. If I don't die, I vow to teach my child, from the day he is born, to grow up to be an honest, kind, fair, and independent Chinese.

We were striving for rights, and I felt like telling everyone, including undercover police and soldiers, that the rights that the students were risking their lives for were also for them. I would be ashamed to enjoy the benefits of these rights we are struggling for if I had never participated in this movement.

I have felt depressed many times. Some of the students have such a poor understanding of democracy. On the day that I suggested the hunger strike, I knew in the back of my mind that it would be futile. There are certain people and certain events in history that are destined to fail. In spite of all this, I have always tried to come across as a strong role model for the students and let them know that some day we will win.

I believe that democracy is a natural desire. It should guarantee human rights and independence, and foster self-respect—all of which people are entitled to.

Unfortunately, the basic human instinct for independence has been greatly inhibited and degraded among the Chinese. Some out-of-town students even came to us, asking for food, lodging, and instructions for what to do next. I thought, they have hands, eyes, their own minds; they can take care of themselves. They are supporting a very good cause but, honestly, many of these students are irresponsible; they are accustomed to living in a feudal society in which they do not have to make decisions for themselves.

The square is our last stand. If we lose it, China will retreat into another dark age, the people will once again turn against one other, with no real feelings or communication between them. If a nation's own people don't stay and help it to grow and develop, who will? But I will not be there to protect the square because I'm different from the others: my name is on the blacklist. I don't want to die.

Before this movement, I dreamt about going abroad—to study psychology—but friends warned me not to think of America as a paradise. They said that there are a lot of overseas Chinese there and that their competitive instincts were overwhelming. I want to say to all those Chinese outside of China, those who already have freedom and democracy, and who have never had their lives endangered, to stand up and unite, to put an end to the fighting among us. There are so many kids here risking their own lives for what you have. Do what you can, break down the barriers and don't be selfish anymore. Think about our race. One billion people can't just fade away.

—*Chai Ling*

# Ungoverning China

## Crushing of Protest Weakens Ability Of Any Successor Leadership to Rule

By NICHOLAS D. KRISTOF

Special to The New York Times

**News Analysis**

BEIJING, June 4 — Whoever wins the power struggle now under way in the Communist Party will find the challenge of ruling China incomparably greater after this weekend.

By ordering troops to fire on unarmed crowds, the leadership has created an event that almost surely will haunt the Government for years to come. It is likely to be seen not only as a sign of the party's remoteness from popular opinion, but as a powerful rallying cry for change.

In South Korea, the Government suppressed a popular uprising in the southern city of Kwangju in 1980, killing hundreds, and the incident became an increasing burden on the authorities. "Kwangju" became a byword for the insensitivities and intolerance of the regime, and it still casts a shadow over the Korean political process.

### The Stuff of Legend

The massacre at Tiananmen Square this weekend seems likely to become China's Kwangju, a part of the folklore of resistance that will magnify the shortcomings of the Government and stain its prestige.

It would have been difficult for the Beijing authorities to devise a more comprehensive method of undermining their own support. The student movement for democracy, until it was violently crushed, achieved unparalleled support throughout the nation, drawing more than a million people to the streets of the capital at one point and hundreds of thousands more throughout the nation.

"No movement in Chinese history has had such support," a physician said today as he took a break from treating students with bullet wounds. "This is different from all previous movements."

In addition, repressing students is a particularly dangerous business in China because of a traditional respect for students and scholars. Students also have a long record of being in the vanguard of the nation, so repression of students is regarded by many as almost unpatriotic.

### Right to Rule Undermined

A few weeks ago, it would have been difficult enough for the Communist Party to regain a moral legitimacy, the "mandate of heaven" that ever since imperial days has been the justification for political power in China. But now, after troops have killed students, it will be doubly difficult for any leader to rebuild that reservoir of good will that is at the foundation of political power in China.

It is still far from clear who the next leader will be. Prime Minister Li Peng has gained some ground in the power struggle, but he still is widely regarded as little more than the mouthpiece of several old officials who are not well-liked because of their perceived hostility toward the nation's program of economic and political restructuring.

Zhao Ziyang, the Communist Party General Secretary and Mr. Li's rival, has dropped from sight and is believed to have been stripped of his power though not of his post. One man who is often mentioned as a likely replacement for Mr. Zhao is Qiao Shi, a Politburo member whose attitudes toward political and economic issues are scarcely known.

The temptation facing any new leader will be to try to buy support, perhaps with new subsidies for food or housing. The risk of such attempts to buy support is that these will simply involve more spending and faster growth of the money supply. That would add to inflationary pressures, which is one of the nation's greatest single causes of political instability.

### Aversion to Unrest

There are other economic difficulties that will face a next leader, and they are likely to compound the tension between the need for austerity to deal with inflation and the need for spending to increase political support.

Strikes seem to be a growing possibility, and they could begin in connection with the killings on Tiananmen Square. There is a deep fear in the Chinese leadership of industrial strikes; already in Shanghai, a small strike began today to show support for the democracy movement in the capital.

Foreign investment and tourism are also certain to fall, after a period in which scenes of unrest in China are beamed to the West. It will take time for foreign investors to regain the image of China as a stable place.

Diplomatic difficulties may also become more complex as a result of the suppression of the student demonstrators. President Bush has deplored the use of violence in China, and such criticisms are likely to be deeply resented within the Chinese Foreign Ministry. If there is further suppression, the Bush Administration will be required, for political reasons, to take some further action.

### Increased Power of Military

China's next leader will also be in a more precarious position than before because in the last two weeks the army has demonstrated some independence, as have the old Communist Party advisers. They may give the next leaders less room for initiative than before.

Much of a future leader's ability to get results will depend on his moral legitimacy, and that may be difficult without a reappraisal of the student demonstrations. There is a troubling analogy with the early years of Nationalist Party rule over the unified Chinese mainland. The Nationalists, under Chiang Kai-shek, tried to establish order, and they became infamous for their harsh treatment of intellectuals and leftists.

The perception that the Nationalists were pointlessly cruel became an albatross for the Nationalists, and slowly undermined the public assessment of their right to rule as well as their ability to control strikes and other forms of unrest.

Reprinted with permission
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# Unleashing the Dark Methods of the Cultural Revolution

**By NICHOLAS D. KRISTOF**

BEIJING

THE scene could have come straight from the Cultural Revolution: 26 workers who had participated in the democracy movement were forced onto a stage before a packed meeting hall, so the masses could jeer at them. The workers' heads had been shaven, and some of them wore placards around their necks, giving their names and "crimes." Their public humiliation was a prelude to the next punishment: reform through hard labor in a work camp.

Until two weeks ago, the Cultural Revolution had seemed a distinct and distant era, relevant primarily for the horror it evoked. Thousands of people were killed and millions injured or sent to the countryside during the fervor and chaos of the Cultural Revolution, which began in 1966 and is now regarded as lasting until 1976.

Indeed, for the last decade, the official line has been that the Cultural Revolution was a national tragedy, its revolutionary ideas discarded. Then in the last few weeks, some old customs seem to have reappeared: the ways of speech and thinking, the methods of mobilizing and controlling the population.

Of course, there is a crucial difference, aside from scale, between the horrors of the Cultural Revolution and those that began two weeks ago. The earlier terror was the largely unplanned work of zealous mobs unleashed by Chairman Mao Zedong. The terror of the last two weeks has been the carefully planned labor of the nation's leaders.

"In the Cultural Revolution, the terror was implemented by true believers at the grass-roots level," said Andrew J. Nathan, a China scholar at Columbia University. "People carried out terror on one another. But today there are very few people with any conviction, and the terror is carried out by police."

Still, the air of intimidation is similar. Perhaps most striking, China from a distance again resembles a nation of robots. A few weeks ago, the society was a patchwork of different ideas, aspirations and criticisms; today, the Chinese in public again seem to have a single voice. These days it is dangerous for them to tell a foreigner what is on their minds. This xenophobia, this attempt to separate foreigners from Chinese, also recalls the values of the Cultural Revolution, and it found expression a few days ago when armed guards began to intervene to prevent foreigners from bringing Chinese with them into the compound where many diplomats and journalists live.

"It is not against the rules for you to have a Chinese guest, but for your own protection we cannot allow you to have a guest," a guard explained to a journalist, with Cultural Revolution-style logic. One Chinese woman was certain there was no risk in meeting a foreigner; but after a casual five-minute meeting she was detained for three hours.

Those who are detained often face beatings, and they are pulled along with their heads forced down and their hands twisted up behind them, a modified version of the "airplane position" that was a standard method of abuse during the Cultural Revolution. The Government has turned television film of arrests into propaganda to demonstrate the power of the state. And the propaganda once more has a tinge of Maoist methods: condemning in ideological terms the "thugs" and "ruffians" who staged the "counter-revolutionary rebellion."

Party members are busy studying the speeches of Deng Xiaoping, the senior leader, though not so diligently as they used to study the speeches of Mao. There is a hint of a personality cult these days, though not nearly so comprehensive as the cult to Mao.

Students and intellectuals, who had led the democracy movement and used it to demand "better treatment for intellectuals," are finding themselves under attack for what they already have. The attacks have not reached the level of the vituperations of the Cultural Revolution, but the People's Daily sent tingles down many spines last week when it published an indictment against students.

"Students are conceited and do whatever they wish," the newspaper said, quoting a letter it said it had received from a graduate student. "They are pampered by the masses, and treated with leniency by the Government."

Even the justifications for repression recall the earlier era. The "dictatorship of the proletariat" is a phrase that over the last decade had become unfashionable — until this month. The press has also invoked the "class struggle," which was a rationalization for brutality in the Cultural Revolution.

The revival of such concepts now inspires fear that China will somehow slip back toward the terror that marked the last decade of the Maoist period. The death sentences handed down to 11 people last week have added to the apprehension.

Still, Mr. Deng has always seemed more afraid of chaos than anything else, and it would be difficult to imagine him consciously unleashing such chaos again. Of course, he has fewer qualms about repression, and has justified the crackdown in part by saying that otherwise China risks another Cultural Revolution.

There are various explanations why the authorities are pulling the old ways out of the closet. Some say they are calculated to intimidate. Others believe the leaders genuinely feel that they neglected "thought education" over the last decade. Still others believe that this is the only way the authorities know to deal with such a challenge.

Byron S. J. Weng, a China scholar at Chinese University in Hong Kong, suggested that the authorities feel insecure and threatened, and are therefore turning to those whose political purity is unassailable.

"So many people have come out in support of the students that unless the people in charge are mad, the leaders must understand the challenge is serious and feel very, very threatened," Mr. Weng said. "They cannot possibly trust many people now. They are left with little choice but to go back to trusting the element of 'Red.' "

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# The People's Republic at 40, at Odds With the People

By NICHOLAS D. KRISTOF

BEIJING

THE People's Republic of China prepared to mark its 40th anniversary today with splendid dragon dances and fireworks, but with little joy.

The brooding Chinese public appreciates the sea slugs and other delicacies doled out by employers for the birthday party, but the atmosphere is tense. The Communist Party displayed a clenched-teeth determination to celebrate the occasion, but under security so tight that people without proper residency permits were ejected from Beijing, and many residents of the city were ordered to stay indoors today.

Most telling, the leadership's suspicion of the common people is such that only a carefully screened elite was to be allowed into Tiananmen Square to hail "People's China." To many Chinese, the need for rigid security is simply the latest evidence of the party's dissipation of its 40-year-old mandate and its crisis of legitimacy.

It was very different on Oct. 1, 1949, when Mao Zedong mounted the rostrum of Tiananmen Gate and before a crowd of hundreds of thousands of supporters proclaimed in ringing tones the formation of the People's Republic. "From this moment," he declared, "the Chinese people have stood up!"

Since then, Communist China's achievements and errors have been colossal, etched in history on a truly Chinese scale. The party emancipated hundreds of millions of peasants from the hopeless misery in which they had eked out an existence for hundreds of generations. It provided opportunities for women. The country won respect in the world, and the last decade of economic change created a new prosperity for much of the population.

Yet the gains were achieved at a staggering price. In redistributing land and consolidating control, Mao later admitted, 700,000 people were killed. The Great Leap Forward, a catastrophic attempt at rapid industrialization, combined with bad harvests to produce tens of millions of deaths in the early 1960's. Political upheavals like the anti-rightist campaign of 1957, the Cultural Revolution of 1966 to 1976, and the crackdown now under way against supporters of this spring's democracy movement have cost the lives or ruined the careers of unknown numbers of Chinese who dared seek change.

With each violent oscillation, with each purge, the party has lost some of the good will with which it began its rule. At first, the regime was widely regarded as a genuine people's government, fundamentally different from the warlords and emperors of the past. Now, ordinary people seem to regard the party as an adversary. Intellectuals are even more bitter; they recall what the Chinese writer Lu Xun had to say about the first Chinese revolution that in 1911-12 toppled the Qing Dynasty. "Before the revolution, we were slaves," Lu Xun wrote. "Now we are slaves of former slaves."

The Communists began with tremendous popular support. Opium was eradicated, brothels were closed, land was distributed, roads and railroads were built, literacy campaigns were launched, health care was expanded and an industrial base was developed.

Older people sometimes still express appreciation for the revolution and the improvements it brought in their lives. But now, half the population of China is 23 or younger, and 74 percent were born after the revolution. Young people have been deluged with statistics in the last few weeks purporting to show how much Communism has helped China, but many seem to resist to the extent that they do not even acknowledge the regime's real accomplishments.

Per capita incomes have multiplied 5 to 10 times in the last 40 years, depending on who does the calculating, to about $350 a year. Life expectancy has nearly doubled, from about 35 years to 69 years. China exploded a nuclear bomb in 1965 and launched a satellite in 1970, showing remarkable technical skill for so poor a country.

"There have been tremendous accomplishments," said Kenneth G. Lieberthal, director of the Center for Chinese Studies at the University of Michigan, "but they have not kept up with the even more tremendous accomplishments elsewhere in Asia."

## Open-Door Policy

Therein lies the problem for the Communists. The majority of the population is less interested in contrasts with conditions 40 years ago than in the contrasts with life in neighboring countries today. The open-door policy of the last decade has increased the well-being and opportunities for most Chinese, inspiring a certain gratitude, but this has probably been outweighed by the destabilizing influence of allowing people to learn how much better off Taiwan and Hong Kong are than China.

Many Chinese feel they enjoyed the gains of the Communist revolution long ago, but are still paying the price in terms of despotism, economic inefficiency and corruption. They complain that the revolution has degenerated into cycles of too brief liberalization and longer repression, of some hope and greater hopelessness.

The last great emotional trough came in 1976 after the death of the beloved Prime Minister, Zhou Enlai, the leader credited with steering China away from the excesses of the Cultural Revolution. Demonstrations of mourning followed Zhou's death, an outpouring that in fact was meant as a show of support for Zhou's protégé, Deng Xiaoping. The demonstrations were crushed, and Mr. Deng was purged — a parallel with the present repression and purges engineered by Mr. Deng.

But after an interregnum of two years, Mr. Deng returned to power and introduced sweeping changes. The nation once more was on the move, and seemed to be growing less repressive. Mr. Deng and the party were at the peak of their popularity five years ago, in the 35th anniversary celebration, when university students hailed their favorite leader with a large banner: "How are you, Xiaoping!"

Yet the successes and exposure to the world created rising expectations that Mr. Deng could not meet and political demands that he would not meet. The economic changes ran into difficulties, as the Government and party bureaucrats seemed unwilling to cede more of their power and privilege. Inflation soared, corruption spread and income inequalities widened. Most important, Mr.

Deng proved no less able than Mao to plan a smooth succession. Both of Mr. Deng's heirs apparent, Hu Yaobang and Zhao Ziyang, were dismissed in disgrace.

The party's decision to use force to crush this spring's democracy movement was a catastrophe for the country and for the party's legitimacy. Hundreds of people were massacred and the country's educated young people were humiliated by requirements that they work at the "grass roots" and by political study sessions in which they were forced to profess their faith in the party. The reformist wing of the party was gutted, but Mr. Deng is still in command and there are mixed signals about who is rising and falling. For now, however, the accent is on central planning and political repression, worsening the crisis of confidence in which "People's China" finds itself during its birthday celebration.

In secret documents now circulating among officials, Mr. Deng seems to acknowledge the difficulties, and he says he chose Jiang Zemin to be the new party chief partly to provide a fresh image. But few find in Mr. Jiang a sign of broad vision or new initiative. Indeed, in a press conference on Tuesday, Mr. Jiang seemed to go out of his way to appear rigid, declaring that the shootings on June 4 were not a tragedy.

The alienation is much lower in the countryside and in provincial cities than in Beijing, and if the Government can keep people happy economically — an uncertain prospect — it may be able to avert a further crisis in the immediate future. Dwight H. Perkins, a Harvard economist, suggests that if the peasantry is kept happy, it can supply the army recruits to keep the regime in power.

Yet many Chinese and foreigners believe the present leadership is precarious, and will be more so after Mr. Deng's death. They say that the new relationship of antipathy and even contempt between the people and the leaders at some time will produce change. Once more, they cite the words of the writer Lu Xun early in this century: "Lies written in ink cannot obscure a truth written in blood."

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# To Be Young and in China: A Colloquy

**By RICHARD BERNSTEIN**

The poem seemed to express an individual yearning, a personal agony only tenuously related to the prodemocracy slogans recently heard in China. But Wuer Kaixi, the 21-year-old exiled student leader who read his short verse at a public meeting in lower Manhattan on Wednesday night, said it reflected the inner life of the student uprising, its wellsprings in alienation and thwarted idealism. The verse goes:

*I pour my heart out to the white*
*cloud,*
*I, the homeless wanderer.*
*O, float back to my native land*
*And drop the tears I shed for my*
*mother.*

Mr. Wuer was among several Chinese student leaders, writers, poets and American scholars at the meeting sponsored by American PEN, the organization of writers that promotes free expression. The ostensible subject was the struggle for human rights in China. But many simply spoke of China's contemporary youth culture, using it to explain the forces that pushed thousands of young Chinese to risk their lives confronting troops during the recent upheaval in Beijing.

Several themes emerged. One, discussed by Mr. Wuer and other student leaders, was that the students who occupied Tiananmen Square in Beijing in May and June were very different from their elders; they are of a generation, influenced by Western ideas, that is restive under the weight of China's tradition of obedience and insistent on sexuality and feelings.

### The Favorite Word Is No

Mr. Wuer compared traditional Chinese culture and what he called its complete negation of the individual and patterns of well-defined hierarchical personal relationships with the emerging youth culture of China, with its stress on immediacy, sensation and the self.

"In recent years Chinese college students have been rebellious against all sorts of authority," he said. "The favorite word among the youth in China is No."

"You might find it strange, but I do not," he said, "that one aspect of our movement was the student who stood naked on top of a university building shouting, 'I am what I am.' " But because the preoccupation with who they are is "totally contradictory to the reality of our system," Mr. Wuer continued, young people are "lost and disoriented." They seek identity and consolation in part from the songs and poems that Mr. Wuer described as the cultural accompaniments to the political movement.

Among the most popular songs is one that begins "I am a wolf from the north" and then describes a kind of lonely wandering through a desolate land, a wandering full of longing and nostalgia for "that beautiful prairie" that is, it seems, a land of unfulfilled dreams.

Mr. Wuer said volumes could be written to explain the sensibility behind the words of that song and why it appealed so strongly to young Chinese. The image of the wolf, a lonely, isolated creature, is an uncomfortable one in the context of Chinese culture, with its stress on the family and the group. The song, which could be heard playing on hundreds of little tape recorders during the students' two-month occupation of Tiananmen Square, was an expression, he said, both of the students' despair and of their idealism. The students found meaning in the image of the lonely wanderer trapped in a bitter, empty landscape. They dreamed at the same time of something better.

Mr. Wuer's remarks and those of other student leaders now in exile in this country led a Western participant, Robin Munro, a reasearcher on China for Asia Watch, to talk of a "political economy of libido moving from a primitive to a more advanced stage" among China's young people.

Mr. Munro was speaking of remarks by some student leaders that the experience of greater sexual freedom was an important part of the democracy movement. The students gave no details, but they seemed to be describing an element in Mr. Wuer's notion of increased attention to the self, one not all that different from the sexual liberation experienced by students in the United States during the protests of the 1960's.

A Manhattan conference retraces the road to Tiananmen.

In the past, Mr. Munro said, the sexual energy of Chinese students had been channeled by Chairman Mao Zedong into a frenzied, proto-fascist worship of himself, particularly during the Cultural Revolution of the late 1960's and early 70's. This time, he said, the youthful libido found an entirely different expression, in both a new exaltation of selfhood and in political outrage at the conservative gerontocracy bent on imposing its values and its will on its children.

And that, in turn, was related to another issue arising at the colloquium: whether China's hostility toward greater freedom is embedded in the nation's traditional culture or whether it is something that comes from 40 years of Communist rule.

Jonathan Spence, a historian of China who teaches at Yale, enumerated aspects of the Chinese tradition that seemed to explain the country's modern-day dictatorial nature and the violent suppression of the democracy movement in June. Specifically, he said, there has long been a tradition of protests by intellectuals against immoral leaders and an even stronger tradition of repression, all of which was played out in Beijing this year.

"China has never been able to come up with a concept of a loyal opposition," he said. "For 3,000 years, the authorities have tried to keep people from getting together and speaking freely."

A different view was offered by Su Wei, a writer and critic who escaped from China in June. Mr. Su said that the last 40 years had imposed on China a "Communist Party culture," which, he said, is similar to the culture of underground organizations. Each person, he said, has to answer to the Communist Party, or, more specifically, to one of the Communist Party warlords, since the party itself is divided into factions.

"That's where you get your culture, your identity," Mr. Su said. "It's very similar to the society of the Mafia."

Thus, in Mr. Su's view, China's present circumstances are more a product of this "Communist culture" than they are of tradition. One result of the Communist culture, he said, has been "the systematic destruction of the most brilliant in China." The "best and the brightest," those who show independence of spirit, are crushed, leaving behind "the most retarded, the most dictatorial, and the most moronic."

Moreover, the methods used by the cultural authorities have given rise to new and malevolent cultural traditions, Mr. Su said. He identified these as the tradition of lying, the tradition of threat and the suppression of memory.

"This is what we have to fight against," he said. "It is a culture dominated by the party that has suppressed free thought and is sustained by lies, by threats and by a requirement to forget."

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*The New York Times* October 7, 1989, p.11

# EPILOGUE

*by Andrew J. Nathan*

Tragedy, Aristotle said, involves acts "which occur unexpectedly, and at the same time in consequence of one another." Forty years ago, the Chinese leaders set out to create a popular government that could mobilize all the country's resources for industrialization. They built a system that tied the peasants to the land, kept consumption to a minimum, fixed each person permanently in place in a work unit dominated by a single party secretary against whom there was no appeal, classified each individual as a member of a good or bad class, and called on each citizen to show that he or she was progressive by demonstrating enthusiasm for disciplining himself and persecuting others. Mao's people complied out of patriotism, a sense of unworthiness, faith in a despot's wisdom, and because they preferred to be among the victimizers than among the victims.

But one by one, people began to ask questions when they were denounced and jailed, or forced to go to the countryside to "learn from the peasants," only to find the villages dirty and destitute, or when they realized that Lin Biao, Mao's chosen successor, was a traitor.

The Chinese stopped believing that their poverty and suffering were redeemed by a greater purpose. Citizens demanded reparation of injuries and injustices done over the course of thirty years; millions applied for redress. A new generation wanted possessions, pleasure, and freedom. They would not "petition on their knees."

A dictator rules by recruiting his people to oppress one another. Mao's successors could no longer win people's cooperation by promising a future utopia. They had to produce or get out of the way. As people's lives improved, they got angrier. They had more to eat and wear but less than they felt they deserved; more living space but too little for comfort. Prices went up faster than wages. A few entrepreneurs and party officials lived in comfort, seemingly with unfair gains. A thin prosperity mocked years of sacrifice.

Reform made life better for most Chinese, but it also weakened the instruments of control. It dissolved the system of class labels that set citizen against citizen, restored educated people to authority, removed the rationale for political campaigns, and weakened the powers of the unit by giving people alternatives. People could move around the country, talk, think, and even write more freely.

The loosening of repression allowed people to reflect on what they had done, what they had seen others do, and what they had tolerated being done. Life during the past thirty years was a theme that dominated fiction, poetry, memoirs, biographies, histories, and philosophical works. Writing and talking opened up a wellspring of anger, and the Party—insisting on its continued right to a monopoly of power, clinging to its exculpatory version of the past—became its exclusive target.

Other ruling Communist parties have found their way out of the same impasse by redefining the people who want a voice in their country's future as partners rather than enemies. The CCP may not find this solution, but it will not find another. Most likely, as has happened in Eastern Europe, infirmity in the regime, competition among the leaders, or the determination people see in each other's eyes will signal the crucial moment for a transition to start. But the transition may not be as easy as it has been in Eastern Europe, because the Chinese regime has never depended on an outside army to maintain its hold on power. It has a strong grip and every incentive not to let go.

A liberalizing China will be torn by the same conflicts that have divided it throughout the century: the distribution of wealth between city and rural residents and among different classes, the balance of individual rights with social interests, the roles of government and private enterprise in the economy, the relative authority of the central and provincial governments, and the proper place of the military and the ruling party in a plural society.

How can these issues be resolved within a system of democracy that is workable for China? The same problem faced the reformers who persuaded the emperor at the end of the last century that a democratic system would make the dynasty more stable and prosperous. What such a democracy should be remains unresolved for the Chinese. They must find their own way to square discipline with freedom, social duty with individualism, national goals with personal ones, passion with tolerance, social peace with open conflict, decision with debate.

A Chinese form of democracy will differ from the ideals portrayed in manifestoes and also from the Western models that some Chinese want to emulate. Its prominent features are likely to include a single dominant party descended from the Communists, a fractionated opposition, a turbulent parliament, noisy elections, local political machines, competition for resources among provinces and regions, angry rhetoric, and frequent strikes and demonstrations. This may not be the politics anyone in China wants, but it may result from each Chinese pushing in his or her own way away from the politics China has now. Power that is shared in this way will be diminished, but it may also be more able to gain compliance. Political decisions will become harder to achieve but may be more widely supported. Conflicts will become noiser but easier to identify and deal with. Political leaders will be less secure, but the political system will be more able to adapt and survive.

Mencius said, "If men suddenly see a child about to fall into a well, they will without exception experience a feeling of alarm and distress." China's disasters engage us as human beings because they remind us of how little control we have over our own fates. They involve us as political beings because a China that consumes itself in fruitless struggle deprives us of a partner we need to help solve problems of international security, environmental preservation, and world prosperity. Tiananmen filled us with fear and pity. The making of China's future, however hard and uncertain, will arouse our concern and our hope.

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## QUESTIONS FOR DISCUSSION

1) Is it important for us to understand the historical experiences that have made a certain political evolution possible or impossible and which today give rise to political stability or instability?

2) Does such an understanding of and sympathy for historical developments mean, on the other hand, that we cannot make judgments about the political systems that have resulted? Or are there certain values-- such as personal liberty and the right of free speech-- that we hold to be absolute and can thus hold as a standard in deciding what constitutes the best system of government?

## *Student Reference*

### A BRIEF CHRONOLOGY OF EVENTS AT TIANANMEN SQUARE, 1989

| | |
|---|---|
| 15 April | Hu Yaobang, former General Secretary of the Communist Party and well known reformer, dies. Posters begin to appear mourning his death. |
| 19 April | Students march to Zhongnanhai where the student leaders live to have a sit-in demonstration. Students and police clash. |
| 22 April | Funeral for Hu Yaobang. |
| 26 April | Demonstrations continue, but the official newspaper, *People's Daily*, says the protests are just an "organized conspiracy to sew chaos." Over 150,000 angry students broke through police lines and returned to Tiananmen Square. |
| 4 May | 100,000 students protest. |
| 13 May | Frustrated by the lack of official response to their demands, over 1,000 students launch a hunger strike. |
| 17-18 May | Close to 1 million people march to the square to support the hunger strike. |
| 19 May | Martial law imposed by students and citizens prevent troops from entering the square. |
| 30 May | The "Goddess of Democracy" is erected in the square. |
| 2 June | PLA troops with tanks and armored personnel carriers enter Beijing to clear the square. |
| 3 June | Scattered shooting in the streets of Beijing; hundreds killed. |
| 4 June | During the early morning hours, troops clear Tiananmen square. |

# Resource List for Government and Politics

## GENERAL

### Books

***Great Decisions 1989***
***"China: Redefining the Revolution"***
Foreign Policy Association

*Great Decisions* is a news briefing book covering a number of important international issues facing the U.S. It contains up-to-date facts, suggested readings, and questions for discussion. In addition, FPA also produces four supplements to *Great Decisions.* They include an activity book for teachers with reproducible handouts, a leadership handbook, bibliography, and a *Great Decisions National Opinion Ballot Report.*

Available from: Foreign Policy Association
729 Seventh Avenue
New York, NY 10019
(212) 764-4050

Price: $10.95

***The People's Republic of China: A Basic Handbook, 4th edition***
Steven Goldstein, Kathrin Sears, and Richard Bush

Covers many areas of life in contemporary China, with valuable information on urban and rural life, education, and historical background. Uses many charts and graphs. See the excerpted readings on Zhou and Mao in the Leaders Unit reprinted from *The Handbook.*

Available from: Learning Resources in International Studies
Suite 9A
777 U.N. Plaza
New York, NY 10017
(212) 972-9877

Price: $ 7.50

***China, 3rd edition***
Suzanne Ogden

Part of a series of up-to-date information and current world press articles on China, Taiwan, and Hong Kong. Also provides comprehensive background using maps, charts, and pictures. A good library resource.

Available from: Global Studies: China
The Pushkin Publishing Group, Inc.
Sluice Dock, Guilford, CT 06437

Price: $10.95

***Twentieth Century China***
Harvard Social Studies Project

A very short pamphlet, adapted from the Harvard Social Studies Project by Xerox Education Publications, which provides good material for class discussion.

Available from: Xerox Education Publications
Education Center
Columbus, OH 43216

Price: $ 2.00 (paper)

***The Chinese Revolution***
Anthony Watson

A brief account of the Chinese Revolution starting with the collapse of the dynastic system through the victory of the Communists in 1949. In addition, it has 25 documents or pieces of documents which highlight the events.

Available from: Greenhaven World History Program
Greenhaven Press
577 Shoreview Park Road
St. Paul, MN 55112

Price: inquire

***Policy Conflicts in Post-Mao China: A Documentary Survey with Analysis***
John Burns and Stanley Rosen

This is a good primary source for reference as it contains many translated articles from the Chinese press on the controversy in the reform movement. It addresses debates over ideology, political socialization, political participation, literature and art, education, and commerce, to name some of the topics covered. It also uses translated comic dialogue and cartoons.

| | |
|---|---|
| Available from: | East Gate Books<br>M.E. Sharpe<br>80 Business Park Drive<br>Armonk, NY 10504 |
| Price: | $15.95 (paper) |

## DEMOCRACY

### Books

*Chinese Democracy*
Andrew J. Nathan

| | |
|---|---|
| Available from: | University of California Press<br>2120 Berkeley Way<br>Berkeley, CA 94720 |
| Price: | $ 8.95 (paper) |

*China's Crisis: Dilemmas of Reform and Prospects for Democracy*
Andrew J. Nathan

| | |
|---|---|
| Available from: | Columbia University Press<br>136 South Broadway<br>Irvington, NY 10533<br>(914) 591-6471 |
| Price: | inquire |

*Crisis at Tiananmen Square*
Yi Mu and Mark V. Thompson

Library Journal writes, "a well-informed review for non-specialist readers of the Chinese democracy movement...includes some of the most useful documents from both sides..." Has a thorough chronological listing of events leading up to, during, and after June 4, 1989.

| | |
|---|---|
| Available from: | China Books and Periodicals<br>2929 24th Street<br>San Francisco, CA 94110<br>(415) 282-2994 |
| Price: | $14.95 |

### *Tiananmen Square*
Simmie Scott and Bob Nixon

This is both a diary of the actual events of June 1989 and a series of interviews with Chinese about their lives either in the Party or living under the Party. *New York Review of Books* calls it "the best of the recent books" on the movement.

| | |
|---|---|
| Available from: | University of Washington Press<br>P.O. Box 50096<br>Seattle, WA 98145-5096 |
| Price: | $14.95 |

### *Voices From Tiananmen Square: Beijing Spring and the Democracy Movement*
Mok Chiu Yu and J. Frank Harrison, editors

*Voices From Tiananmen Square* captures the personal and political struggles of today's Chinese revolutionaries. It situates the Democracy Movement in its historical context and covers its development inside and outside China to the present day. The book consists of original documents, translated for the first time into English, of speeches, handbills, posters, manifestos, interviews, and eye-witness reports of both during and after the June massacre.

| | |
|---|---|
| Available from: | Black Rose Books<br>3981 Boulevard. St.-Laurent, #444<br>Montreal, Quebec<br>H2W 1Y5 Canada |
| Prices: | $19.95 (paper)<br>$38.95 (hard) |

### *Cries for Democracy: Writings and Speeches from the 1989 Chinese Democracy Movement*
Han Minzhu, editor

"Han Minzhu" and her assistant editor, "Hua Sheng," both writing under pseudonyms to protect their identities, present a rich collection of translations of original writings and speeches from the 1989 Chinese Democracy Movement-- flyers, "big-character" posters, "small-character" posters, handbills, poems, articles from non-official newspapers and journals, government statements, and transcriptions of tapes. Linked by a commentary setting the documents in the context of the movement's history and of Chinese social and political life, these expressions-- indeed, cries-- of the participants in the passionate demonstrations of Beijing and other Chinese cities powerfully convey the atmosphere of this extraordinary protest.

| | |
|---|---|
| Available from: | Princeton University Press<br>3175 Princeton Pike<br>Lawrenceville, NJ 08648 |
| Price: | $12.95 (paper)<br>$35.00 (cloth) |

***Beijing Spring, 1989*, Confrontation and Conflict: The Basic Documents**
Michel Oksenberg and Marc Lambert, editors

To bring some order and sense to the ongoing, intense and often emotional debates over the tragic events of last spring in China, Professor Oksenberg and his colleagues have prepared this collection of the basic documents, with commentary, to trace the day-to-day pronouncements, utterances, and reflections from all sides of the conflict, ranging from reports by leaders like Li Peng, to speeches by leading intellectual dissidents like Su Shaozhi, to the deeply moving "Tiananmen: The Soul of China," by an anonymous participant. Professor Oksenberg provides thoughtful introductions to the documents, and Professor Manion's general introduction places the events and documents in their political and historical context. A Chronology and Index of Important Figures provide a useful guide to the events and participants.

| | |
|---|---|
| Available from: | M.E. Sharpe, Inc.<br>80 Business Park Dr.<br>Armonk, NY 10504 |
| Price: | $15.95 |

## *Section X*
# Economics

This brief section is presented as background on China's economy, with a student reading on the commune system, which, while no longer used in China, is important background for grasping some of the problems China faces and the solutions the Communist government has now proposed. The Stanford program's coverage of economics in China is excellent (see featured resources below), and helps the student understand basic economic concepts.

CONTENTS

Unit 1: ***Background for Teachers***

Unit 2: ***The Commune System***
- Student Discussion
- Charts
- Featured Resource: *Economic Choices After Mao*

Resource List

## *Unit 1*

# Background for Teachers

China is a developing country, with a small amount of arable land and an extremely large population. The goal of Chinese leaders has been to reverse the ratio of employment in agriculture to employment in the urban sector (currently 4:1). At the start of reforms, in 1978, approximately 800 million people were employed in agriculture while only 200 million were employed in urban areas. This means that if successful in the twenty-first century, 80% of China's population will be employed in industry and services.

In order to achieve economic modernization, the Chinese government after 1949 has sought to find a way to squeeze surplus out of the countryside (where 80% of the population live), and turn it into investment for industry. Leaving it to the market was thought to be slow, inefficient, and inequitable, so **the commune system of collectivized agriculture was implemented in the 1950s as one solution to the problem.** (See following unit on the structure and function of the commune system.) Although the commune system did allow the state to extract the maximum surplus from the countryside, it was ultimately judged inefficient, with major disincentive effects, and abandoned; at times it was disastrous with widespread famine occurring, such as during the years 1959-62 at the end of the Great Leap Forward. Mao Zedong laid great stress on the need to adapt Marxism, a Western ideology, to the Chinese context; this led to the development of "Maoism" or "Mao Zedong thought."

China today continues in its effort to maximize agricultural output while controlling population -- China feeds approximately 1/5 of the human race on only 7% of the world's arable land; with a population five (5) times that of the United States, it has only 1/2 as much land suitable for farming as does the U.S. Under agriculture reforms instituted in the 1980s, **farming is now contracted to individual peasant families** who are encouraged to increase their output through market incentives. The simultaneous expansion of rural industry is designed to absorb agricultural labor, which is rendered excess by more efficient techniques of production, and to provide additional sources of income, while individuals are encouraged to farm larger and larger tracts of land. Emphasis on strict control of population growth is closely related to these policies.

The new agricultural policies have been successful in raising output, but **the return to family farming works against population control**. (See **Geography** for a discussion of why more children are better for farming families.)

One of the reasons that China's economic reforms of the 1980s have been so successful in raising output is the almost instantaneous **re-emergence of the traditional Chinese market system.** Local periodic markets, free markets, the use of brokers, local forms of credit, networks of "merchants" and handicraft producers have all re-established themselves beside the large-scale state-run industries, the smaller rural cooperative industries, and the dynamic, fast growing sector of small private enterprises. Even local towns are growing and becoming more prosperous as the government once again permits rural people to move to urban places, or at least to small urban places. (Permanent migration to large cities is still prohibited because the government fears loss of agricultural work force and difficulties in feeding a large urban population, though there has emerged an extremely large (50 million people) floating population who live in the cities illegally.

In the mid-1970s, Zhou Enlai argued that the key to China's modernization were the development of agriculture, industry, defense and science/technology referred to as the "Four modernizations."

In the mid-1980s, China moved the reform effort from the rural areas to the urban areas. Following the thrust of reforms in the countryside (decentralization of decision-making power), the government sought to introduce market mechanisms (such as the use of supply and demand to determine prices, and measures of efficiency such as profit) to guide decisions in the large factories. They even went so far as to enact a bankruptcy law in China.

But industrial reforms have proven more difficult than agricultural reforms. Since the establishment of the PRC there has been very strict central control over industry, but now the government is experimenting with loosening some of that control.

State control of industrial development and state regulation of prices are supported by the structure of Chinese economic and political life which are difficult to change. State control of prices impedes the workings of the free market reforms, however. Artificial prices are set for agricultural products to keep food prices in cities low. This discourages farmers from growing more crops. It also helps create a dual economy, one in which some goods are available for less in state stores, but one in which farmers also sell some goods independently on the streets, at a price the market will bear. This also applies to raw materials, and it is not hard to imagine how local officials with contacts to getting cheap raw materials, resell them at higher prices to industries desperate for these materials. At the same time, fear of taxation by the rural populace in an environment in which the central government has devolved power to the local level leaves the local government, as in the past, without regular and adequate funding. These factors are partly the reason for the rising corruption in China today.

The partial nature of decentralization in the urban areas, meant to give more autonomy to the enterprise in making business decisions, has contributed to the growing corruption and confusion over the nature of the Chinese system as it rests uneasily between a fully planned system and a fully free one.

The **persistence of the ideal of state management of society** presents a potential obstacle to development. Government in China is still viewed today as responsible for people's welfare and for solving people's problems. Mao's concern with grain production and grain procurement, to ensure adequate supplies of staple grains to feed the entire population, was in part responsible for economic dislocation and famines in the 1960s. (Forcing regions to be self-sufficient in grain means even areas less suited to grain grow it and areas suited to commercial crops do not grow commercial crops.) As in the past, a fear of grain shortage in the late 1980s created constant pressure for maintenance of state grain quotas and demands for regional self-sufficiency.

The result is an unsatisfactory stalemate between the local levels and the center, with a reduced ability by the Chinese Communist Party to control the development of China using macro-economic levers. But, at the same time China does not have any real market mechanisms to control development. In addition, the desire to "catch up with the West," places special pressure on the government to continue the economic reforms, even in a period of political uncertainty.

# *Unit 2*
# Communes

***Note for students***

*Communes were designed to fill a myriad of functions: to give rural communities the opportunity, through the pooling and organization of labor and income, to accomplish large water conservation projects; to establish small factories and produce goods that would increase general income; to support hospitals and schools; to care for the elderly and disabled within the community. Well-organized human labor was seen as the key to development as China did not have and could not afford machines. Although the commune system did allow the state to extract the maximum surplus from the countryside, it was ultimately judged inefficient, with major disincentive effects, and abandoned; at times it was disastrous with widespread famine occurring, such as during the years 1959-62, at the end of the Great Leap Forward.*

## The Organization of the Commune

This discussion refers to Charts 1 and 2 attached.

The structure of the commune was such that families were organized into teams, then teams formed brigades, and brigades formed the commune. Each level of organization was responsible for certain activities: the team for organizing farm labor, the brigade for establishing small workshops and elementary schools, the commune for large-scale land reclamation projects, a hospital, a high school, small factories, and other side-line industries, as well as a welfare fund to aid the poor at communities within the commune.

Since China is a poor country, the central and provincial governments are unable to assist poor communities. The aim was for rural communities to improve their lot through "self-reliance." Cooperation through the commune organization was the key to this.

Would a small village, whose land was poor, be able to afford a school or a health care station? The answer is no. By joining with other villages and sending one or more of its members to work on joint projects, the village could contribute to the general development of the larger community from which it then benefits.

If there were flaws in the system, what were they? Perhaps most particularly there was the problem of incentive. The peasants became less enthusiastic over time about working as hard as they can for the general welfare-- especially if they saw a neighbor, who is not working, benefitting as well as they from group achievements. The "responsibility system" has been designed to provide greater individual incentive for hard work.

### The Evolution of the Commune

**Land Reform**: This was the first and most dramatic stage of China's revolution, when the land of the landlords was taken and distributed to the peasants.

**Lower-Stage Cooperative**: (formed 1954-1955) Peasants pooled their land to create larger fields that could yield greater output and shared farm implements. Peasants still received their return, however, on the amount and quality of the land and tools they could contribute-- benefitting middle-class peasants but not poor peasants.

**Higher-Stage Cooperatives**: (formed 1955-1956) Now peasants received their return primarily on the basis of their labor, making everyone more equal and benefitting poor peasants.

**Commune**: (formed 1958-1959) The communes attempted to equalize income among cooperatives by joining several cooperatives (now called brigades) together, so that a cooperative community with poor land might benefit from the wealth of a cooperative community with very fertile land.

There were approximately 53,000 communes in China, 170,000 peasants households in the communes, and 90,000,000 acres of arable land under control of communes at their height of existence, but they have now largely disappeared and been replaced by the household responsibility system where each family is responsible for managing plots of land it alone has contracted to farm for long periods of time.

## Chart 1

# Commune Organization

| COMMUNIST ORGANIZATION | TRADITIONAL DIVISIONS |
|---|---|
| county (hsien) | county (hsien) |
| (district) | (district) |
| commune<br>population 10,000-80,000<br>(labor force 1/3)<br>2,000-20,000 households<br>10-30 brigades | hsiang<br>large market town<br>with market network |
| brigade<br>population 1,000-2,000<br>200-400 households<br>10-20 teams | natural village* |
| team<br>population 100-200<br>(labor force 1/3)<br>20-40 households | |
| household | household |

---

*In some cases a natural village corresponds to a team, in others to a brigade, depending on the size of the village.

There are approximately 53,000 communes in China, 170,000,000 peasant households in the communes, and 90,000,000 acres of arable land under control of communes.

## Chart 2

# STAGES OF RURAL COLLECTIVIZATION

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| 1950-52 | LAND REFORM | Land was redistributed, and those without land acquired some. Labor exchanges were developed. |
| 1954-56 | COLLECTIVIZATION into Agricultural Producers' Cooperatives (APCs)in 2 stages | Land was pooled. |
| 1955 | (1) LOWER APCs | Peasants retained ownership of land; produce was divided, with 70% on the basis of labor and 30% interest on land, animals, or tools contributed. |
| 1956 | (2) HIGHER APCs | Land was owned collectively at village level; produced was divided on basis of labor alone. |
| 1958-60 | COMMUNES (Great Leap Forward) | APCs amalgamated to form larger administrative organizations called communes. Ownership of land transferred to commune level. Produce divided on basis of 60% "free supply" or equal division of all goods among members, 40% by labor. Private plots and private markets eliminated. Labor reorganized to create work crews for large projects--water conservation (irrigation) or local industry. Accumulated funds at commune level used to support education, health care, etc. |
| 1960-65 | REORGANIZATION OF COMMUNES ("retreat") | Land ownership reverted to team level; produce divided at least 60% by labor, some by need. Private plots and markets reinstated. Commune remains important as unit within which to organize cooperation for larger projects (irrigation), support of rural industry, and purchase of major machinery (tractors). |
| 1965-80 | SEARCH FOR BEST BALANCE that will raise agricultural output while promoting egalitarian distribution in countryside and rural development | Urban youth sent-down to countryside to provide new skills; local rural industry encouraged (cement, electric power, farm machinery, fertilizers, iron and steel) as well as brick-making, canning, powdered milk, other small-scale enterprises. Proper balance between collective enterprise and private plots sought. Goal of raising level of ownership from team to brigade remains the ideal. As of December 1978, state will pay 20% more to communes for grain purchased under quota; |

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| | | 30% more for grain purchased over quota. Agricultural tax and quota of grain that must be sold to the state will be based on 1975 levies; prices on farm machinery, chemical fertilizers, and insecticides will be cut by 10-15% in 1979-80. Market price for food in cities will be kept stable to raise standard of living in rural areas without taxing urban dwellers. Drive for mechanization of all grain production by 1980 abandoned; targeted mechanization promoted instead. |
| 1981 | Responsibility System | The cultivation of land, for which the production team was responsible,is now subcontracted to a)groups of families, b)single families, or c) individuals depending on the circumstances of the particular team. (The richer the team, the larger the group given the subcontract.) The subcontractor is responsible for meeting a certain production quota and is paid accordingly for the work. Subcontractors are also well paid for overfulfilling the quota in an effort to raise agricultural output. Although the land is still owned in common, this new system has been called "the second land reform".<br>In addition, 15% of all team land is allocated for private plots and divided among individual households which are free to consume or sell the produce as they choose. Sideline production, such as raising of pigs and chickens, is also encouraged and private markets are open where peasants can sell this private production independently.<br>Emphasis is now placed on the diversification of agriculture to produce a more diversified diet. While this means a less exclusive emphasis on grain than in the past, there is still concern that grain production remain adequate to feed the vast population. |

*FEATURED RESOURCE*

## Economic Choices: China After Mao.

A very readable and useful resource, which examines free market and planned economic systems against China's effort to develop. It introduces economic concepts using slides and student readings, and includes background materials for the teachers. In addition, it introduces students to the use of statistics in understanding development.

## Rural Development in China

Explores the role of agriculture in developing countries with specific focus on China's post-1949 rural development, including a look at the commune, the concept of redistribution and responsibility system.

Both Available from:
SPICE
Stanford Program in Cross-Cultural Education,
Littlefield Center, Room 14
300 Lausen Street
Stanford University
Stanford, CA 94305-5013

Prices: Economic Choices After Mao, $21.95
43 pp., 30 slides

Rural Development in China, $11.95
75 pp.

*FEATURED RESOURCE*

# Opposing Viewpoints: China

**David L. Bender and Leone Bruno**

An excellent resource and addition to a library. Several chapters are devoted to the debates over Chinese economic development. The book develops critical thinking skills and enhances the ability to comprehend complex arguments.

Available from:
Greenhaven Press
P.O. Box 28900,
San Diego, CA 92128-9009

Price: $7.95

## *Section XI*

# Taiwan and Hong Kong

This brief section addresses two other territories considered to be part of China. The political issues surrounding the relationship with the mainland are different for Hong Kong and Taiwan, but both societies are in political and economic transition. Hong Kong will be reunified with the mainland when the lease to Great Britain runs out in 1997, but mainland China has agreed not to alter the economic system there for 50 years after reunification. In Taiwan's case, there is a long standing disagreement as to the legitimate government of China, with Taiwan arguing that the rightful government is the Guomindang (Nationalist Party) and the mainland government arguing that it is the Communist Party.

Both Hong Kong and Taiwan are East Asian newly industrialized countries (NICS), and are two of the "four little dragons." Singapore and South Korea are the other two. Recently, Taiwan and Hong Kong have also been discussed as possible alternatives to the communist economic system, especially Taiwan. Now that travel between the mainland and Taiwan has been re-established, indirect trade between the two countries is growing. Most often, Hong Kong is the third port that trade from Taiwan must go through before going into the mainland.

The unit on Taiwan is simply to provide short readings for an overview of Taiwan's history, economy, and culture. It was composed as a background for teachers but is suitable for advanced classes. The small unit on Hong Kong is included primarily as an introduction, with a couple of resource options if further inquiry is desired. The issue of Hong Kong after 1997 will become more important as the date draws near, but it is a complex issue that requires month-by-month update to be presented accurately.

NEW TERRITORIES
Kowloon
Victoria
HONG KONG IS

# CONTENTS

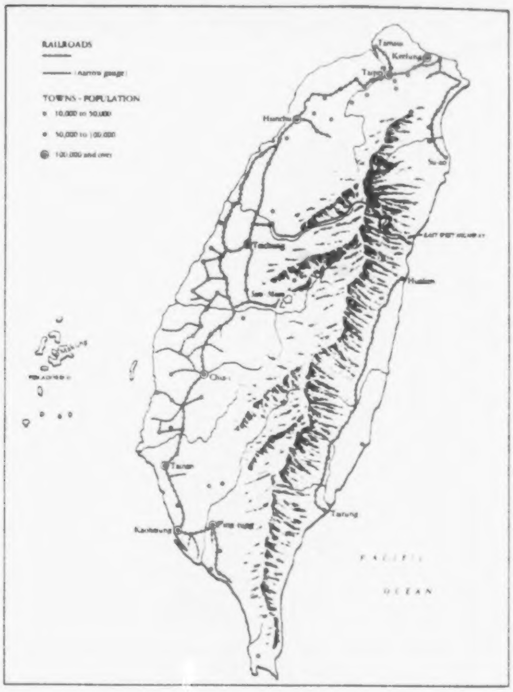
Unit 1: ***Taiwan***

- Introduction
- History
- Ethnic Groups
- Taiwanese Culture
- Economic Development
- Political Reform

Resource List

Unit 2: ***Hong Kong***

- Student Reading: "Hong Kong: Past, Present and Future"
- Recommended Resource



## *Unit 1*
# Taiwan

## Introduction

Taiwan is one of the "four little dragons", also known as the Newly Industrializing Countries (NICs) of East Asia, whose rapid post-war economic growth have been touted as models for other countries.

Taiwan is an island off the coast of southeastern China. The island is home to 20 million persons of Chinese descent and officially calls itself the Republic of China, or ROC. It has also been known as Formosa and "Free China" (in contrast to "Red China"). Like the United States, it was settled in the 17th and 18th centuries by immigrants who displaced the aborigines. Unlike the United States, however, it is not an independent country, though for 91 of the past 100 years it has been politically separated from the Chinese mainland. The governments of Taiwan, China, and the United States all agree the island is not an independent country but a province of China, though some Taiwanese would like the island to be independent. Since 1949, when Chiang Kai-shek's nationalist government retreated to the island from mainland China at the time of the Communist revolution, the Nationalist government on Taiwan has continued to insist it is the government of the Republic of China that encompasses Taiwan and the mainland. (Mainland China was renamed the People's Republic of China by the Communist Party in 1949, and the Communist Party considers Taiwan to be a province of the Peoples' Republic of China.) As the Republic of China, Taiwan was supported by the United States and regarded until 1979 as the official government of all China. Taiwan has played an important part in US foreign policy and is the United States' sixth largest trading partner.

### Teaching Options:

Growing business ties and continuing emigration from Taiwan to the US make it important that Americans learn more about Taiwan. The need for greater focus on Taiwan stands out, particularly in the context of the growing emphasis on teaching about world cultures. Taiwan's diplomatic isolation has added to American confusion about the island; many mistake Taiwan for Thailand, much as foreigners confuse Indiana, Iowa and Idaho.

Class discussion of the question of Taiwan's future international status (should Taiwan re-unite with China or be independent?) and the question of its national status (are the Taiwanese Chinese or not?) afford an excellent opportunity to explore the concepts of nationalism and ethnicity, using Taiwan as a case study.

The approaches suggested here are proposed for teachers who, although unable to devote an entire unit to the study of Taiwan, wish to include Taiwan in a unit on East Asia or China.

**Lesson Suggestion:** Advanced students might be asked to compare developments in Taiwan with those of the PRC on issues such as:

- social change and population growth rates
- economic development
- political evolution

Reports can be made to the class.

## History

### Early Settlement

The island was inhabited by aboriginal peoples who today still survive in remote mountainous areas. Chinese settlers began arriving in large numbers in the mid 17th century, when Koxinga, a loyalist to the deposed Ming dynasty, retreated to Taiwan hoping to regroup for a counter-attack against the new Manchu Qing (Ch'ing) dynasty. Upon landing on Taiwan, his armies fought and expelled the Dutch who had colonized the island for nearly 40 years, and for this Koxinga is a symbol of patriotism to this day. Koxinga's supporters, and the Chinese immigrants who followed, gradually took control over the more desirable land from the aborigines. By the mid-19th century, Taiwan had become much like other remote parts of the Chinese empire. Taiwan traded with the mainland, paid taxes to Beijing, and sent its successful imperial examination candidates to be magistrates in other parts of China.

### Japanese Colonization

In 1895, China's Qing (Ch'ing) government lost a war to the Japanese and ceded Taiwan and the Pescadore Islands at the Treaty of Shiminoseki. Some of the island's elite tried to prevent a Japanese take-over by declaring a Republic of Taiwan, but their effort quickly collapsed, as did the other local guerrilla actions of Chinese, against the invading armies. For 50 years, until the end of World War II, Taiwan was a colony of Japan.

After the end of World War II, Taiwan was returned to China, and the Nationalist government of China, led by the Nationalist Party or Guomindang (Kuomingtang-- KMT), assumed political control of the island. Because of poor discipline in the troops that came from the mainland to occupy Taiwan, and the feeling among some KMT troops that had just finished 8 years of war with Japan that Taiwan had collaborated with the Japanese, hostility rose quickly and exploded into riots on February 28, 1947, in an incident said to have started when soldiers beat a woman selling black market cigarettes. KMT troops from the mainland were dispatched to the island, and in the resulting terror, as many as 10 to 20 thousand civilians are said to have been killed. Cowed by this show of brutality, and by a large army and secret police, the population remained docile for a generation.

### Seat of National Government

In 1949, as Communist armies consolidated control over mainland China, Chiang Kai-shek--leader of the Nationalist armies fighting against the Communist armies led by Mao Zedong--retreated to Taiwan with his remaining KMT armies to prepare for a counter-offensive that has never occurred. On Taiwan, Chiang Kai-shek established an authoritarian regime, justifying one-party rule by arguing that the communists had to be defeated before full democracy could be achieved. But his government also promoted economic development, ultimately basing his political power on his ability to produce economic benefits.

### Taiwan, The Republic of China, Today

The Republic of China (ROC) government on Taiwan claims it is the legitimate representative of all of China, that it is in a state of war with "communist bandits" on the mainland, and that one day all China will be re-united under its rule. The US allowed the ROC to hold China's seat at the United Nations' security council until Nixon's historic visit to the mainland and the signing of the Shanghai Communique in 1972. Officially, the US recognized the ROC as the government of China (and thus stationed its ambassador to China in Taipei, the capital city on Taiwan), until in 1979 President Jimmy Carter recognized the People's Republic of China (PRC) with its capital in Beijing. In the seventies and eighties, more and more countries admitted the obvious, that China is ruled by the PRC government, and the ROC has found the number of countries with which it has diplomatic relations fall to under 30.

Both the ROC and PRC agree that Taiwan is a province of China; they disagree as to who is the legitimate government of all of China. Some Taiwanese, however, want independence for the island. But several factors make it difficult for Taiwan to become an independent nation. The ruling elite on Taiwan have been the "mainlanders," those who went to Taiwan in 1949 as refugees or soldiers from mainland China. Political and government leaders have come disproportionately from this group. The legislature is dominated by members elected in 1947 to represent mainland districts. In order to bolster the claim that the ROC is the government of all of China, these old representatives have been frozen in office and have never faced re-election. The legislators elected from Taiwan, though increasing in number, have been less than one third of the total. The claim that the ROC represents all of China has been essential in keeping power in the hands of the mainlander dominated KMT.

It is not certain that most people on Taiwan want independence, however. It was illegal to even discuss independence for Taiwan until about 1989, and there is little chance of independence in the near future since the PRC threatens to use force against Taiwan if the island declares independence. Though resentment at the harsh treatment by Chiang Kai-shek's Nationalist forces still lingers, the differences between mainlanders and "native Taiwanese" (those whose ancestors were already on Taiwan before WW II) have narrowed. Mainlanders, residing on Taiwan, who visit their "home villages" in China often realize that after 40 years Taiwan has become home. They return to Taiwan realizing they cannot live under the mainland's backward conditions. As government and politics become more democratic on Taiwan, the need to declare independence becomes less pressing.

## Ethnic Groups

Native Taiwanese, about 85 percent of Taiwan's total population of 20 million, are actually two different ethnic groups (if we exclude the aborigines). The Hokkien are the larger group, about 71 percent of Taiwan's population. They speak the same Southern Min language spoken in southern Fujian Province on the mainland, the area from which their ancestors emigrated. The Hakka came from northern Guangzhou (Canton) Province on the mainland, and since they arrived later than the Hokkien, they settled mostly in remote, hilly, and poor areas. Mainlanders who came after 1945 were from all parts of China, but spoke Mandarin Chinese as their common "National Language." Mandarin, Hokkien, and Hakka, though usually referred to as dialects of Chinese, are actually as different from each other as are English, German, and Russian.

| Han Chinese | | | Aborigines |
|---|---|---|---|
| Mainlanders<br>15% | Hokkien<br>71% | Hakka<br>13% | 1% |

Many advocates of Taiwan independence argue the Taiwanese are not Chinese. In this way they try to contradict arguments that say Taiwan must remain part of China because the Taiwanese are Chinese descended from Chinese. Emotions run strong on both sides, but the debate cannot be decided scientifically because ethnic groups are defined subjectively. For example, when do US immigrants become "American"? It is a gradual process, and their children may still at times call themselves "Italian" or "Chinese." Similarly, the people on Taiwan, even the "mainlanders," are different from people on the mainland, but they disagree as to whether they want to be "Taiwanese" or "Chinese" depending on what they consider to be their ethnic background, their ideal for Taiwan, and the context in which they find themselves.

## Taiwanese Culture

Taiwanese traditional culture was in most respects like the culture of southeastern China from which nearly all the immigrants came. Family was important, and homes and temples were built in the mainland style. Religion was also the same mixture of Taoism, Buddhism, and Confucian thought as in China, but the most popular goddess became Mazu who, as the protectress of fishermen, came to be the protectress of all those who made the dangerous journey from the mainland to Taiwan.

With economic development over the past 40 years, cultural change has been rapid. As more young families move to cities for work and leave grandparents on the farm, nuclear families become more common. Taiwan's high population density (1,432 persons per square mile in 1988, compared to 68 in the United States) has made population control a major government objective, and 1 and 2 child families have become the rule in place of the traditional goal of a large family.

By the 1980s, it was the rule that sons and daughters would both be educated to as high a level as possible, in contrast to the traditional concentration of family resources on educating sons only. Families gain prestige if sons or daughters go to college, but many people still worry that women with advanced degrees will have difficulty finding a husband since, many believe, the husband should have the same or a higher degree. The career woman is rare, as most women quit their job once they marry or become pregnant. Whereas mothers in mainland China hold daytime jobs, women in Taiwan usually try to avoid this. If women need to work, they will usually try to get a relative (ideally the mother-in-law or mother) to take care of their children.

## Economic Development

**Japanese Colonial Period (1895-1945)**: Shortly after the Japanese arrived, they began building roads and railroads, establishing agricultural research stations, and promoting modern agriculture, education, and public health.

**Wartime disruption (1937-50)**: World War II began with Japan's invasion of China in 1937. With the outbreak of war, heavy and military industry was built in Taiwan and Taiwanese were forced to assimilate and take Japanese names. US bombers struck Taiwan during the war because Japanese aircraft were flying from the island, and industrial targets were also destroyed. Civil war with the Communists in China and misrule on Taiwan continued the economic disruption until a wave of refugees retreated to Taiwan in 1949.

**Restoration and Import Substitution (1950-60)**: A new currency was introduced to stem ruinous inflation, and by 1953 or so production levels in agriculture began to reach pre-war levels. Government policies protected domestic industries from foreign competition and added tariffs to non-essential imports such as cigarettes, alcohol and automobiles. Exports of Taiwan's agricultural products helped pay for military supplies and for industrial imports needed to modernize.

**Export Promotion (1960-1971)**: With US government encouragement, Taiwan began to reorient its economy to encourage its industries to export. The 1960s were a time of improving conditions as industry expanded rapidly, producing labor-intensive products for the US market.

**Industrial upgrading (1971-present)**: As the cost of labor (wages paid to workers) began to rise, Taiwan began to emphasize the production of higher quality and more technically sophisticated goods to take advantage of its highly educated and well disciplined work force. Shoe, furniture, and clothes manufacturing have continued, but concentrate on higher quality products, and government programs now encourage investment and coordinate research in electronics and computers.

## Political Reform

The late 1980s saw Taiwan move towards greater democracy. These changes were part of the world-wide trend of democratization, but the road to more democracy began with reforms in the early 1970s.

Beginning with the US recognition of the PRC as China's representative to the United Nations in October 1971, the ROC began suffering a series of diplomatic setbacks that required domestic political reforms to build popular support. The ROC was a one party state. The ruling

KMT was much like communist parties in that it had a strong hierarchy that demanded obedience of subordinates, and had political commissars in the military and in government offices. All representatives in the legislature (known as the Legislative Yuan), the Control Yuan (a bureaucratic auditor of sorts) and the National Assembly (a kind of Electoral College but more powerful) had been elected in 1947 and frozen in office because new elections could not be held on the mainland after the 1949 communist takeover. The KMT continued to rule with the solid support of these representatives who did not face re-election.

In 1972, for the first time, additional representatives were elected from Taiwan, and more were elected in the 70s and 80s, but they always represented a small proportion of the elected bodies. Furthermore, because martial law was in effect (limiting civil liberties and political rights), opposition parties were illegal. Candidates could run against the KMT as individuals, but the ruling party had a great advantage in resources and organization.

In 1975, Chiang Kai-shek died. In 1978, the National Assembly selected as president Chiang's son, Chiang Ching-kuo, formally continuing what has been referred to as the Chiang dynasty. The late 1970s saw increasing pressure for democratization, with opposition candidates winning several elections and a flowering of opposition magazines calling for reform and political liberalization. This movement ended with a "conservative backlash," when the government convicted eight leading oppositionists of sedition and gave them long prison sentences. All were connected to Formosa Magazine and were held responsible as organizers of an International Human Rights Day demonstration on December 10th, 1979, when demonstrators clashed with police in what has come to be known as the Kaohsiung Incident.

In the mid-1980s, pressure for reform again came to the surface. In part to avoid the rioting and strikes that hit Korea, and a "People's Power" revolt as occurred in the Philippines, President Chiang Ching-kuo decided in early 1986 on a course of reform. In September 1986, the Democratic Progressive Party (DPP), Taiwan's first opposition party, was formed. Martial law was lifted in July 1987, ending prohibitions against assembly and trial by military court. In November 1987, a ban on travel to, and personal contacts with, the mainland was eased.

Chinag Ching-kuo died January 1988, and he was succeeded by Lee Teng-hui. Lee Teng-hui is the first native Taiwanese president of the Republic of China, and has continued Jiang's reforms. He was elected president in his own right in April 1990, and in June convened a National Affairs Conference to advise him on further constitutional reforms. All the old representatives will be forced to retire by the end of 1991 so that Taiwan's representative bodies will be more representative of the Taiwan people. Mayors of the major cities and the governor of Taiwan Province will be directly elected rather than appointed by the central government. Overall, Taiwan presents one of the more interesting and hopeful cases of democratization.

*Unit Consultant: Joseph Bosco, Associate Director*
*Taiwan Area Studies Program, East Asian Institute, Columbia Univ.*

Proper names in this section have been written in the form preferred on Taiwan. In pinyin, these names are rendered: Chiang Ching-kuo as Jiang Jingguo; Lee Teng-hui as Li Denghui; and Kuomintang as Guomindang

# *Resource List for Taiwan*

Teachers are encouraged to contact the nearest Coordination Council for North American Affairs (CCNAA), Taiwan's equivalent of an embassy/consulate, for further teaching material on Taiwan.

Offices are as follows:

1. CCNAA
Office in the U.S.
4201 Wisconsin Avenue, NW
Washington, DC 20016-2137
(202) 895-1800

2. CCNAA
Office in Atlanta
Suite 1290
1349 West Peachtree Street, NE
Atlanta, GA 30309

3. CCNAA
Office in Boston
99 Summer Street, Room 801
Boston, MA 02110
(617) 737-2050

4. CCNAA
Office in Chicago
20 North Clark Street, 19 floor
Chicago, IL 60602
(312) 372-1213 or 1214

5. CCNAA
Office in Honolulu
2746 Pali Highway
Honolulu, HI 96817
(808) 595-6347 or 6348

6. CCNAA
Office in Houston
Eleven Greenway Plaza, Suite 2006
Houston, TX 77046
(713) 626-7445 or 7446

7. CCNAA
Office in Kansas City, Missouri
Penntower Office Center
3100 Broadway, Suite 1001
Kansas City, MI 64111
(816) 531-1298 or 1299

8. CCNAA
Office in Los Angeles
3731 Wilshire Boulevard, Suite 700
Los Angeles, CA 90010
(213) 389-1215 or 1218

9. CCNAA
Office in Miami
2333 Ponce de Leon Boulevard, Suite 610
Coral Gables, FL 33134
(305) 443-8917

10. CCNAA
Office in New York
801 Second Avenue, 9th floor
New York, NY 10017
(212) 697-1250 or 1254

11. CCNAA
Office in San Francisco
555 Montgomery Street, Suite 501
San Francisco, CA 94111
(415) 362-7680 or 7681

12. CCNAA
Office in Seattle
Suite 2410, Westin Building
2001 Sixth Avenue
Seattle, WA 98121
(206) 441-4586

***Student Reading***

# Hong Kong: Past, Present, and Future

By John S. Major

In the early 19th century, England's unquenchable thirst for tea and China's unwillingness to buy significant quantities of English manufactured goods had led to a serious annual deficit in Britain's trade with China. Many British merchants concluded that they had no choice but to smuggle opium into Canton to pay for their purchases of tea (and silk, porcelain, and lacquer-ware). The opium trade grew rapidly, doubling and re-doubling in value every few years. The Chinese were alarmed, and even some British statesmen grew uneasy. Many merchants simply enjoyed the profits and left the morality to others; some probably would rather have traded woolen goods and machinery, but found no market for their products. The opium trade was illegal in China, but enforcement was lax and the lucrative trade continued to grow.

For decades, Chinese officials had enforced monopoly trade restrictions that limited Western trade to the port of Canton and to a cartel of Chinese merchants. Foreigners were treated as tribute-bearing "barbarians" rather than as representatives of modern mercantile states. The Chinese found the Europeans, who pressed for more liberal trade conditions, arrogant and aggressive; the Europeans found the Chinese, with their trade-stifling rules and their corrupt connivance in the opium trade, arrogant, unreasonable, and arbitrary. Both sides were probably partly right, but the Europeans had the guns.

By the 1830s, the key goals of British policy in China were to break the Chinese "Canton system" of restricted trade and to gain a trading station under direct British control on the China coast. An honest Chinese viceroy's attempt to enforce the anti-opium laws and put an end to British smuggling of the drug incited Britain to go to war in defense of their trade. The result was China's devastating and humiliating defeat in the Opium War of 1839–41. By 1842, England was in a position to dictate the terms of the Treaty of Nanking. One provision of that treaty ceded Hong Kong Island and the nearby Kowloon Peninsula, in the Canton Delta to Great Britain, as a Crown Colony in perpetuity.

The colony of Hong Kong must have seemed like a rough and forlorn place in 1842. A rocky mountaintop rising straight out of the sea, facing a rocky peninsula cut off from the mainland by a wall of cliffs, inhabited only by a few fishermen, Hong Kong's attractions were limited. But Hong Kong did have one of the world's finest—and most beautiful—deep water harbors. And best of all, Hong Kong was British soil, beyond the reach of the Mandarins and their regulations. Opium chests could safely be stored and passed to Chinese smugglers for shipment upriver; cargoes of tea could be processed, beyond the reach of Chinese tax collectors.

The new colony also had competition. The treaty of 1842 had broken Canton's monopoly on trade with the West, opening up four additional "treaty ports" that were partly under international control. One of the four, Shanghai, quickly became a boomtown. A small fishing, trading, and silk-processing city with strategic access to China's rich Yangzi River heartland, Shanghai by the 1850s became, and remained, the key city for foreign trade in all of China. For a century, Hong Kong labored in Shanghai's shadow.

Nevertheless, Hong Kong also grew in trade, population, and area. The gradual modernization of China's traditional economy slowly led to a market for British industrial goods, while foreign demand led to the industrialization of China's silk and porcelain production. Chinese workers flocked to the colony, preferring life under foreign rule to the poverty and uncertainty of Chinese life under a declining dynasty; the population of Hong Kong has always been overwhelmingly Chinese. The Treaty of Tientsin and the Convention of Peking (1858–60) added more territory to the Crown Colony. And in 1898 Britain and China signed a 99-year lease on the New Territories, broad agricultural lands beyond Kowloon's cliffs. The boundaries of Hong Kong today are those of 1898.

## The Present

It is hard for anyone who visits Hong Kong today to imagine the colony described by the few old-timers still left alive: a Hong Kong of gardens and cricket-lawns, of afternoon tea on the wide verandahs of low-rise hotels, of Anglican services and cook-boys and *amahs* (nurserymaids), of a rigid social hierarchy of race and class. But so it was, before the events of the 1940s changed that world forever.

From 1941 to 1945 the Japanese occupied Hong Kong, temporarily wresting it from the British Empire. British control resumed after the war, however, and with China in the chaos of civil war, the colony's economic and strategic importance began to loom large. With the estab-

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John S. Major is Director of The Asia Society's China Council.

lishment of the People's Republic of China in 1949, many nations, most notably the United States, refused to trade directly with the Chinese mainland. This shrinkage of direct world commerce brought Shanghai's eminence as an international port to an end, and Hong Kong took up the slack. Hong Kong merchants acted as middlemen for China's commerce, and Hong Kong banks handled a large portion of China's hard-currency transactions. At the same time, the rapid crumbling of the British Empire elsewhere gave Hong Kong new status as a jewel in England's crown.

Unwilling to risk war with the West by a military takeover of Hong Kong, and perceiving the advantages of a free port to handle part of China's foreign trade, the People's Republic, for all its militant nationalism, allowed the tiny British colony to remain on China's coast. Hong Kong was an anomaly. China was publicly committed to recovering not just Taiwan, but all of China's territory under foreign domination. But in Hong Kong, for many years after 1949, it was easy to believe that the new prosperity would never end, and that the Union Jack would wave over the Crown Colony forever.

Old Hong Kong disappeared. A seemingly endless construction binge began; landmark after landmark fell to the wrecker's ball, as land values could be reckoned by the square inch, and buildings had nowhere to go but up. Around 1950, and again in the 1960s, the colony's population swelled as waves of immigrants fled the establishment of communism, the Great Leap Forward, and the Cultural Revolution. The construction industry flourished still more, with huge high-rise housing projects to provide small but decent apartments for everyone. Hong Kong's Chinese majority had virtually no say in their own government, but they were hard-working, motivated, and upwardly mobile. Hong Kong became a major manufacturing center in its own right, producing textiles and garments, toys, watches, and small electronic goods. Shipping and port services remained a mainstay of the economy, increasingly supplemented by communications services and international banking. Hong Kong's stable business climate and low taxes lured both domestic and foreign investment. Tourism flourished, enhanced by the bargains of duty-free shopping. The population spread out into the New Territories and into the harbor itself on huge tracts of landfill.

Through all of this, the Chinese government made frequent loud noises about the evils of British imperialism on Chinese soil, but nothing was actually done about it. Upwards of 40 percent of China's international trade and 40 percent of China's hard-currency earnings passed through the colony. Hong Kong was too golden a goose to kill.

Worrying about the future was alien to the Hong Kong spirit. Investments paid for themselves in a few years; the future could take care of itself. So it was when, in 1982, an event that was totally predictable nevertheless produced a sudden and unpleasant shock.

The 99-year lease on the New Territories was due to expire on June 30, 1997. Many people assumed that the lease would be renewed. They saw no alternative: deprived of the New Territories and shrunken to a fraction of its former size, Hong Kong could not survive. Some hoped that the Chinese would be happy to let well enough alone and would invite the British to stay on indefinitely under the status quo. But nothing was, at that point, certain. In Hong Kong, mortgages and commercial leases customarily run for a period of 15 years, and there was the problem. After mid-1982, banks and brokers suddenly balked at writing new mortgages and leases, when no one could guarantee that they would be enforceable for their full 15-year term. The land boom suddenly collapsed. With confidence shaken and stock prices falling, some banks announced that they would, after all, extend some financial obligations beyond 1997. But clearly, a firmer vision of the long-term future was needed.

## The Future

As early as 1979, Sir Murray MacLehose, then Governor of Hong Kong, had discussed the issue with Chinese Vice Premier Deng Xiaoping in Beijing and was told that China firmly intended to resume sovereignty over Hong Kong at some point. In September 1982, Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher visited Beijing for talks with Premier Zhao Ziyang; the resulting communique made clear that the two sides were far apart in their views. Mrs. Thatcher held that the treaties creating the colony of Hong Kong were valid under international law; Premier Zhao made it clear that China did not recognize those treaties, and so China's resumption of sovereignty was only a question of when, and under what circumstances, but not negotiable in principle. This divergence of views set the stage for a two-year nightmare of uncertainty for Hong Kong.

During these two years of difficult negotiations, both Britain and China claimed to speak for the people of Hong Kong. Self-determination was never an issue, and it was clear that Hong Kong's residents would have to accept whatever arrangements were made on their behalf. By mid-1983, the Hong Kong dollar had plunged to a record low, and key individuals and corporations made plans to emigrate from the colony. But gradually the outlines of an agreement emerged. Britain yielded on the issue of sovereignty; China, for its part, announced its "one country, two systems" policy, an unprecedented arrangement whereby Hong Kong would become a Special Administrative Region (S.A.R.) of China, part of the Chinese nation but with its own social, economic, and legal system essentially intact and unchanged.

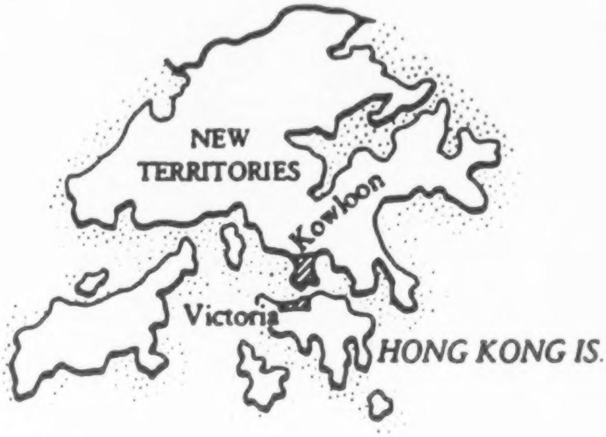
Under a Chinese-imposed deadline that an agreement be reached by September 1984, the negotiations proceeded at an accelerated pace. One by one, key issues — the transfer of lands from the British Crown to the authorities of the S.A.R., the protection of Hong Kong's international aviation agreements, the establishment of an independent judicial system under a Basic Law for the S.A.R. to be drafted by the government of the People's Republic, the stationing of Chinese troops in the S.A.R., but with no power to intervene in its internal affairs — were resolved. Hong Kong residents, at their request, could receive British travel documents and consular protection outside China. On September 26, 1984, a Joint Declaration of the Chinese and British governments, incorporating these and many other detailed provisions, was initialed by both sides.

The Joint Declaration was formally signed by Margaret Thatcher and Zhao Ziyang in Beijing on December 19, 1984, in a show of amity that contrasted strongly with the atmosphere of two years earlier. Now the hard work begins again: Can the agreement be made to work?

A Sino-British Joint Liaison Group is beginning to work on ensuring a smooth transition of power in 1997. Under the terms of the Joint Declaration, Hong Kong is to have special status for 50 years from that date; the British flag will be lowered, the Chinese flag will be raised; not much else should change. The British authorities in Hong Kong are beginning the task of building an effective local government of elected representatives to replace the present colonial regime. The main task, from the point of view of the Hong Kong authorities, is to build local confidence so as to prevent a flight of talent and capital between now and 1997, thus ensuring a viable Hong Kong S.A.R. in the future.

The stakes for the People's Republic of China are twofold. First, China also wants to preserve Hong Kong as an important international city under Chinese control. With China's recent economic reforms and the improvement of Chinese-American trade and political relations, Hong Kong's unique importance to China may decline somewhat; Shanghai, for example, may recapture some of its old importance in international trade. But ideally, Hong Kong's own strength as a port, manufacturing and banking center, and tourist destination will ensure its importance for decades to come. Second, China's international credibility rests to a very large extent on the faithful implementation of the Hong Kong agreement. China has also offered a "one country, two systems" S.A.R. arrangement to Taiwan, and that offer can only be credible if the Hong Kong agreement is carried out without a hitch. With so much riding on the Hong Kong agreement, there is widespread optimism that it will work.

The special arrangements for Hong Kong under the terms of the Joint Declaration run for 50 years, from 1997 to 2047. One can thus expect that in 2032, exactly 15 years before the expiration of the current agreement, a new round of discussions on the future of Hong Kong will have to begin. But no one wants to think about that now. There is too much to be done in the meantime.



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*FEATURED RESOURCE*

# Hong Kong and China: For Better or Worse

## By Frank Ching

After two years of painstaking negotiations, China and Britain issued a joint declaration in September 1984 on Hong Kong, outlining the territory's future in considerable detail.

In this first book-length study on the future of Hong Kong, Frank Ching, former Beijing correspondent for *The Wall Street Journal*, examines the negotiating process, the agreement, and the opportunities and pitfalls facing those responsible for the smooth transition of power. (The text of the joint declaration and annexes are included.)

The book has been well-received in this country and has been on the "bestsellers" list in Hong Kong. It has received glowing reviews. According to one reporter, the Hong Kong question is "an international suspense thriller that many people with their heads in the sand have chosen to ignore..." He recommends Ching's book as "...a highly informative, readable account and analysis of the Hong Kong dilemma..."

This "special" was published jointly by FPA and the China Council of the Asia Society.

*Reprinted from Foreign Policy Association Publications*

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Foreign Policy Association
729 Seventh Avenue
New York, NY 10019
(212) 764-4050

Price: $6.95 paperback

## *Section XII*
# Art

### *Teacher's Note:*

This section contains a variety of options for presenting Chinese art. Most generally, art is an excellent approach to history. A number of museums around the country now have permanent Chinese exhibits, and several have produced excellent curriculum packets that provide exciting ways to "bring the museum to the school" as part of a unit on China. All offer excellent material for exploring Chinese **Philosophy and Religion** and **Traditional History** (see these sections in the workbook):

* The Boston Museum of Fine Arts and the National Gallery of Art in Washington D.C. both distribute packets that provide an overview of Chinese art and its place in Chinese culture throughout history.

* The Seattle Art Museum and the Sackler Gallery of the Smithsonian in Washington D.C. have developed packets on the art of the Chinese literati (scholar-officials, poets, painters, calligraphers).

* The Sackler gallery also distributes a packet on Buddhist art.

Below we have included detailed information on these museum packets along with ordering information.

This section also contains reprints of museum brochures. The Bronze age is one of the great "ages" in China. Below is a reproduction of the teacher's guide and student's guide to an exhibit at the Metropolitan Museum of Art in New York City. It is included as a good overview of the Bronze Age in China, and is useful on its own or as an addition to a museum field trip. The Douglas Dillon Galleries brochure is also provided for the general background it provides on Chinese painting of the Chinese literati.

For schools in the New York area see the field trip option for two permanent exhibits at the Metropolitan Museum. Consult your local museum for details on collections or exhibits of Chinese art.

# CONTENTS

Featured Resource: ***Art of China: A Curriculum Packet for Teachers***

Featured Resource: ***The Chinese Past: 6,000 Years of Art and Culture***

Featured Resource: ***Out of the East Horizon: Chinese Art from the Seattle Art Museum***

Featured Resource: ***Sackler/Smithsonian***

Teacher's Background: "*Teacher's Guide to the Great Bronze Age of China*"

Student Reading: "*The Great Bronze Age of China*"

Teacher Background: "*Chinese Painting in the Douglas Dillon Galleries*"

Featured Resource: ***Metropolitan Museum of Art Permanent Exhibits***

Resource List

*FEATURED RESOURCE*

# Art of China: A Curriculum for Teachers

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迎

**Introduction to the Collection of Art from China**

**Asian Timeline**

**Map of Asia**

**Activity I**
  *T'ao-t'ieh*: A Motif of the Bronze Age

**Activity II**
  *Ming-ch'i*: Spirit Vessels

**Activity III**
  Chinese Paintings and Poetry

**Postcard Projects**

**Resources for Teachers**
  Bibliography
  Museums and Agencies
  Suppliers of Books, Maps, Teaching Materials, Slides

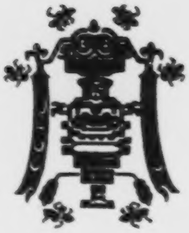
**Gallery Notes**
  *Introduction to Asian Art*
  *Daily Life in the Art of China: Activities for Young People*
  *Chinese Ceramics*
  *Images from Caves & Tombs: Chinese Sculpture*
  *Symbols of Eternity: Chinese Landscape Painting*

Available from:

Museum of Fine Arts, Boston
Department of Education
465 Huntington Ave.
Boston, MA 02115

Price: $17.50

*FEATURED RESOURCE*



# The Chinese Past: 6,000 Years of Art and Culture

This excellent slide/tape program, based on the Exhibit of the Archaeological Finds of the People's Republic of China that toured the US in 1975, presents art objects from the Neolithic Period through the Yuan Dynasty, 14th century A.D. It is available for loan, free-of-charge, from BOCES media centers or from the National Gallery of Art.

The complete program includes an excellent map and an outline of Chinese dynasties with representative art objects.

Available from:

Department of Extension Programs
National Gallery of Art
Washington, DC 20565

Price: Loaned for the cost of return postage only

*FEATURED RESOURCE*

# Out of the East Horizon: Chinese Art from the Seattle Art Museum

*Out of the East Horizon: Chinese Art from the Seattle Art Museum* focuses on the world of the Chinese scholar. The unit includes 16 slides, a cassette tape of Chinese music, handouts on calligraphy and ink painting, and a booklet with 13 lesson plans for teaching about Chinese art along with literature, history, and philosophy.

Available from:

Services for Schools
Seattle Art Museum
Volunteer Park
1400 East Prospect
Seattle, WA 98112-3303

Price: $25.00

*FEATURED RESOURCE*

# THE EDUCATION AND LIFESTYLE OF THE CHINESE LITERATI

*A Curriculum Packet with Slides*

*and*

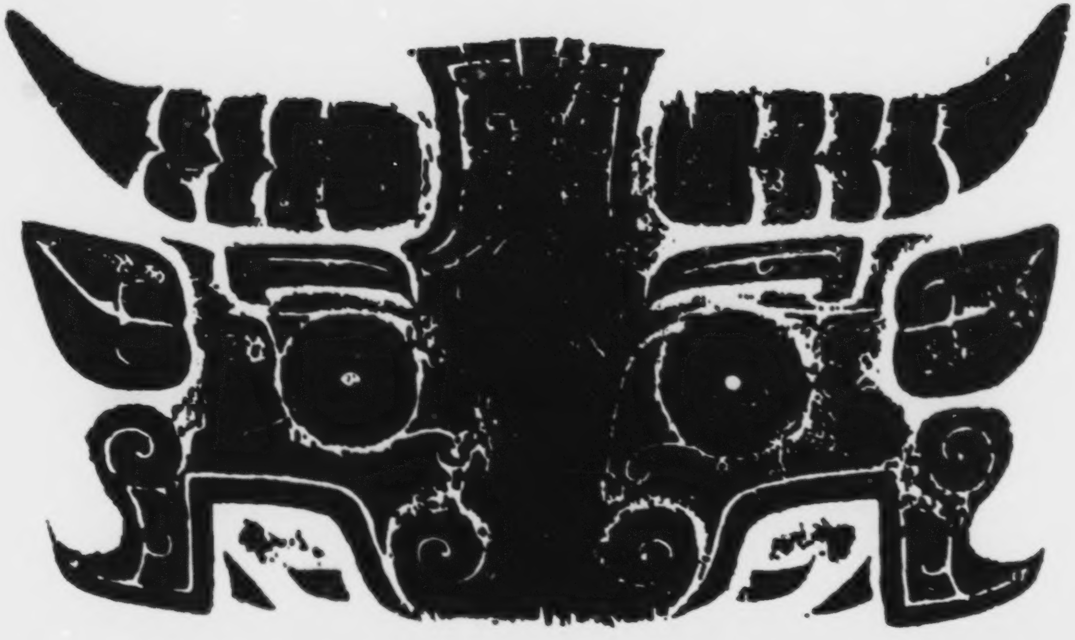
# THE NOBLE PATH: BUDDHIST ART OF TIBET AND SOUTH ASIA

*A Curriculum Packet*

New Resource available from:

The Education Department
Arthur M. Sackler Gallery
Smithsonian Institution
Washington, D.C. 20565

Price: Inquire



# A Teacher's Guide to The Great Bronze Age of China:

*An exhibition from the People's Republic of China*

*The exhibition was made possible by grants from*
*The Coca-Cola Company; the National Endowment for the Humanities,*
*Washington, D.C., a federal agency;*
*and The Robert Wood Johnson Jr. Charitable Trust.*

*Under the Arts and Artifacts Indemnity Act, indemnity was granted by*
*the Federal Council on the Arts and Humanities.*

## The Bronze Age

The Bronze Age was the time when men learned how to mine and smelt copper and tin, to make bronze weapons and tools. These activities required an organized labor force and skilled craftsmen. In neolithic times (before the Bronze Age), people had made tools out of stone and hunted and gathered their food. However, in the Bronze Age, people learned how to farm and produce enough extra food to feed other workers like miners, bronzesmiths, weavers, potters and builders who lived in towns and to feed the ruling class who organized and led society.

The Chinese Bronze Age had begun by 1700 B.C. in the kingdom of the Shang dynasty along the banks of the Yellow River in Northern China. At times the Shang kings ruled even larger areas. (The map in the grey pamphlet shows how widespread the Shang sites are.)

Contrary to common notions about the Chinese, the Bronze Age Chinese did not drink tea or eat rice. Both these commodities came from the south and were not popular in the rest of China until hundreds of years later. Instead the ordinary people consumed cereals, breads and cakes of millet and barley and drank beer. Members of the royal court could afford to vary their diet with meat and wine.

The Shang kings spent most of their time riding forth from their walled cities with their nobles and knights to hunt and fight wars. The farmers were peasants who belonged to the land and were supervised by vassals of the king. In many ways society in Bronze Age China resembles society in Medieval Europe. In the centuries after the Zhou dynasty (11th century B.C. to 221 B.C.) conquered the Shang kings, the lords and barons seized more and more power and became more and more independent.

However the Bronze Age Chinese held extraordinarily different ideas about kingship and religion from Medieval Europe. They believed the king's right to rule was based on his good relations with the spirits of his ancestors who controlled the destiny of the domain. The king continually posed questions to his ancestors about policy. He did this by instructing his scribe to write the question on an "oracle bone"; that is an animal shoulder blade or breast bone of a turtle. A priest then held a hot rod to the bone until it cracked and interpreted the pattern of the cracks for the answer.

It was also the king's duty to please the great forces of nature—the sun and rain gods, who controlled the outcome of the harvest. So that these gods and his ancestor spirits would look favorably on his kingdom, the king made regular sacrifices of wine and cereals which were placed in elaborate bronze vessels and heated over the fires on the temple altar. During the Shang dynasty bronze vessels were the symbol of royalty, just as the gold crown became the symbol of royalty in Europe. (Paragraphs 3, 4, 5, and 6 in the grey pamphlet describe the use and history of the bronzes.)

At times the Shang kings made animal and human sacrifices as well; and when the king and powerful members of the royal court died, it was not unusual that their wives, servants, bodyguards, horses and dogs were killed and buried with them. During the Zhou Dynasty, people gradually turned away from this custom and substituted clay figures for real people and animals.

## The Importance of Archaeology

Until less than a hundred years ago the Shang Dynasty was only legend. In 1898, a few oracle bones were found accidently. Two scholars recognized that the scratches on the bones were an ancient form of Chinese writing and managed to decipher the inscriptions. In 1928 the first scientific excavations of an ancient Chinese site began at Anyang, the last capital of the Shang dynasty. Within the beaten earth walls of the city archaeologists uncovered hundreds of oracle bones. In the tombs of kings and nobles they found magnificent bronzes, fine grey pottery, marble figures of animals and jade carvings. What has not survived and what must be filled in with the imagination are the colorfully painted wooden palaces and temples, the royal gardens, royal zoo, the silk robes, flags and trappings of the court, the earth and thatch huts of the townspeople and peasants and their rough clothes made of hemp and leather.

## Treasures from the Bronze Age of China

Most of the 105 objects in the exhibition have been excavated in China in the last 25 years. Besides the bronzes, there are jade pieces and one iron object, a belt buckle. (Iron did not appear in China until the 5th century B.C.)

At the entrance to the exhibition is a wine cup made in the 17th century B.C. which is one of the earliest known Chinese bronze vessels. At the far end of the first gallery is an alcove where seven jade carvings and six bronzes belonging to Fu Hao are displayed. Her tomb excavated at Anyang in 1976 is the only intact undisturbed royal tomb to be discovered to date. From inscriptions on the nearly 200 bronzes packed in the tomb archaeologists identified the occupant as Fu Hao. Dozens of oracle bone inscriptions found at Anyang refer to Fu Hao's many activities. She was a wife of a Shang king who not only bore him children but also led his armies in battle and represented him at state ceremonies.

Within her small rectangular tomb 26 feet deep were remains of,her lacquered wood coffin set inside a larger wooden container, 16 sacrificial victims and 6 dogs. There were also over 200 bronze weapons and tools, 600 small sculptures and ritual objects of jade and stone, ivory cups inlaid with turquoise, several bronze mirrors, 500 carved bone objects and about 7,000 cowrie shells which were used for money.

In 1974, farmers sinking a well made an even more extraordinary discovery. Close by the tomb of China's first emperor, the ruler of Qin, they happened upon an underground chamber which lead to the discovery of some 7,000 life-sized terracotta warriors, charioteers and cavalrymen. (Eight of these figures are in the exhibition. Look at the cover of the grey pamphlet which shows a striding infantryman and the postcards of the kneeling archer and the calvaryman. Their costumes, the armor made of pieces of bronze and leather and their military gear are shown in exact detail.) The Qin emperor had led an exceedingly active life (read paragraph 10 in the pamphlet). The pits were situated to the east of the emperor's tomb, the direction from which his enemies would attack.

## The Bronze Vessels

The first long gallery of the exhibition contains Shang ritual bronze containers, two bronze axes, an enormous bell and a bronze drum. The three and four-legged cauldrons and cups were designed to heat wines and cereals. The handles and the capped posts on the rims may have been used to lift the vessels from the fire. Bowls, vases and jars held additional wine and cereal. It is not known exactly how any of these containers were used, since Shang ceremonies remain a mystery.

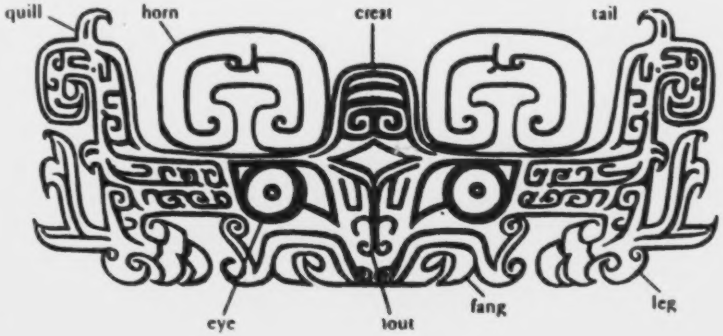
Many of the bronzes are amazingly heavy, suggesting a high level of technology. The four Shang bronzes on the postcards weigh as follows: the rectangular food cauldron, 181 lbs.; the square wine vessel with rams, 75 lbs.; the elephant,6 lbs.; and the covered wine vessel, about 23 lbs.

The designs on the bronzes are fascinating. Shang artists were obviously obsessed with real and imaginary animal forms. Use a magnifying glass to study the four bronzes on the postcards. In addition to the elephant (not native to northern China and probably brought from the south for the royal zoo) and the rams, find the birds, dragons and animal masks called *taotie*. In the exhibition even more animal forms can be found: owls, tigers, bulls, snakes and rhinoceros. The background for the beasts is a series of spiral patterns. The silhouettes of some vessels bristle with fin-like flanges.

Often one animal form flows into another animal form as they do in the animal mask. The masks facing the viewer can also be seen as dragons in profile looking at each other.

At the end of the Shang gallery a turn to the left leads into the Zhou and Han Dynasty (206 B.C. to 220 A.D.) gallery. Although the spiral patterns, the taotie masks, and dragon designs resemble Shang bronzes, later Zhou bronzes display patterns that are more open and flowing, the animals are less abstract, and the vessels are made in new shapes. Look at the rhinoceros poster, the postcards of the Zhou wine vessel, the Han incense burner, the bull and tiger ritual object. The Han lamp in the form of a servant girl holding a candle stand is one of the first clearly represented human figures in Chinese art. A close inspection of the 5th century B.C. bronze wine vessel nearby (#91 in the exhibition) reveals lively inlaid figures dancing, playing musical instruments and battling on land and water. They are among the earliest known attempts by the Chinese to show pictures of people.

Only one of the bronzes (#46 in the exhibition) has survived uncorroded. New bronze being largely copper is shiny like a copper penny only slightly more yellow. When bronze has been buried a long time, it reacts to the minerals in the ground. The exact way it reacts depends upon the amounts of copper, tin and lead in its composition. As a result the surface colors called patinas are variations of greens, blue-green, blackish green, reds, rusts, and blackish browns.



## Bronze Casting

Study paragraph 7 and 8 and the diagram of the section mold technique in the grey pamphlet. In the exhibition between the Shang and Zhou galleries there is a step by step display of the section-mold technique of casting. The surfaces of later Zhou and Han bronzes were often patterned with inlays of gold, silver or turquoise.

## Jade Carving

Jade is so hard that it cannot even be cut by steel. It is not actually carved, but is shaped by wearing away the surface of the jade with harder stones such as quartz sand, or crushed garnets. In such a way, very slowly, the jade is formed and smoothed. Jade was not indigenous to China but had to be carried great distances from Central Asia or Siberia. No wonder the ancient Chinese highly valued jade and thought it had magical properties.

## The Terracotta Warriors

Each figure in the Qin emperor's army was made by a combination of molds and individual modeling. The legs are solid. The torsos are hollow, built up from coils of clay. After the surface was finished in great detail with a finer clay, the figure was fired. The heads and hands were made and fired separately, and later attached with clay strips. Finally each figure was painted realistically and fitted with actual weapons and gear.

## Pronunciation of Chinese Words

Shang = shah + ng
rhymes w/ long
Zhou = joe
Qin = chin
Han = hahn
taotie = tow-teah
Fu Hao = foo how

Prepared by Edith Watts, Junior Museum
The Metropolitan Museum of Art

Design by Sue Koch

*Funded by WBLS and The Coca Cola Bottling Co. of New York*

# The Great Bronze Age of China:

## *An exhibition from the People's Republic of China*

*The exhibition was made possible by grants from*
*The Coca Cola Company, the National Endowment for the Humanities, Washington, D.C., a federal agency;*
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*Under the Arts and Artifacts Indemnity Act, indemnity was granted by the Federal Council on the Arts and Humanities.*

From the first simple wine cup—one of the earliest Chinese bronze vessels yet known—to the extraordinary life-size terracotta figures buried with the First Emperor of Qin, this exhibition features discoveries that have fundamentally changed our knowledge of ancient Chinese history and art.

At about the same time that Stonehenge was rising in England and Abraham was framing the principles of Judaism in the Middle East, a Bronze Age culture was developing in China that in many respects was seldom equaled and never surpassed. This development seems to have occurred early in the first half of the second millennium B.C. in the fertile Central Plains of the Yellow River valley (see map). For thousands of years this area had sustained Neolithic cultures of increasing complexity, which ultimately culminated in the first Chinese civilization. By the time of the Bronze Age this culture was characterized by a strong centralized government, urban communities with stratified social classes, palatial architecture, a distinctive system of writing, elaborate religious rituals, sophisticated art forms, and bronze metallurgy.

Unlike other cultures, where bronze was first used chiefly for tools and weapons, in China this alloy of copper and tin was reserved for the manufacture of majestic vessels that played central roles in state ritual and ancestor worship for over 1,000 years, even after the official beginnings of the Iron Age in the fifth century B.C. Representing the wealth and power of the rulers, these ritual utensils show the highest degree of technical and artistic accomplishment in early Chinese civilization.

The legend of the founding of China's first dynasty demonstrates the importance of bronze to the ancient Chinese: after King Yu of the Xia brought the primordial floods under control, about 2200 B.C., he divided his land into nine provinces, and had nine *ding* (food cauldrons) cast to represent them. When the Xia dynasty fell, the "nine *ding*," also called the "Auspicious Bronzes of the State," passed to the Shang dynasty, and, in turn, to the Zhou when they conquered the Shang. Possession of bronze vessels thus became a symbol for the holding of power and prestige. Rulers used bronze cauldrons, cups, drinking vessels, and other containers to present offerings of food and wine to royal ancestors and deities. In this way they reaffirmed their hereditary rights to power and attempted to persuade the ancestors to influence events favorably.

During Shang times wine played a major part in such ritual observances, and containers for wine therefore far outnumber other types. The Shang were criticized for excessive wine drinking by their conquerors, the Zhou, who felt that such overindulgence had offended Heaven and given the Zhou the right to usurp Shang power. Safeguarding their own dynasty, the Zhou produced fewer wine vessels and replaced the favorite Shang shapes with new types of cooking and storage vessels.

After the Shang period, ritual vessels became more important as expressions of personal prestige than as vehicles for pious offerings. This is evident from the changing content of bronze inscriptions. Cast into the surface of a vessel, these inscriptions first appeared during the late Shang dynasty as a terse identification of the vessel's owner or of the ancestor to whom it was dedicated. During the Western Zhou period inscriptions became increasingly common and lengthier, extolling the achievements of the owner and expressing the poignant wish that the piece might not only honor his forebears, but also recall his own merits to his descendants "for generations without end." By the end of the Bronze Age, the vessels became worldly status symbols, more important in celebrations of the living than in rituals for the dead. Inscriptions all but disappeared, replaced by rich surfaces inlaid with gold, silver, and precious stones.

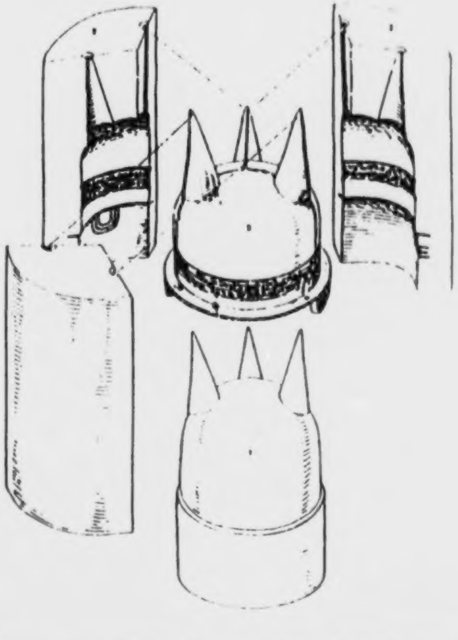
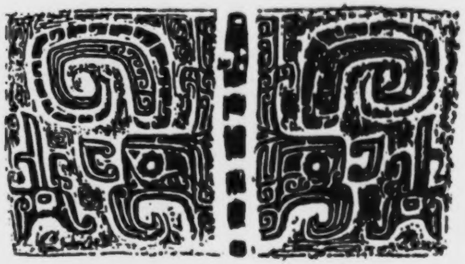


Diagram of food cauldron no. 4 showing the section-mold method of casting: (1) the model or core, (2) the mold sections, (3) the completed vessel

In ancient China, bronze vessels were cast by an indigenous process that employed a mold made of sections (see diagram). After fashioning a clay model of the object, the founder packed it with another layer of clay that was allowed to dry, cut into sections, pried off, and fired. The model was then shaved down to become the core of the mold, the sections assembled around it, and the molten metal poured between the two. Once the bronze had cooled, the mold was removed and the surface of the vessel burnished smooth.

The decoration of early Chinese bronzes was executed directly into the mold or model and cast into the bronze, not worked into the cold metal afterward. Undoubtedly the section-mold casting method influenced the nature of decorative designs: Shang decor is distinguished by symmetry, frontality, and incised ornament, usually arranged in horizontal bands that complement the vessel contours. The most frequently encountered decoration in the Shang period is a frontal animal mask (see illustration). During the Western Zhou period zoomorphic forms become more and more abstract, as the Shang motifs dissolve into linear elaboration. A new vocabulary of wave and interlace patterns based on serpentine shapes evolves during the Eastern Zhou era, and these, along with purely geometric patterns, cover the vessels in overall designs. At the same time, handles become sculptural, depicting tigers, dragons, and other beasts in poses that emphasize the swells and curves of the body's musculature.



Detail of rectangular food cauldron (*fang ding*) no. 12. Shang dynasty, 12th century B.C. From Tomb No. 5, Anyang, Henan Province. Institute of Archaeology, Beijing

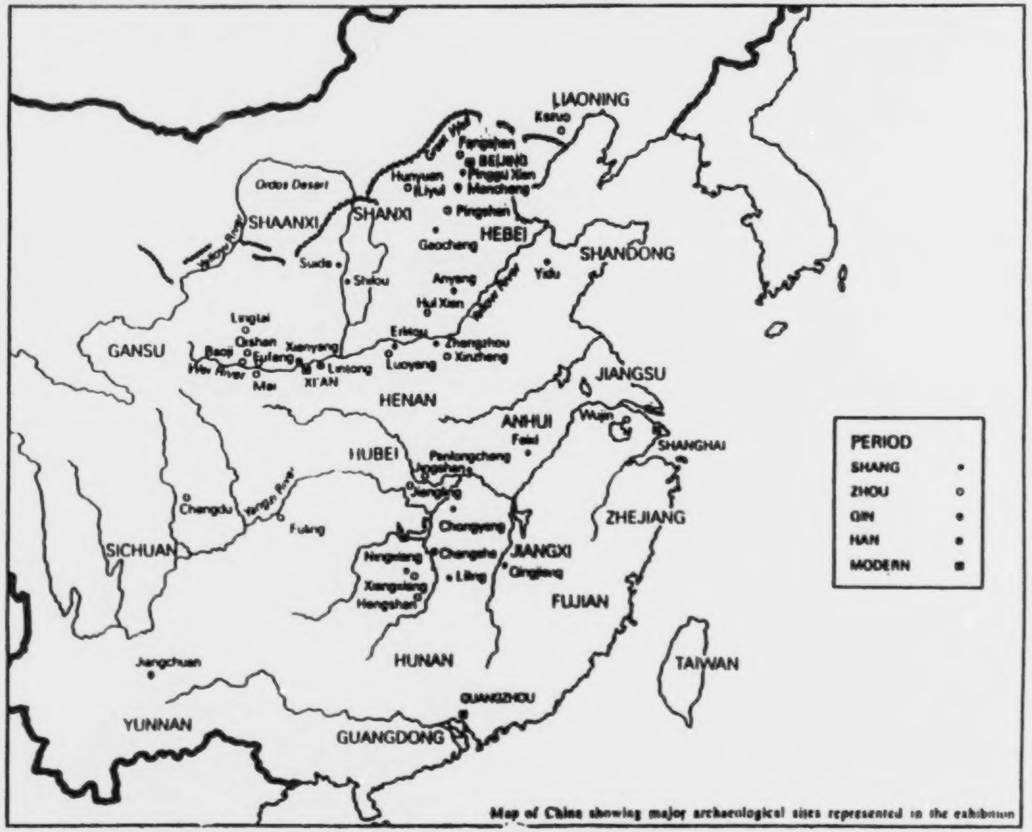
We owe the preservation of these ancient bronzes to their burial, either in storage pits, where they were hastily hidden by fleeing members of a defeated elite house, or, more commonly, in tombs. During the Shang dynasty, members of the royalty were accompanied in the afterlife by their bronzes, ceramics, weapons, amulets, and ornaments, and even the human and animal entourage that surrounded them in life: servants, bodyguard, horses, chariots, and charioteers. During the Zhou and Han periods sumptuous burials continued, but human sacrifice was rarely practiced, although the custom was preserved by the substitution of figurines of wood or clay intended to resemble the retinue of the deceased.

Perhaps the most startling examples of this practice are the more than 7,000 life-size terracotta warriors and horses made to accompany the First Emperor of Qin to his grave about 210 B.C. Just eleven years before his death the Qin ruler had united all of China under his leadership. Defeating and absorbing a series of rival states, he brought an end to centuries of disorder and laid the foundations for the unified empires of later Chinese history. Vast labors, such as the 1,500-mile-long Great Wall, rapidly exhausted the new state's resources, however, and Qin rule collapsed shortly after the First Emperor's death. Not the least of his prodigious undertakings was the construction of his own mausoleum, a task employing some 700,000 laborers. In 1974, farmers sinking wells came upon evidence that led to the discovery of an entire army of clay figures buried to the east of the First Emperor's tomb site as an eternal sentinel. The spectacle of this imperial bodyguard emerging from the earth is awesome beyond imagination. Individually modeled with great attention to facial features, details of dress, armor, and coiffure, they bring to life the Chinese people who created the works of art in this exhibition, and suggest the untold riches that still await the archaeologist in Chinese soil.

On the cover: Striding infantryman no. 98. Qin dynasty, 221–210 B.C. Excavated 1976–77 from Trench 5, Pit No. 2, Lintong, Shaanxi Province. Shaanxi Provincial Museum

## Chronology of Bronze Age China

| | |
|---|---|
| **Xia dynasty** | 21st century – 16th century B.C. |
| **Period of Erlitou culture** | 19th century – 16th century B.C. |
| **Shang dynasty** | 16th century – 11th century B.C. |
| **Period of Erligang culture (Zhengzhou phase)** | 16th century – 14th century B.C. |
| **Period of Yinxu culture (Anyang phase)** | 13th century – 11th century B.C. |
| **Zhou dynasty** | 11th century – 256 B.C. |
| **Western Zhou** | 11th century – 771 B.C. |
| **Eastern Zhou** | 770 – 256 B.C. |
| ***Spring and Autumn period*** | 770 – 476 B.C. |
| ***Warring States period*** | 475 – 221 B.C. |
| **Qin dynasty** | 221 – 206 B.C. |
| **Han dynasty** | 206 B.C. – A.D. 220 |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Kazuo
Fangshan
BEIJING
Pinggu Xian
Huayuan
(Liyu)
Mancheng
Pingshan
Ordos Desert
SHAANXI
SHANXI
Yellow River
Great Wall
HEBEI
Gaocheng
SHANDONG
Yidu
Suide
Shilou
Anyang
Hui Xian
Lingtai
Qishan
Xianyang
GANSU
Baoji
Fufeng
Wei River
Mei
Lintong
XI'AN
Erlitou
Zhengzhou
Xinzheng
Luoyang
HENAN
JIANGSU
ANHUI
Feixi
Wujin
SHANGHAI
HUBEI
Panlongcheng
Jingshan
Jiangling
Chengdu
Yangzi River
Fuling
Chongyang
ZHEJIANG
SICHUAN
Ningxiang
Changsha
JIANGXI
Qingjiang
Liling
Xiangxiang
Hengshan
FUJIAN
Jiangchuan
HUNAN
TAIWAN
GUANGZHOU
YUNNAN
GUANGDONG
PERIOD
SHANG ●
ZHOU ○
QIN ●
HAN ●
MODERN ■

Map of China showing major archaeological sites represented in the exhibition

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# *TEACHER BACKGROUND*

The DOUGLAS DILLON
GALLERIES of
CHINESE PAINTING

DESIGN: NANC GORDON

The Metropoli

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# THE DOUGLAS DILLON GALLERIES

Together with the Astor Court,* the Douglas Dillon Galleries, devoted to Chinese arts of the past millennium, represent the first phase in the permanent reinstallation of the Metropolitan Museum's collections of Far Eastern art. Galleries for the exhibition of the arts of Japan, ancient China, Korea, India, and Southeast Asia are being planned.

Situated on the second floor of the Museum's north wing, the Dillon Galleries, which surround the Astor Chinese garden court and Ming furniture room on the south, east, and west, display mainly Chinese paintings of the Sung (960–1279), Yüan (1279–1368), Ming (1368–1644), and Ch'ing (1644–1911) dynasties. The Metropolitan's collection of Chinese paintings, one of the most comprehensive of its kind in the West, will be shown in these galleries on a rotating basis, along with important loans to the Museum. From time to time, special exhibitions presenting individual private collections or treating a particular theme will be installed.

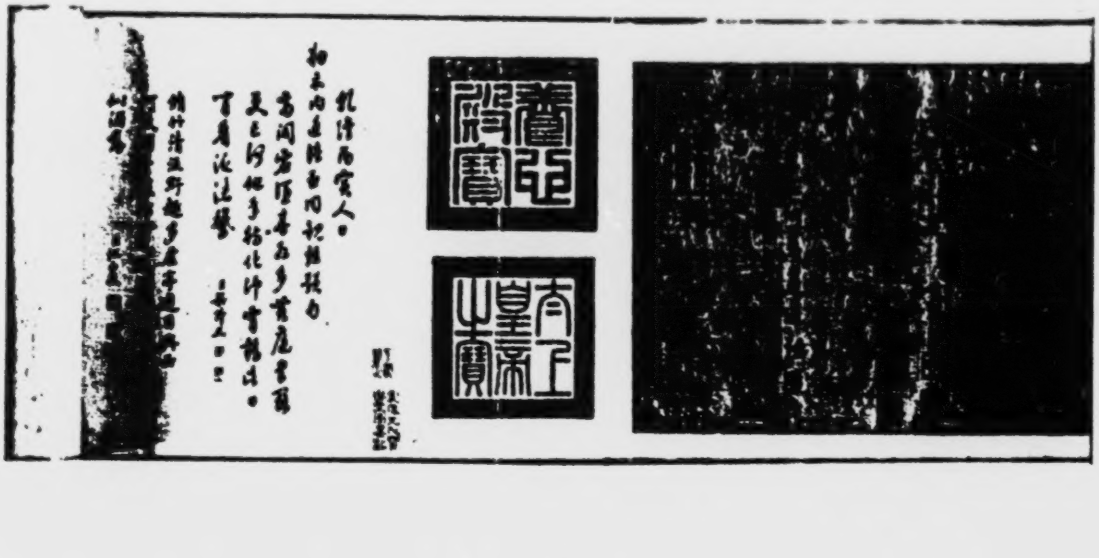
To suggest broader artistic contexts, selected sculptures and objects of comparable periods are shown with the paintings. On view in the Ch'ing gallery, for example, are later Chinese jades from the Heber R. Bishop Collection, which was donated to the Museum in 1902.

By the eleventh century, scholar-officials had replaced China's hereditary aristocracy as the dominant force in government and culture. The scholar-official's favorite pastimes—poetry, calligraphy, and painting—became the principal forms of artistic expression. While narrative and historical paintings serving didactic and religious purposes played an important role in earlier pictorial traditions, landscapes and flower paintings predominated from the Sung dynasty on. As scholars turned increasingly to the cultivation and expression of the inner self, painting, calligraphy, and poetry functioned together in single works of self-expression in scholar painting of the Yüan and later periods.

Chinese calligraphy and painting, an infinitely rich and subtle field, can be better appreciated with an understanding of its various artistic formats:

## THE HANDSCROLL

The handscroll—so called because it is unrolled by hand horizontally—is unique to the



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*See Alfreda Murck and Wen Fong, "A Chinese Garden Court: The Astor Court at The Metropolitan Museum of Art," *The Metropolitan Museum of Art Bulletin*, Winter 1980/81.

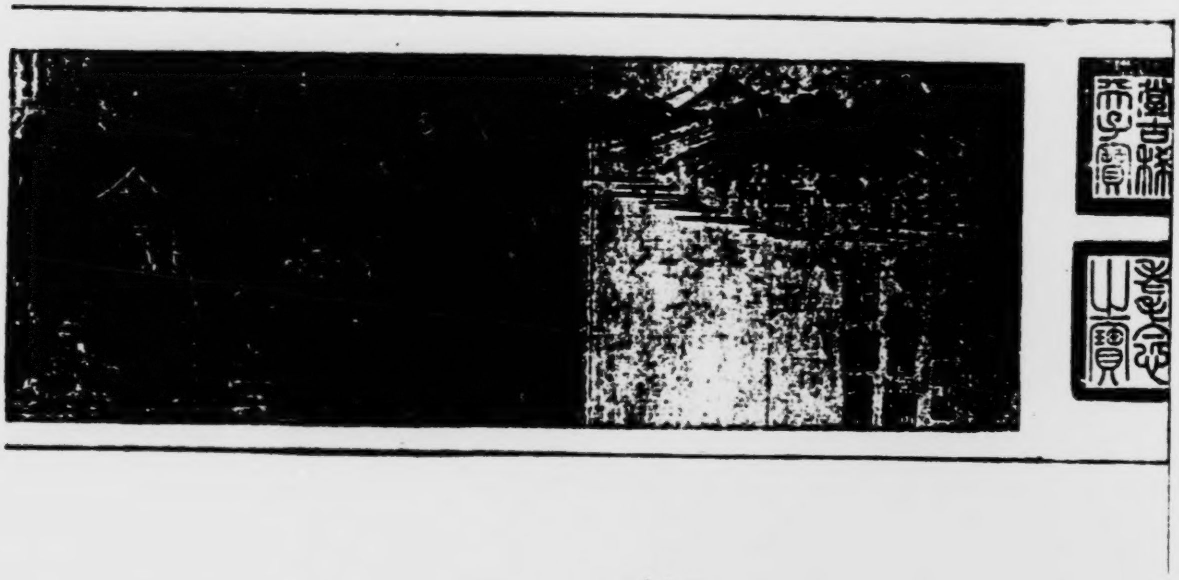
Orient. Normally, it is unrolled from right to left and viewed only one section at a time (one end of the scroll is rolled up as the other end is unrolled). By manipulating the two ends of the scroll simultaneously, the viewer is free to move back and forth in the composition. By its very nature, therefore, the handscroll is an intimate art form to be read or perused by one or two persons at a time.

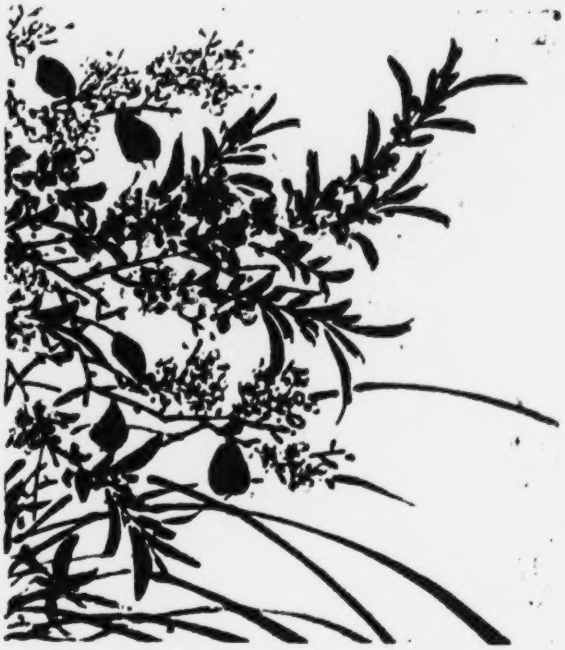
The ancient Chinese wrote on narrow strips of bamboo or wood that they tied together in rolled bundles. Later, silk or paper rolls were developed for inscribing long texts or Buddhist sutras and for representing friezelike narrative or landscape illustrations. In landscape depictions, the composition may trace the course of a journey over time, or represent tours of an actual garden or city.

A typical handscroll, as represented by Ch'ien Hsüan's ***Wang Hsi-chih Watching Geese*** (see illustration), is mounted with a frontispiece at its right—the beginning of the handscroll; sheets of colophons at its left provide a record of appreciative comments from generations of admirers. In this handscroll, the frontispiece, written by the Ch'ien-lung emperor (reigned 1736–95), reads: "A moment of quiet exhilaration at Shan-yin [where Wang Hsi-chih lived]"; fifty-two colophons by the emperor's courtiers and by later connoisseurs follow the painting.

## THE HANGING SCROLL

Since the Sung dynasty, vertical hanging scrolls such as T'ang Yin's *Moon Goddess Ch'ang O* (see illustration) have become the principal form of wall decoration in Chinese domestic architecture. Derived from wall paintings, banners, and screen paintings, hanging scrolls are executed on either silk





(occasionally satin) or paper, then mounted with a backing of layers of paper. Borders of plain or figured silk are added to frame and protect the picture. Additional pieces of silk of different but harmonious colors and patterns may be placed above and below the border to lengthen the proportions of the scroll according to the scale of its surroundings. The scroll is hung by a cord attached to a thin stave at the top of the mounting. Two narrow vertical strips of fabric, often pasted on the uppermost section of the mounting, are vestiges of ornamental ribbons that once hung freely from early banners. The bottom of the scroll is affixed to a roller with protruding knobs, which are usually made of plain or elaborately carved ivory, stone, lacquer, or porcelain. As fine works of art, hanging scrolls, easily rolled up and stored, are changed frequently or viewed only on special occasions.

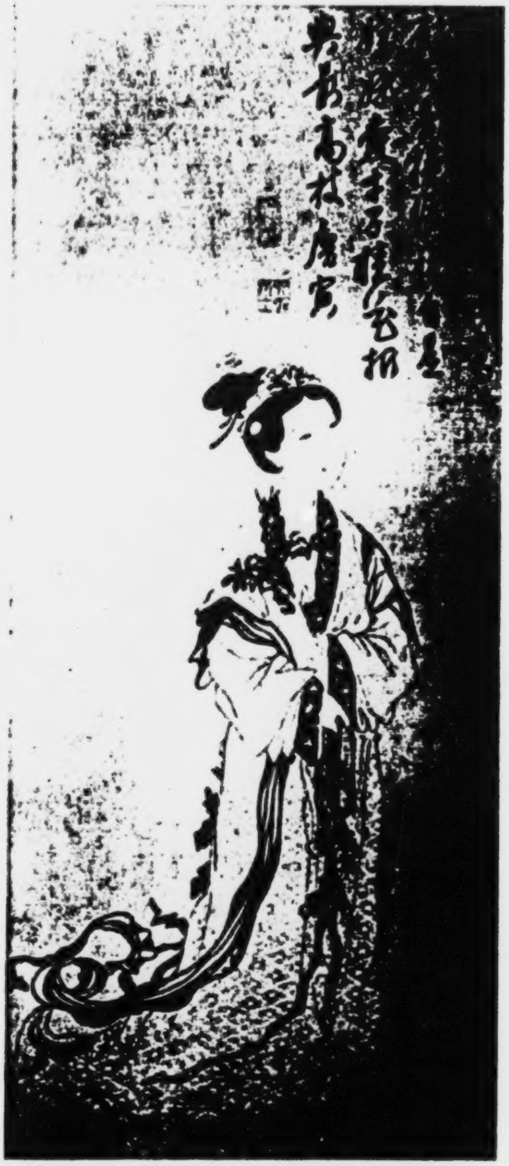
## THE SILK FAN

The hand-held silk fan was an important format for painting during the Sung dynasty. These fans consist of pieces of silk stretched over a circular or oval frame strengthened by a central shaft that extends below the frame to form the handle. Often one side of the fan is decorated with a painting, the other inscribed with a poem amplifying the pictorial

ALBUM PAINTING: Ch'en Shun (1483–1544), Ming dynasty. ***Peach Blossoms and Garden Rock,*** leaf from an album of sixteen paintings, ink and colors on paper. Lent by Douglas Dillon, L.1981.15.16

HANDSCROLL: Ch'ien Hsuan (ca. 1235–after 1301), Yuan dynasty. *Wang Hsi-chih Watching Geese,* ink and colors on paper. Gift of The Dillon Fund, 1973 (1973.120.6)

theme. It is a mark of the refinement and aesthetic preoccupation of the age that major artists were enlisted to paint these articles of daily use, for which members of the imperial family often inscribed the accompanying poems. When fans are mounted as album leaves by later collectors, the frame is removed, but a worn area, caused by its central shaft, is usually apparent along the fan's vertical axis; this abrasion can be seen in ***Hermitage by a Pine-Covered Bluff*** (see illustration).



HANGING SCROLL: T'ang Yin (1470–1524), Ming dynasty. *The Moon Goddess Ch'ang O,* ink and colors on paper. Gift of Douglas Dillon, 1981 (1981.4.2)

## THE FOLDING FAN

The folding fan, introduced into China from Japan, became especially fashionable during the Ming dynasty. The frame of the fan consists of narrow ribs, usually made of bamboo, which are gathered at one end and secured by a pin. Unfolded, the radiating ribs, resembling the spokes of a wheel, form a segment of a circle. Arcs of paper, often flecked with gold or silver leaf, are pasted to the front and back of the ribs so that when closed the width of the fan is that of a single fold. ***Butterfly Amid Bamboo, Flowers, and Rocks*** by Ch'en Hung-shou displays the coloristic effects possible with such papers (see illustration). Favorite personal articles of the scholar, folding fans were painted and inscribed by the leading artists of the Ming and Ch'ing periods.

## ALBUM PAINTINGS

Fans and other forms of small-scale work, including calligraphy and artists' sketches, were often collected by the artist or by later connoisseurs and preserved in album form. The typical album is composed of a group of square or rectangular leaves mounted accordion style. Painters used the sequential images to capture different views of landscape or garden scenery, to create variations on a theme, or—as with the masters of the early Ch'ing Orthodox School—to survey and explore the relationships between the major Sung and Yüan painting idioms. Working with groups of ten, twelve, twenty, or more leaves, the leading masters of the Ming and Ch'ing dynasties created ingenious programs in presenting related poetic, calligraphic, and pictorial images. An example is Ch'en Shun's album, a tour de force of Ming flower painting (see illustration and cover).

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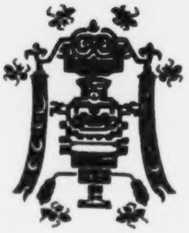

# Metropolitan Museum of Art
# Permanent Exhibits

*Douglas Dillon Galleries of Chinese Painting*
*Soochow Garden Courtyard (Astor Court)*

A visit to these two adjacent areas at the Metropolitan Museum of Art in New York City will afford students a view of:

- Magnificent hanging scrolls and hand scrolls of calligraphy and painting.
- The household setting in which the Chinese scholar/painter worked (study and garden courtyard).
- The implements used by the scholar/painter - brushes, inkstones, wrist-rests, for detail work.
- The Chinese sense of nature as recreated in the garden courtyard - mountains (recreated with rocks), water (recreated by a small pond and brook), and trees (recreated by plants and trees).
- The interrelationship of poetry, painting, and calligraphy.
- The relationship between art and nature in the Chinese artistic tradition.
- Brush technique as the key to appreciation of Chinese art - both calligraphy and painting.

To arrange school visits, call the Group Reservations Office, Metropolitan Museum of Art, (212) 879-3916. Reservations made by telephone only.

# *Resource List: Chinese Art*

## High School

***The Arts of China***
Michael Sullivan

An excellent introduction to China and its arts, from the Stone Age to the present. A chronological overview of the evolution of Chinese cultural, social, and political organization provides the context for analysis of related development of Chinese art forms.

| | |
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| Available from: | University of California Press<br>2120 Berkelely Way<br>Berkeley, CA 94720 |
| Price: | $7.95 |

***The Art and Architecture of China***
Ronald M. Bernier

China's art is traced from Neolithic designs through Shang and Chou Dynasties. The Han Dynasty saw bronze and jade sculptures. The philosophies of Confucianism, Daoism and Buddhism are compared. Thousands of Buddhist pagodas and statues were made during the Golden Age of Tang. The Song (Sung) Dynasty created magnificent paintings. The Mongol ruler, Kublai Khan, built the Forbidden City in Beijing (Peking). In 1275, Marco Polo came to China from Venice, along the Silk Road. China is taken into the 20th Century with Dr. Sun Yat-sen, Chiang Kai-shek and Mao Zedong.

*Five programs on 3 videos or 5 filmstrips and cassettes; 2 teaching manuals; teaching poster; running time: 99 minutes.*

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| Available from: | Alarion Press<br>P.O. Box 1882<br>Boulder, CO 80306<br>(800) 523-9177 |
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## Middle School

***Chinese Art and Architecture***
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China's art is traced from neolithic design of animal spirits up to the present day. The philosophies of Confucianism, Daoism and Buddhism are explained simply and illustrated in the art of the Han, Tang and Song (Sung) dynasties. The student is taken along the Silk Road that Marco Polo travelled in 1275 when he came to the court of Kublai Khan in the Forbidden City in Beijing (Peking). The Ming and Qing dynasties that followed were also brilliant and colorful.

*Three programs on 2 videos or 3 filmstrips and cassettes; teaching manual, teaching wall poster; running time: 55 minutes.*

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## Section XIII
# Culture

*Teacher's Note:*

This section is in no way designed to provide an overview of all aspects of Chinese culture, an impossible task given the richness and variety of the culture as well as the vissicitudes of the past century. Rather, the section gives a sampling of various aspects to Chinese culture. There are student readings on Chinese opera and Chinese rituals and legends. The resources may be used to supplement other sections of the workbook, especially **Traditional History** and **Society**, or be used as an introduction to the study of China.

## CONTENTS

Student Reading: ***"A Passion for Perfect Performances: Peking Opera"***

Student Reading: ***"Rituals and Legends of the Chinese New Year"***

Featured Resource: ***First Moon***

Class Activity: ***Ordering a Chinese Meal***

Resource List

# A Passion For Perfect Performances

**BY JEFFREY H. MINDICH**
PHOTOS BY HSIEH KUO-CHENG
FACE PAINTINGS BY WANG SHAO-CHOU

It was exactly 6:00 A.M., and the uniformed students now walked single-file into the room and bowed in respectful greeting to their instructors. For ninety minutes (the first order in a day which would not end till fifteen hours later), the students would be put through a series of strenuous exercises designed to increase flexibility and strength and improve coordination.

The instructor barked his commands in a martial manner: "Fifty backbends, knees positioned properly, palms touching the ground behind your heels. If I catch anyone doing less than fifty, I'll have *you* do a thousand."

Within a moment, the fifteen students seemed to fall backwards in unison, abdomens arching upward, arms stretched behind, grunting with strain while palms caught at the ground behind them. The force of their falls then propelled them back up for a repeat of the same procedure.

Elsewhere in the large room, other students practiced difficult leg stretches, grimacing as they struggled to hold each posture for the time required. Still others worked on back and front flips. Then having properly performed one group of exercises, the students would rotate to another area. Both instructors tucked bamboo rods under their arms, ever-present reminders of what awaited those who gave less than full effort, or spoke when not required to.

At the end of the period, now fully covered with sweat but appearing more alert and limber after their exertions, the students once more assembled online, facing one of the instructors. After a few words of both criticism and encouragement for their performances, the instructor, with a slight smile of satisfaction, announced that the morning's first activity was over. A resounding, "Thank you, teacher," echoed through the room, and the students, bowing again, filed out.

Surely, you say, these are athletes training for some future Olympic competition. Or if not, disciplined cadets at a military academy. They are neither. The vigor and discipline are the time-hallowed heritage of the aspiring stars of the opera stage at the Fu Hsing Dramatic Arts Academy ( 復興劇校 ); if they persevere through the long and rigorous training, they will become Peking Opera professionals.

Peking Opera, called *Ching Hsi* (京戲), *Ping Chu* (平劇), or *Kuo Chu* (國劇) in Chinese, one of China's most lively and colorful traditional artforms, has come down to us today after several periods of metamorphosis in a very long history.

Some trace its earliest roots back to the primitive religious ceremonies of early China. However, any understanding of the development of drama in China prior to the 8th Century A.D. can only be tentative at best, and in any case would have only a vague relationship to what would one day become Peking Opera.

In the 8th Century, the Tang Dynasty Emperor Hsuantzung ( 玄宗 , 713-755) established a school of dramatic art, within the Imperial Palace, called the Pear Garden, or *Li Yuan* (梨園). Although Hsuantzung was a brilliant individual, he unfortunately put more effort into the pursuit of art and pleasure than in administering the affairs of imperial government. No doubt, this preference was at least partially responsible for the rebellion of An Lu-shan, which erupted with rather unfortunate consequences for both Hsuantzung and the Tang empire. Still, very few emperors in Chinese history managed to surpass him in his dedication to the arts. Such indeed was his passion that, once, he lost all desire for food and sleep for several days due to his inability to remember a musical tune he heard moon fairies singing in a dream. When he finally did remember the tune and wrote it down, it went on to become one of the most famous musical works of the Tang Dynasty.

With this same intensity, Hsuantzung organized the Pear Garden, taking an active part himself in supervising the training of the actors. The Pear Garden was the first known attempt at organized training for dramatic performers in China. And it is for this signal contribution to the Chinese dramatic arts that Hsuantzung has so long been worshipped as patron saint of the Chinese theater.

In the period between the 9th and 13th Centuries, dramatic and musical performances in China continued to gradually improve. It was, however, with the Mongol victory in China and the consequent establishment of the Yuan Dynasty at the end of the 13th Century that Chinese dramatic performances received their greatest impetus. And it is to that period, also, that present day Peking Opera can trace a direct and unbroken ancestry.

China's Mongol conquerors enjoyed dramatic performances, and bands of actors were officially attached to the imperial court. Eventually, two major operatic schools developed: a northern style called *pei chu* (北曲), and a southern style, *nan chu* (南曲).

There were major differences between the two. Characteristically speaking, the southern style was more refined and classical in nature, and the northern style, more energetic and colloquial; the differences were manifest in all aspects of performance—acting, speech, music.

The Mongolian rule of China was to be historically short-lived; China was again reunited under native rule in 1368. However, the developments in drama during the limited duration of the Yuan Dynasty were truly significant, laying a foundation for the evolution of all Chinese drama to come.

With the subsequent founding of the Ming Dynasty (1368-1644), however, the dramatic arts got off to a less than ideal start. Chu Yuan-chang, who became the first Ming Emperor, was the main character in a historical episode which reads like a children's rags-to-riches fairy tale. He had been so poor as a child that he was forced into monkhood to sustain himself. One day, hearing the call for patriots to join up against the foreign Mongolian rulers, Chu teamed up with a rebel group, then eventually split off and set out on his own. He attracted a large popular following and finally succeeded in overthrowing China's Mongol rulers, declaring himself emperor of a new dynasty, the Ming.

At the beginning, the evolved Yuan Dynasty styles of drama were very popular, especially among the new Ming officials and their families. However, in a move to rid the country of residual Mongol influence, Chu forbade all officials and their families from having anything to do with drama, under penalty of having one's tongue cut out. This drastic prohibition, however, did not last long—only until Chu Yuan-chang's death. Then the dramatic arts flourished once more.

The southern opera style, in the years that followed, superceded that of the north in popularity and, in the cultural capital of Soochow, eventually evolved into the style known as *Kun Chu* (崑曲), a once immensely popular form that was one of the most important forerunners of modern Peking Opera. Although the subsequent Peking Opera incorporated aspects of *Kun Chu* within itself and eventually exceeded *Kun Chu* in popularity across China, it never actually eclipsed it; while Peking Opera became the major dramatic artform from the end of the 18th Century on, *Kun Chu* still reigned supreme in the Soochow area, through the middle of the 19th Century. Even today, there are performances in the *Kun Chu* style, although its classical language and strict adherence to ancient rules of drama make it less understandable for modern audiences than Peking Opera.

By the beginning of the Ching Dynasty (1644-1911), China's last dynasty, the popularity of dramatic performances had spread throughout vast China. But due to differences in dialect and custom among the various regions, many different styles developed. Though based on previous styles, these reflected in both language and performance the cultural particulars of each area. The local artforms each had specific names, but were generally known as *ti fang hsi* (地方戲, local drama).

The early Ching emperors, notably including Kanghsi (康熙, 1662-1721), were all fans of Chinese drama, but it was not until the fourth emperor, Chienlung (乾隆, 1736-1795), that Chinese drama underwent its final metamorphosis into the form now known as Peking Opera.

Emperor Chienlung was extremely fond of drama performances and, in addition to having performances staged within the palace, enjoyed them during his famous imperial trips to the south. Many a wealthy Chinese merchant was bankrupted and the country's economy was strained as a result of the attempts to accommodate the Emperor and his huge retinue in the manner mandated by imperial customs of the time.

Drama performances, as noted, played a central part in that effort. Along the route followed by the Emperor on his trip south from Peking, temporary stages were erected so that the imperial traveler might be entertained with performances at each stop. The local officials would gather the most talented actors for performances of local drama forms. And when the Emperor was especially pleased by a particular performance, he would reward not only the actors, but the officials as well. Thus Chienlung's great interest in drama on these trips to the south did much to promote the national development of the theater arts in his time.

Another important event in his reign, and the one which would eventually result in the final arrival of the Peking Opera form, was the celebration of the Chienlung Emperor's 80th birthday. Every year, the Emperor's birthday, along with the Lunar New Year and the annual winter solstice ritual for the worship of heaven, was celebrated as a major holiday.

There were just three occasions during the Ching Dynasty—Chienlung's 80th birthday, the 80th birthday of his grandfather, Kanghsi, and the 60th birthday of the notorious Empress Dowager—on which special personal celebrations of such immense proportions were staged. During the celebration for Chienlung, since he was especially fond of drama, celebrated performers from many of the various local drama groups were called to the capital to prepare special performances.

Among the many varieties of local drama on that occasion, two were especially noted for quality. These were *hsi pi* (西皮, a drama form native to the northwest) and *erh huang* (二黃, from Hubei Province). Eventually, the two merged into one style, which came to be known as *pi huang* (皮黃).

Although the name of the new style was coined from those of the two outstanding drama forms, elements of other local drama styles were incorporated as well, including some *Kun Chu* characteristics. In this manner, *pi huang* evolved into a composite of select aspects of the many local drama forms throughout China, with new scripts written specially for it and the capital's actor corps working hard to perfect the new combined style.

Eventually the new form was no longer called *pi huang*, but *ching hsi* (京戲, *ching* meaning capital—Peking, and *hsi*, drama or opera). Hence, its English name, Peking Opera, by which it is known to this day.

Peking Opera underwent no more major changes in form after the time of Chienlung. However, during the era of the Emperor Dowager (1835-1908), imperial patron of Peking Opera at the end of the Ching Dynasty, the artform started to become more accessible to the common people and not just an entertainment for the rich and titled.

The Empress Dowager was, at the very best, an incompetent ruler who chose to ignore or manipulate the affairs of government in manners that were not always most desirable for the country. In fact, unquestionably, she bears major responsibility for the fall of China's last dynasty. However, her contribution to the propagation of Peking Opera is manifest.

Her love of Peking Opera reached almost fanatic proportions. Hardly a day went by without a performance. Many new performers were trained and new scripts written to keep up with her constant demand. And rehearsals began to take place in public, gradually giving Peking Opera more exposure than ever before. Though never completely supplanting the localized drama forms, many of which persist today, from the time of the last Empress Dowager, Peking Opera has reigned as China's most popular traditional artform.

The name, which indicates a purely operatic performance, is really somewhat of a misnomer, for Peking Opera is equally rich in dramatic presentation. Nor need audiences understand the Chinese language or be acquainted with Chinese dynastic history to appreciate the voice control, unfolding stories, beautiful costumes, and graceful gestures and acrobatics of the players.

Rigorous training and exacting dedication are requisites for all who aspire to become full-fledged Peking Opera players. On stage, every perfect gesture, all acrobatic movement, every rendered note represent years of sweat and pain—a memory that lingers with veteran players ever after.

The training is so difficult and intensive that many more drop out along the way then make it all the way to the end. And of those who do go all the way, only a select few will ever receive the popular acclaim or financial reward really commensurate with the effort expended. For most, it must remain mostly a labor of love.

Still, each time a Peking Opera player strides onto the stage before an applauding audience, there is a strong feeling of accomplishment and a surge of pride, both in individual attainment and as participant in the age-old continuum of this gem of traditional Chinese artforms.

Excerpted from *Free China Review*, Vol. 63, No. 10, Oct. 1986.

## CHINA INSTITUTE IN AMERICA

For more than half a century China Institute has served as a pioneer in promoting U.S.-China understanding. Founded in 1926 by a group of American and Chinese educators, the Institute works through cultural and educational programs to advance the American people's knowledge and appreciation of China, and serves visiting Chinese and Chinese-Americans. Among the Institute's activities are regular exhibitions in China House Gallery, the lectures and classes of the School of Chinese Studies, films and publications, and exchange and community service programs.

China Institute is a national, nonprofit, nonpolitical organization, supported by voluntary contributions and grants from individuals, corporations, foundations and government agencies.

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China Institute Women's Association helps to promote social and cultural functions of the Institute, and brings together women of Chinese and American cultural backgrounds. Programs include an annual bazaar, Chinese New Year dinner, and educational exhibitions. Through the Student/Scholar Exchange Program, the Women's Association provides visiting students and scholars from China, Taiwan and Hong Kong opportunities for exchange of information and friendship with Americans. Conferences and workshops offer practical information on living in the United States, as well as an understanding of American culture.

# Rituals and Legends of The Chinese New Year

by

The China Institute Women's Association

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For Chinese, in China and in ethnic communities around the world, the lunar new year is the most important and most festive holiday of the year. Through centuries of China's agrarian tradition, this was the one period when farmers could rest from their work in the fields. Family members from near and far would travel to be with loved ones in time to usher out the old year and welcome in the new, with great celebratory flourish. With a calendar dating from the third millenium BC, the Chinese people have for thousands of years been building on ancient customs of New Year celebrations. Although they may vary from region to region, village to village, and even family to family according to social position, many of these customs are still observed. Today, all over China, during what is now commonly referred to as the Spring Festival, passenger trains, busses, and river boats are packed with holiday travellers, shops do a flurry of business selling gifts, new clothes and festive foods, kitchens are bustling with preparations for elaborate feasts, and streets are filled with the sounds of firecrackers and seasonal greetings.

## THE CHINESE CALENDAR

The marking of the passage of time in China has for millenia been closely linked to the cyclical pattern of agricultural production. The vast majority of the population of this agrarian society has always resided in rural areas and supported itself directly or indirectly by the tilling of the soil. One's activities were arranged around events necessary to sustain life: plowing the fields, sowing seed, nurturing the crops and gathering the harvest. As such it was necessary to be able to keep track of the optimal times for performing certain tasks. If a peasant waited too long to plant a crop, he might miss advantageous spring rains; if he hesitated to reap his more delicate vegetables, he might lose them to the first frost.

It was from this necessity that the Chinese lunisolar calendar was born; and it is this calendar which fixes the dates of the lunar new year and other events related to the holiday season.

Known as both the agricultural calendar and the old calendar, the lunisolar calendar is also referred to as the Xia calendar, because legend holds that it dates from the time of the Xia dynasty (21st—16th centuries BC). No sophisticated astronomical instruments were necessary to observe the regular waxing and waning of the moon, and so it is the earth's satellite itself which is considered to be the earliest instrument of celestial observation. Peasants could measure time by simply recording the revolutions and phases of the moon. While useful for counting time periods, it wasn't much help in accurately predicting seasonal changes. The ancients knew that there were roughly 29½ days between new moons and that therefore twelve revolutions of the moon required 354 days. While this was relatively close to the time required for the earth to make one turn around the sun (365¼ days) and thus for the seasons to complete one full cycle, it was a great enough difference to render the lunar calendar impractical for foretelling seasonal changes. The same date on a calendar of twelve lunar months (less than a solar year) would fall at a different seasonal time each year.

To account for the extra half day in each lunar revolution, the calendar makers assigned twenty-nine days to half the months and thirty to the others. To reconcile the differences in lunar measurement with the solar year of four full seasons, one intercalary, or extra, month was added every two or three years. The result was a lunisolar calendar that, in each nineteen-year period, has twelve years with twelve months and seven with thirteen months. Oracle bone inscriptions of the Shang dynasty (16th—11th century BC) offer evidence that the intercalary month had already been adopted by that time.

By the Qin dynasty (221—206 BC) the calendar had been further divided into twenty-four periods of fifteen days each. These are referred to as solar and mid-solar terms and each is named in accordance with corresponding seasonal changes (e.g., "Waking of Insects," "Grain Rain," "Great Heat," "Frost's Descent," etc.). The beginning date of each solar and mid-solar term is determined by the position of the sun in one of the twelve signs of the zodiac, which in Chinese are represented by animals (e.g., rat, ox, tiger, rabbit).

In 104 BC Emperor Wu of the Han dynasty (206 BC—220 AD) approved a calendar reform which fixed the beginning of the year on the day of the first new moon after the sun enters the eleventh sign of the solar zodiac, or the second new moon after the winter solstice. This is also the first day of the solar term known as "beginning of spring." For centuries the festival observing the first day of the year was popularly called (lunar) New Year's Day, or literally, "First morning of the year" (*Yuan dan*), "Beginning of the first month (*Yuan zheng*), or "First day" (*Yuan ri*). When the Republic of China was founded in 1912, the government officially adopted the Gregorian calendar as the "public calendar," and recognition of January 1 as the first day of the new year. Since that time lunar New Year's Day has been commonly known as "Spring Festival." The old luni-solar calendar continues to be used popularly in conjunction with the solar-oriented Gregorian calendar as a way of marking traditional observances, the dates of which, like Spring Festival, are dependent on its calculations, and which are closely associated with its agrarian origins.

## PREPARATIONS FOR THE NEW YEAR

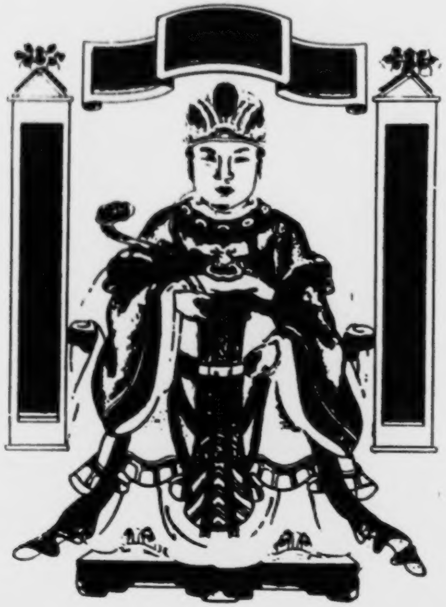
Preparations for New Year festivities begin well in advance of the actual date of the holiday. As the old year draws to a close, there is a tendency to want to tie up loose ends, to put things in order in anticipation of beginning the new year with a fresh start and a clean slate.

In business this means balancing the books, paying off old debts and collecting on loans and charges still due. For those who cannot afford to settle accounts at this time, the pre-holiday season may be spent evading creditors. In old China, it was not uncommon for the pursuit of a debtor to last right up to New Year's Eve, when the bill collector's search might be aided by a lantern as the midnight hour approached. Although it was considered vulgar to hound a debtor on New Year's Day, this convention was circumscribed by another which allowed the creditor to pretend it was still the preceding evening by continuing to carry a lighted lantern on his chase. The safest refuges for one unable to pay a debt were to remain well hidden in one's home, or to seek asylum in a temple, often that of the city god, where propriety simply did not permit financial transactions.

For the individual, the close of the old year means a look back at the misfortunes of the past and an introspective examination of one's mistakes and failures. In some parts of China, people use this time just prior to the new year to seek out old friends or associates whom they may not have seen for a while, to renew friendships and talk out any problems that might be standing in the way of an amicable relationship in the future. (Visits to close friends with whom one is on good terms are usually reserved for the first several days of the new year.) A spiritual cleansing of the old, a "good riddance" to the bad luck and negative attitudes of the past, leaves one with a bright and optimistic approach to whatever lies ahead.

Domestically there is a traditional cleansing as well. In decades past, the most thorough "spring cleaning" of the year was initiated as a ritualistic sweeping away of all the evil spirits feared to be lurking in dark corners behind heavy and rarely moved pieces of furniture. Today, the only consideration for the vast majority of Chinese is a spotless presentation of one's home to the many family members and guests who will be welcomed during the holiday season. Windows are washed, or were repapered in the old days, and the courtyard gate or other wooden parts of the house might be repainted. The old agrarian calendar cites the twentieth day of the twelfth lunar month as the "day for sweeping floors," and this date still marks the beginning of the major pre-holiday housecleaning projects in Hong Kong. In much of China, peasants waited until the 23rd (in South China) or the 24th (in the North) to pick up broom and dust pan. It was on this day that the kitchen god, or god of the hearth, was scheduled to depart to make his report concerning household activities to the Jade Emperor in heaven. So as not to unnecessarily disturb and possibly offend him, housewives waited until he was on his way before they started moving furniture and raising dust.

Sending the kitchen god off to heaven was a matter deserving special attention. In residence year-round at the hearth, where he was represented by a prominently displayed picture, or in parts of the South by beautifully calligraphed characters for his name, the kitchen god observed all the family's comings and goings. Had they been generous to any beggar at the door? Had they wasted any hard-earned food which some farmer had toiled and sweated to produce? Measures were taken to insure the kitchen god's cooperation in giving a glowing report to the Jade Emperor, and thereby winning for the family a little heavenly favor. This included ritual offerings of candies or pastries and wine, and even smearing his lips with honey to make certain that he would only have sweet things to say about the family. Once this was done, the picture of the kitchen god was torched and he was off on his yearly journey, not to return until New Year's Day. The dusting, washing, and scrubbing could then begin. Many believed they should sweep with inward strokes toward the center of the room so as not to whisk any of the family's good fortune out the door.



The kitchen god as he appears on traditional New Year prints, prominently displayed in Chinese homes.

Shopping, of course, is another major activity of the holiday season. Historically, New Year's Day was practically the only day of the year when China's hard-working peasants allowed themselves to rest. Since it was everybody's day off, all purchases had to be made before shops and street vendors closed their tills on New Year's Eve. The exchange of gifts is common practice throughout China. The value of presents depends, of course, on the wealth of the purchaser and, certainly in times past, on the relative social status of giver and receiver. Very often, as is the case today, gift items were relatively expensive or specially-prepared foods. Flowers to brighten the house are a popular item in the markets at this time of year. Wax plum, fragrant white jonquils or narcissuses, and in Hong Kong, small peach trees, are among the seasonal favorites. So-called New Year prints were another item which for centuries were associated with the New Year festival in much of China. These colorful woodblock prints included portraits of the kitchen god, to replace the one ritually burned, and favorite scenes from old stories and legends. Auspicious ripe fruit and healthy smiling babies were often featured, and likenesses of door gods, affixed to the front gate to guard against evil spirits or ghosts, were another traditional favorite. Also sold in large quantity, for those who couldn't write their own, were couplets and single auspicious characters handwritten on bright red paper. The couplets, half of each written on vertical paper banners (*duilian*), would be pasted on either side of the front gate of a house, often with a complementary horizontal banner placed over the door. Classically poetic in composition, the couplets would express wishes for good fortune, long life, many friends and the like.

## NEW YEAR'S EVE

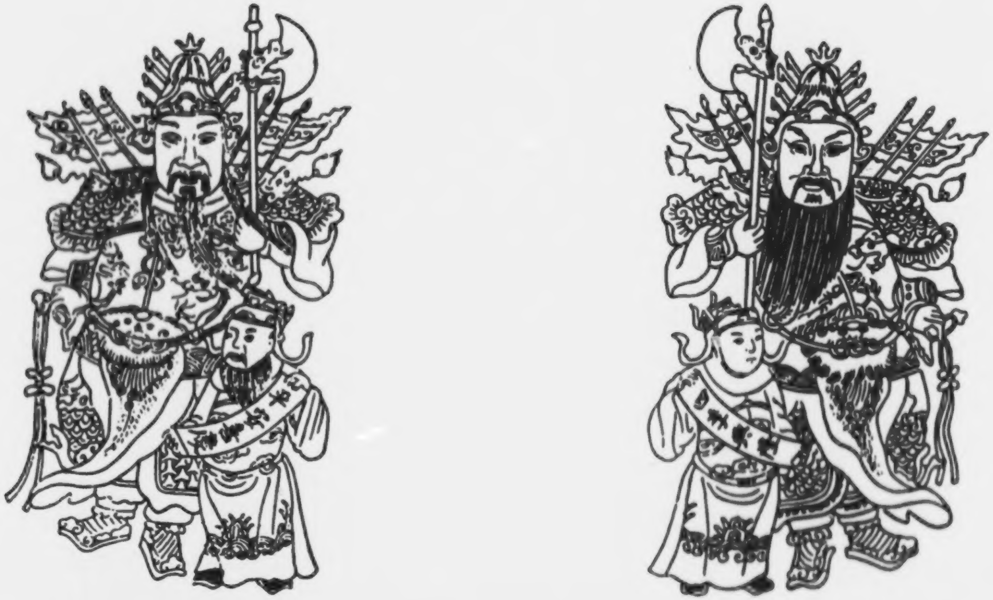
By New Year's Eve, family members, some of whom may have travelled long distances to return home, gather for a reunion. In preparation for his return from heaven on New Year's Day, the new portrait of the kitchen god is hung, as are the brand new door gods, the *duilian* (door couplets) and any other festive decor. Some southern families place stalks of sugar cane behind the doors. The height and section-upon-section construction of the sweet stalks represented the family's hope for a ladder-like ascent to new levels of glory in the coming twelve months. Everyone dresses up, preferably in new clothes, and is on best behavior.

爆竹一聲除舊
桃符萬戶更新

Classically poetic door couplet (*duilian*): "The first report of firecrackers expels the old; the appearance of spring couplets at ten thousand households welcomes the new."

Traditionally, on this last night of the year, the male head of the household led the family in making offerings to various gods of the house and to the ancestors. The ceremonies would begin by sealing the cracks around the door with red paper to prevent the last vestiges of the old year's bad luck from stealing into the house, and any of the family's good luck from escaping. Respects would be paid to the god of wealth, the gods of the well, the bed, the hearth, or any others with whom the family wanted to remain on especially good terms. The attention would then turn to the ancestors, to whom sacrifices of food would be given along with burning of incense. Each member of the family would kneel in respect before the ancestral tablets, symbols of many past generations, all the spirits of whom some families believed were in attendance that night. In wealthier households, an entire room might be devoted to use as an ancestral hall, complete with altar, while in poorer families, the ancestral tablets might occupy a modest shelf in a corner. Just as important was to show respect to one's living elders. Younger family members would *ketou* (kowtow) to members of each generation above them in order beginning with the eldest. When children showed respect in this way, they were rewarded with red envelopes (*hongbao*) which contained New Year's money (*yasui qian*).

With the rites of ancestor "worship" complete, the family sat down to perhaps their biggest meal of the year. Often, a place was set for those members who could not return home. In a tradition still observed today, the dishes served on this evening are chosen for the significance of their names or appearances. One very common course is a whole fish, the term for which, *yu*, is homophonous with the word meaning surplus or abundance, and therefore auspicious. Similarly, a certain sea vegetable, *facai*, is homophonous with a phrase meaning to become wealthy. In the area around Guangzhou (Canton), one preferred dish is oysters, because in Cantonese, a homonym of oyster, or *houxi*, is "good business"; shrimp, the Cantonese pronunciation of which is *ha*, sounds like happy laughter, and is therefore often found at such feasts. Clams are sometimes served because they open as they are cooked, signifying the opening of new horizons. Likewise, according to tradition in Shanghai, eggskin dumplings (*danjiao*) resemble gold ingots and cellophane noodles look like silver chains. Soy bean sprouts are similar in appearance to a traditional scepter-like art object called *ruyi*, which also means "to your heart's content." For Northerners, one custom still widely observed is the consumption of *jiaozi*, or meat-filled dumplings, at midnight. Again a case of homonyms, *jiaozi* also sounds like a term that means the meeting of the last hour of the old year with the first hour of the new. Sweets, nuts and pastries that most could not usually afford in abundance, might be readily available at this time of year.



Door gods, wood block prints pasted on the front door to guard the house from evil spirits.

Sometime before the cock crowed, the head of the traditional Chinese family would unseal the front door, amidst explosions of long whips of firecrackers, throwing it open to let in the strong and healthy influences of the fresh year. In years past, few people went to bed on New Year's Eve. A modern Chinese family might stay up late taking advantage of the many special holiday programs broadcast on radio and television. Their ancestors probably passed the first hours of the dawning new year playing games, drinking wine, singing, joking and telling stories—purposefully making it a night of merriment which they hoped would set a pattern for the entire year to come.

## NEW YEAR FESTIVITIES

The custom of some families was to wait until the first day of the year (*nian chuyi*) to ceremoniously open the main gate or door. It was at this time that the male head of the house in many educated households would write auspicious characters or phrases to be hung at the entrance to the home. Some also waited for this day to approach the ancestral altar for seasonal rites, and to perform ritual *ketou*. Children in some households awoke the morning of New Year's Day to find *hong bao* (red envelopes) under their pillows.

On New Year's Day and for the next several days, people still follow the custom of exchanging visits—with close relatives first, then with distant relatives and friends. Traditionally, the order of these visits also began with the eldest, and the first day was usually devoted to paternal family relatives. One old superstition was that women shouldn't go out to visit on the first day, because the household luck might go out with them. In some areas the second day was the day wives went home to visit their natal families, taking children to see their maternal grandparents. During these New Year's visits (*bainian*), children and the unmarried younger generation would again receive *hongbao*. Some Cantonese once believed it risky to visit friends on the second day because they feared that the slightest disagreement might portend a year full of arguments. Gifts are taken to friends and relatives alike, as are *hongbao* for both children and servants of the house being visited.

When friends visit, it is important to serve "lucky" food. One such dish is a platter of dates (*zao*), peanuts (*huasheng*), dried longans (*guiyuan*) and lotus seeds (*lianzi*). In the common Chinese linguistic practice of combining component parts of compound words to form a composite term, the dish is referred to as *zaoshengguizi*, or *lianshengguizi*, which respectively sound like phrases meaning "to soon realize the birth of noble sons," and "the continuous birth of noble sons." Peanuts are associated with fertility and longevity as well. Another "lucky" food is *yuan bao cha*, a kind of tea named after silver ingots. Two popular sweets are *zaogao*, date cake made with ground dates added to flour, and a date filling, and a rice cake called *niangao*. The word for cake, *gao*, sounds like a term meaning "exalted" or "lofty," and when preceded by the word for year (*nian*), is homophonous with a term that means to advance in an upwardly mobile fashion, year by year.

Just as use of lucky words and actions are encouraged at this time, so are there taboos. It is important, for instance, to avoid the number "four" (*si*), because it sounds like the word for death; any words and their homonyms related to death, illness or bankruptcy are inauspicious. Kitchen work and sewing are avoided because use of knives, scissors, needles and other sharp objects is strictly discouraged. Traditionally, one did not pick up a broom on New Year's Day for fear of accidentally sweeping good luck out the door, and even the sight of one might portend a year full of housekeeping drudgery.

In the days after the new year, it is common to make pilgrimages to temples, especially nowadays for residents of Hong Kong. Theater groups and acrobatic troupes perform in the streets, at marketplaces, on temple grounds, or at large public stadiums. Dragon dances, lion dances, stilt-walking performances, and folk pageantry are still particularly popular. In contemporary China, many parents take their children on outings to the park, the zoo, or the movies.

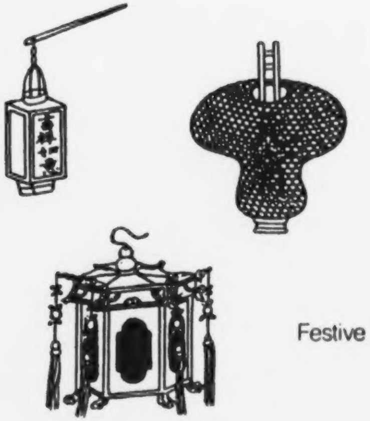
A major holiday for students, workers, and businesses, New Year's brings virtual suspension of routine activity. Many shops, factories and offices remain closed for the first few days of the year. In the Canton area, it was once considered especially unprofitable for a shoe store or shoe repair stall to reopen before the entire holiday season was passed. The Cantonese word for shoe (*hai*) sounds like a common expression of grief, and to some signified a bad omen, so no one wanted anything to do with shoes at such a happy time. Even Hong Kong harbor is uncharacteristically quiet at New Year's. Many fishing and other commercial boats are anchored on New Year's Eve and sit idle until the first auspicious day of the year for sailing.

Traditionally, a Chinese counts his or her age by starting on the day of birth with "one." For every new year observed after that, another year of age is added. Individuals still celebrate their own natal anniversaries, but do not count themselves one year older until they pass another New Year. For Cantonese, the seventh day of the first month is "Human's Day," a day that is observed as everybody's additional birthday.

## THE LANTERN FESTIVAL

The fifteenth day of the first lunar month is known as Lantern Festival. The name for this day on the traditional calendar is *Yuanshao*, which has come to mean the small round dumplings of rice flour conventionally eaten at this time. The Lantern Festival signals the end of the New Year festival period.

Originally, lanterns were said to have been used on this night to help see the gods by torch light. Each family would construct an elaborate paper lantern for this purpose. Now in many parts of China there is great emphasis on the craftsmanship used in making exquisite lanterns in a variety of shapes and styles, which are then often shown at public exhibitions.



Festive lanterns.

The Lantern Festival is another occasion for inviting guests and holding feasts—though on a smaller scale than the New Year's Eve celebrations. Children can be seen parading around outside carrying colorful paper lanterns. A common festival pastime is to guess answers to riddles written on slips of paper and attached to a lantern. Traditionally, a drum is sounded when the riddle is answered correctly.

By now the new year is already half way into the first month, and virtually everything has returned to normal routine. Businesses have reopened, schools are back in session, and farmers have returned to their labor. The very existence of the society depends on the cyclical pattern of agricultural production, and by extension, the cyclical pattern of the seasons. The calendar says it is time for the first rains of the year, and fields must be readied. A new cycle is well under way.

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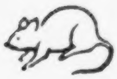
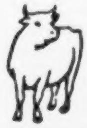
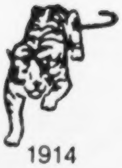
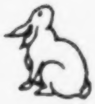
|  |  |  |  |
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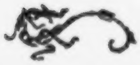
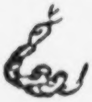
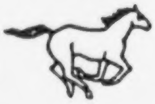
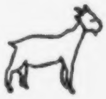
|  |  |  |  |
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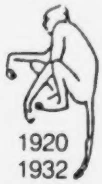
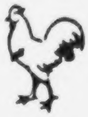
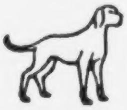
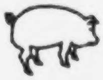
|  |  |  |  |
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| 1980 | 1981 | 1982 | 1983 |
| 1992 | 1993 | 1994 | 1995 |

Although the origin of the use of animals to denote the twelve years of the Chinese zodiac cycle is uncertain, one explanation is given by a popular folk legend. Just before the Buddha was to depart Earth, he summoned all the animals to bid farewell. Only twelve showed up to pay their respects, and as a reward he named the years after them in the order in which they had arrived.

## *Class Activity*

# Ordering A Chinese Meal

Plan a meal through a local Chinese restaurant and order "take-out" dishes to be brought to school. (If each student contributes $1.00 it should be possible to order a selection of dishes for everyone to taste.)

ask the restaurant if it will supply chopsticks and have someone give a demonstration of their use

ask the proprietor of the restaurant to explain to a student committee how Chinese patrons would select dishes to balance each other and how soup would be taken either in the middle of the meal, at a banquet, or at the end.

note which dishes are eaten with rice, the staple of southern China, and which involve wheat (noodles, dumplings, pancakes), the staple of northern China.

try to include as many distinctive ingredients as possible, such as: beancurd, bean sprouts, water chestnuts, Chinese mushrooms, ginger and other spices. Also, select if possible a hot and spicy dish, a soup, a vegetable, and a noodle dish.

note that each person at the table receives only an individual bowl of rice, and that all other dishes are placed at the center of the table for each person to take a serving. Individual meals are not ordered as in the American custom.

discuss what type(s) of food the restaurant specializes in and locate on a map the province in which the particular cooking style predominates.

note that many of the dishes most popular in the United States (spareribs, egg role, sweet and sour pork, chow mein, chop suey) are not popular throughout China and may not even be on the menu in a Chinese restaurant. Since many of the Chinese who emigrated to the United States were from the south of China, Cantonese dishes from the southern province of Kwangtung are often the best known here. Other dishes (chop suey) were invented in the U.S. and are unknown in China!

Additional Suggestion:

A small group of students might be delegated to do a project on Chinese food and cooking and report to the class, demonstrating cooking methods, utensils, ingredients and basic principles of the Chinese diet.

# First Moon

## CELEBRATION OF THE CHINESE NEW YEAR

### A New Film From The Producers Of "One Village In China"

by Carma Hinton and Richard Gordon; co-produced by Kathy Kline
37 minutes, color 16 mm JSCAG

**FIRST MOON** begins with the Kitchen God's return from heaven just before dawn and closes with the lyrical beauty of the Lantern Festival 25 days later. Chinese New Year is like Christmas, Mardi Gras, Thanksgiving and Easter rolled into one. It is also not quite like anything in the West.

Out of the brown landscape of late winter, the firecrackers come first, followed by huge adult-size swings, stilt dancing, intricate costumes, floats, pageants and parades. All are accompanied by the insistent percussion and double-reeded horns of the village band. The film moves with the villagers as the festival widens from the intimacy of family gatherings out into the streets, the neighborhoods, finally encompassing the entire village in a blazing extravaganza of color and sound.

**FIRST MOON** is a celebration of life and hope, of renewal in the earth, and in the lives of the Chinese people who still toil the soil.

> "Best film I have seen on the Chinese New Year and Lantern Festival. Great photography. Provides insights into Chinese customs and values. Excellent supplementary material for social studies or multi-cultural curriculum."
>
> *Teresa Ying Hsu*
> ***Asian-American Communications***

> "First Moon imparts that unique sensibility, empathy and understanding of rural China that set the long Bow films apart from other films on China."
>
> *L. Somi Roy*
> ***The Asia Society***

> "A beautifully made film that shows how many elements of traditional Chinese village life are co-existing with the new."
>
> *Dr. Jonathan Spence*
> ***Department of History, Yale University***

**"Golden Apple" NAT'L ED. FILM & VIDEO FESTIVAL**
**"Red Ribbon" AMERICAN FILM & VIDEO FESTIVAL**
**"Golden Gate Award" SAN FRANCISCO FILM FESTIVAL**

Available from:

New Day Films
853 Broadway, Suite 1210
New York, NY 10003
Telephone: (212) 477-4604

Price: $500 to purchase, $75 to rent (16 mm film)
$350 to purchase, $50 to rent (VHS video)

# *Resource List: Chinese Culture*

***Traditional Chinese Celebrations: Continuity and Change in Taiwan***

Designed to offer an introduction to Chinese culture for students in grades 1-6, this unit contains slides of four important Chinese festivals: The Lantern Festival (which concludes the Lunar New Year Festival), Tomb Sweeping, Dragon Boat Festival, and Moon Festival. Student activities and discussion questions lead students to identify the commonalities and differences between Chinese and American cultural traditions. The slides depict the celebration of the four festivals in present-day Taiwan, but the introduction to Chinese culture can easily be used in a unit on mainland China.

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| Available from: | SPICE<br>Institute of International Studies<br>Littlefield Center, Room 14<br>300 Lausen Street<br>Stanford University<br>Stanford, CA 94305-5013 |
| Price: | $9.00 (or Text $4.00, Slides $5.00) |

***Chinese New Year***

This festival, which occurs annually in late January or early February, provides an excellent focus for the study of the Chinese family, the traditional veneration of ancestors, the agricultural cycle, and the lunar and solar calendars. An entire unit on China can be built around the Lunar New Year celebration, including legends, customs, and a calendar of events with details of what takes place on each important date during the two-week festival. The booklet concludes with an explanation of Chinese religious traditions and the Chinese lunar calendar. The booklet provides teacher background and material for individual projects, with students assuming responsibility for various aspects of the holiday celebration.

See related activities booklets below.

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| Available from: | ARTS, Inc.<br>32 Market Street<br>New York, NY 10002 |
| Price: | $3.00 |

### *Echoes of China: "Chinese Celebrations"*

An outstanding unit with chapters and exercises on the Chinese calendar and Chinese zodiac animal signs; family celebrations such as birth and naming of the newborn, birthdays, marriages, and death; Qing Ming festival for honoring ancestors; and lantern festivals.

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| Available from: | Chinese Ethnic Heritage Studies Committee<br>P.O. Box 142<br>Newton Center, MA 02159 |
| Price: | inquire |

### *Chinese Folk Songs*

Twenty well-known folk songs, with melody and chords. Lyrics in English, Chinese, and romanized Mandarin. 40 pages; tape available.

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| Available from: | ARTS INC.<br>32 Market Street<br>New York, NY 10022 |
| Price: | $3.00 |

### *The Food of China*

A comprehensive, entertaining, historical and ethnographic account of Chinese food, from the Bronze Age to the twentieth century. After showing how food has been central to Chinese governmental policies, religious rituals, and health practices from the earliest times, E.N. Anderson turns to present-day China, describing in rich and enticing detail the regional varieties in Chinese diet, food preparation, and rituals of eating and drinking.

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| Available from: | Yale University Press<br>New Haven, CT 06520 |
| Price: | $14.95 (paper) |

### *Children of the Yellow River*

A collection of Chinese legends refl&ecting the prehistory of China; creation myths are included.

Available from:
ARTS Inc.
32 Market Street
New York, NY 10002

## *Section XIV*
# Literature

*Teacher's Note:*

The Literature section can be used on its own or in conjunction with corresponding periods and themes in the Workbook.

The overview of Chinese literature for students places the role of literature within Chinese history and culture, as well as identifying its forms. A selection of those periods and forms follows: units on the scholar-official and Chinese poetry, the short story as social commentary in the early 20th century, and literature as propaganda in revolutionary China. These are by no means exhaustive.

Also included in this section is a unit on *The Good Earth* by Pearl S. Buck. While not considered Chinese literature per se, it is so widely used and valued for its portrayal of Chinese society, particularly the family, that it is included as a teaching option.

Not included as a unit in this section, but no less important, is the unit on "Chinese Views" in the **Contemporary** section of the workbook. This literature, referred to as dissent literature, is composed of a recounting of the revolutionary years by emigres, chronicling the exhilaration, beliefs, excesses, and terror of the revolution in general, and the Cultural Revolution in particular. See that unit for details and lesson options. Falling into the category of dissent literature, but included in this section, is the fictional work of Chen Jo-hsi, who is a native of Taiwan, but lived in mainland China.

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  - Discussion Questions

Unit 3: ***Lu Xun: China's Greatest Modern Writer***
  - Student Reading: "*Lu Xun: China's Greatest Modern Writer*"
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Unit 4: ***Cultural Revolution Literature: Hao Ran***
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  - Discussion Questions
  - Student Reading: "*Date Orchard,*" a short story by Hao Ran

Unit 5: ***Contemporary Literature: The Fiction of Chen Jo-hsi***
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Unit 6: ***The Good Earth***
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  - Annotated List of Books
  - Chinese Films on Videotape

## Unit 1

# Introduction to Chinese Literature

## Student Reading

### A BRIEF OVERVIEW OF CHINESE LITERATURE

China possesses one of the world's major literary traditions. Its texts have been preserved for over 3,000 years. Reverence for the past has influenced the preservation of these cultural sources, and may have influenced the invention of wood block printing in the ninth century and moveable type printing in the twelfth century. The practice of collecting and reproducing libraries has also played a major role in the transmission of the tradition. Most importantly, China can boast an unbroken cultural tradition based on the Chinese script as a language medium independent of dialect differences. As the literary language became increasingly removed from the spoken, and thus less vital, literature took a natural turn toward imitation. Indeed, after the formative classical period beginning with Confucius, the literary history of China becomes one of imitation-with-variations of different models. Literature also thus becomes more elitist, for an understanding or appreciation of a text may require familiarity with the models being alluded to.

The principal genre of Chinese literature is poetry; early folk songs established the *shi* (*shih*) form that crystallized during the Han dynasty, and dominated for the next 1,200 years. Beginning with the simple complaints and longings expressed in rhymed couplets of folk songs, this form gradually became more and more complex-- or "regulated"-- until it took years of study to master its formal rules of composition.

The short story, which began to develop during the Tang dynasty, at first emphasized either **historical events** or **supernatural happenings** which could not be related in a formal historical work. The notion of fiction as connected to history persisted, yet more imaginative and rationally inexplicable, culminating in China's greatest novel, *The Dream of the Red Chamber* or *The Story of a Stone*, which is at once autobiographical and realistic, and at the same time imaginative and mystical.

Drama, one of China's least well-developed genres, had its origins also in **popular entertainment**. The high point of elite drama was during the Yuan dynasty, when intellectuals dispossessed by the Mongol invaders, turned to the composition of drama both to productively employ their taste and erudition and also to covertly criticize the foreign government. During the following centuries, dramas tended to become longer, and the opera dominated; spoken drama was not generally conspicuous until the twentieth century.

By the beginning of the twentieth century, the movement to modernize and westernize China's literature became very popular. The formal classical language, which by then survived only in written texts, was replaced by the vernacular spoken language as a literary medium. Experiments with free verse and sonnet forms, short autobiographical stories and interior monologues, spoken drama and radio or film scripts were influenced by western models rather than by classical Chinese tradition. However, the theme of China's plight dominated twentieth-century Chinese literature, and for the past six decades the pendulum has frequently swung back and forth between western imitation and modernized styles versus Chinese foundation and conservative techniques. Whereas classical Chinese literature was often valued for its craft and erudition, post-1919 Chinese literature has been evaluated largely in terms of its social and political relevance.

Much Chinese literature of the 1920s and 1930s both exposed national social problems and also expressed writers' doubts about finding viable solutions to these problems.

In 1942 Mao Zedong, in his "Talks at Yenan on Literature and Art," emphasized to his fellow communist revolutionaries that the goal of literature was neither to reflect the dark side of society nor to express the author's own private feelings or artistic inspirations. Instead, he said, literature and art should inspire the masses by presenting positive examples of heroism and socialist idealism; it should also be written in the public voice and style of the workers, peasants and soldiers, not of the elite intellectuals.

During the Cultural Revolution period (1966-76), Mao's principle that literature and art should serve the people and promote socialism was most rigidly adhered to. The fiction of Hao Ran (Hao Jan) constitutes an excellent example of this tendency (see the unit on Hao Ran below).

## Literature After 1976

With the death of Mao Zedong in 1976 came the official end of the Cultural Revolution period, and with it increased freedom for writers. During the subsequent decade, Chinese fiction tended to fall into the following five (necessarily overlapping) categories:

### 1. Literature of the Wounded

The initial impulse of writers was to begin, tentatively at first, to express the profound suffering of the previous decades. Chen Roxi's stories in *The Execution of Mayor Yin and Other Stories* offer an example of very well-crafted fiction which reveals the physical, psychological and spiritual pain the Chinese people endured under Mao. But finally, Chen Roxi must be considered a foreigner, though she is Chinese and she lived in China during the Cultural Revolution era.

Within China, the "literature of the wounded" movement began in the summer of 1977 when Lu Xinhua, a twenty-three-year-old student at Fudan University, presented a story entitled "The Wounded" as a big-character poster on the walls of the campus. The story was soon published and it inspired hundreds of others. Another one which became equally famous was Liu Xinwu's "Class Counselor," published in November 1977. In Lu's story, the young girl fails to achieve a reconciliation with her mother, whom she had been forced to denounce during the Cultural Revolution; in Liu's story, an open-minded class advisor recognizes that there is still hope for the generation of youth who suffered at the hands of the Gang of Four. For several years, story after story poured out the guilt, regret, and pain over lost lives and ruined careers, betrayal of friends and family members, and the need to seek restitution. Within the "wounded" tradition, though not literature per se, a number of Chinese have written accounts of this tragic period for Western audiences.

### 2. Humanistic Literature

A related literary trend which began in the late 1970s and early 1980s was fiction which treated the problems of recreating the whole person after the constricting movements of the Cultural Revolution. A large number of women writers predominate as writers of literature in this category.

Since personal feelings were supposed to be subordinated to political action during the Cultural Revolution, writers who reacted in the opposite direction after the death of Mao used the rally cry, "Love Must Not Be Forgotten," the title of one of Zhang Jie's short stories advocating marriage based only on love and private desire.

### 3. Social Criticism

Finally allowed once again to treat in fiction the darker side of Chinese society, many writers composed works which addressed post-Cultural Revolution social problems: alienated youth, the loneliness of the elderly and the divorced, the housing shortage, government corruption, dissatisfaction with the system of job assignments, etc. In a bold social indictment, Bai Hua in his screenplay, "Unrequited Love," has the protagonist's daughter ask the fundamental question: "Dad, you love our country. Through bitter frustration you go on loving her . . . But, Dad, does this country love you?" This script first appeared in 1979, and by 1980 it was banned.

### 4. Seeking Roots

Some writers, especially those who live outside the main cities, have turned to local themes and subject matter in their recent fiction. For example, Lu Wenfu describes the customs of the Suzhou region and Gao Xiaosheng depicts agricultural life in his native Hunan province. These people are seeking a meaning in life separate from political movements and urban upward mobility.

### 5. Reportage

Some writers feel that the most important contribution they can make is to record the facts of Chinese life in a way that illuminates both the problems and strengths of the Chinese people. The most famous journalist, who exposes corruption in his sophisticated reporting style, is Liu Binyan, whose "People or Monsters?" was acclaimed for its unflinching honesty in confronting deeply rooted government corruption.

In a different tone, *Chinese Profiles*, compiled by Zhang Xinxin and Sang Ye, presents interviews with one hundred Chinese citizens who tell about their lives in a way similar to people interviewed by Studs Terkel. Their stories are poignant and surprising as individual accounts. They illuminate the rich social fabric of China and indirectly point out major social and political issues implicit in the individual accounts.

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## QUESTIONS FOR DISCUSSION

1) How have poetry, drama, and the short story each been used for purposes other than entertainment?

2) How is the literature of the 1920s and 1930s similar to literature after 1976?

3) During Mao's rule, what was the function of literature?

4) How did the "literature of the wounded" movement begin?

5) Can you think of a period or event in the history of America that spawned much literature? (Hint: the Great Depression, Vietnam, the death of John F. Kennedy, the Watergate scandal....)

## Unit 2

# The Chinese Scholar-Official

*Note:*

The following essay on the scholar-official in traditional China highlights the importance of education to political status and the dual role of the artist as poet and politician. This tradition of politicized art has been carried through to modern times. The values embodied in the scholar-official set the tone for life in general in traditional China.

## *Student Reading*

### THE CHINESE SCHOLAR OFFICIAL

The Chinese scholar-official occupied a position at the top of the traditional hierarchical society, for he possessed prestige, wealth, and power. Because of the difficulty of mastering the classical Chinese writing style, only a tiny fraction of the population of China was fully literate, and government officials were selected from this small group of highly educated scholars.

An ambitious young man would pursue an arduous course of study in the Chinese classics in preparation for the civil service examination. These exams required thorough knowledge of the Confucian canon, plus the ability to write essays on moral issues and current affairs and poems in a variety of formal styles. The candidate thus had to develop talent and worldly sophistication, as well as his erudition, to become a successful well-rounded literatus. If he passed the examination, there was virtually only one career open to him, and that was to enter government service. Consequently, the government bureaucracy was composed of rigorously trained scholar-artists; conversely, poets and painters held official positions as powerful politicians.

This system had far-reaching implications for Chinese culture and government. Politically, it elevated the level of artistic accomplishment in court life. The Emperor and his courtiers were all accomplished poets, and every official ceremony or banquet would be celebrated in verse. The *Records of Occasions in T'ang Poetry* reports:

> Whenever the Son of Heaven would go on picnics or pleasure outings, he would be accompanied only by his ministers and the Auxiliary Scholars. In spring his Majesty would visit the Pear Orchard and attend the Purification Ceremony at the Mei River, at which he would present circlets of willow to ward off the pestilence. In summer he would hold banquets at the vineyards and present red cherries. In autumn he would climb to the Buddha of the Temple of Compassionate Mercy, and there he would be offered chrysanthemum flower wine with a wish for his Majesty's long life. In winter his Majesty would visit Hsin-feng, passing through the White Deer Pavilion, and climbing Mount Li, where he would permit a bath in the Warm Springs. There he would grant fragrant powders and orchid oils. To those of his retinue he would present horses from the Soaring Unicorn Stables, and to each of his officials, a yellow robe.
>
> Whenever the emperor was moved by something, he would write a poem, and all the Scholars would follow suit using the same rhyme. This indeed was what men of that age took delight in and yearned after.
>
> (Reprinted with permission from Stephen Owen, *The Poetry of the Early T'ang,* New Haven: Yale University Press, 1977, p. 256.)

In a formal occasional poem of this sort, each poet would be expected to demonstrate his talent and flatter his sovereign at the same time. Promotions in rank were often based on literary skill.

Writing celebratory poems was also a common practice at less formal occasions. When a member of the court was promoted or exiled, his colleagues would write him poems of congratulation or condolence; scholar-officials sent poems back and forth as invitations, thank you notes, requests for favors, and farewells. When Wang Wei (701-761), a pre-eminent Tang scholar-official, was invited to spend the day at a superior official's country estate, he expressed his gratitude in a poem which showed his own talent for poetic composition by both admiring the natural landscape and praising the guest list:

Secretary Wei Living in the Mountains

How fortunate for me to be noticed by your lordship,
And to accompany you to traces beyond the dusty world;
Wild flowers fill the crags and valleys,
Waterfalls reflect the firs and pines.
Singing birds suddenly approach the stream,
Returning clouds occasionally enfold the peaks.

Our fine companions are all prestigious and high-ranking officials;
Following them, many awesome imperial ministers.
How could I have expected you would invite me to take the road through
the Ch'ing Gate?
And thus let me hear the bells of the Palace of Eternal Bliss?
At dawn we left the court audience:
How leisurely our carriages and horses travel along.

(Reprinted with permission from Marsha L. Wagner, *Wang Wei*, Boston: G.K. Hall, 1981, p. 169.)

Aesthetically, the merging of the roles of poet and politician also had significant consequences.

In the West, the artist is often considered an inspired eccentric; the genius is a social misfit. In China, the opposite was the typical situation: the poet was in the center of a social network in which his art was public and conventional. Sharing a similar education with other scholar-officials, he could make allusions to the classics which they would all readily recognize; he wrote in a style to which they all conformed. Innovation was looked upon with suspicion; most originality was criticized as ignorance. The public quality of Chinese poetry meant that it could be evaluated by distinctive criteria which took into account the social and political context in which it was composed.

Even recluse and Buddhist poetry were implicitly political, for if a government bureaucrat decided to resign from office and live as a hermit or take religious vows, he was making a political decision not to participate in the political system. Many apparent landscape poems reveal some ambivalence about this decision, for scholars raised with the Confucian ideal of duty defined living in seclusion by its opposite: not serving the government. The language of nature poetry characteristically includes references to the court world which has been rejected, as in the following occasional poem:

### On a Spring Evening in the Bamboo Pavilion, Presented to Vice Prefect Ch'ien on his Return to Lan-t'ien

The night is still, all movement has ceased;
Occasionally we hear dogs barking beyond the woods.
This makes me remember times at the mountain,
Human habitations far west of the mountain streams.
I envy your setting off on a journey in the morning
To pick bracken and disparage official carriages and caps.

(Wagner, *Wang Wei*, p. 85.)

Since the time of Confucius, poetry has been considered the authentic manifestation of an individual's deepest feelings; when one's heart overflowed with emotion, it expressed itself in poetry and song. Thus, when the emperor wanted to ascertain whether or not the people were satisfied with his government, he would listen to their folk songs. By extension, it was believed that poetry expressed an individual's true character: on the official civil service examination, candidates revealed their moral and spiritual qualities in the poetry they submitted. A typical topic for an examination poem would be the theme of purity.

In the 11th century, a group of scholar-officials sought to elevate painting to the status of poetry. Su Dongpo (1037-1101) and his circle believed that all forms of art were admirable expressive outlets for scholar-officials in their leisure time, and in their theory of *wen-ren hua,* (literally, painting by literary men), they articulated the synthesis of poetry and painting which has been fashionable since the Song dynasty: paintings are voiceless poems, poems are voiced paintings. Underlying their equating of poetry and painting was the *wen-ren* critics' assumption that a highly cultivated literatus has a noble character, and his personal qualities and aesthetic sensibility will be manifested equally in poetry or painting or calligraphy. In other words, the artistic process of expressing one's personality and spirit is the same regardless of the particular form used.

Wang Wei was idealized by Su Dongpo and his *wen-ren* circle because he, like themselves, pursued artistic occupations while at leisure from official duties; he combined political prominence, classical learning, and Buddhist piety. For example, Wang Wei inscribed the following 4-line poem on a painting entitled "Mist and Rain at Lan-t'ien":

### In The Mountains

In Bramble Creek, white stones stick out;
The sky is cold, red leaves are few.
On mountain paths, though there is no rain,
The sky's green dampens one's clothes.

The poem uses vivid images to give the feeling of an autumn lake in the mountains; it ends with an evocative paradox which questions the source of the damp atmosphere: is it from dew falling off trees or the misty clouds surrounding the mountain peak? Su Dongpo considered this poem an ideal illustration of the quality which distinguished all fine art, in whatever form: a sudden flash of inspiration which reflects the artist's mood or feelings at the time of composition. To indicate this synthetic spirit, he pronounced his famous comment: "When I savor Wang Wei's poems, there is painting in the poetry; when I look at Wang Wei's painting, there is poetry in the painting."

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## QUESTIONS FOR DISCUSSION

1) Why were there so few scholar-officials in traditional China? What did a man have to do to become a scholar-official?

2) Name two occasions for which a poem might be written.

3) Why is poetry in traditional China considered to be political? And what was the social consequence of this?

4) What, according to Su Dongpo, is the relationship between painting and poetry?

5) In the essay it says that poetry was used for invitations, congratulations, etc. Is this similar to our own customs? How? (Note: think of when you send "wishes" to family and friends, especially greeting cards.)

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## *Unit 3*

# Lu Xun: China's Greatest Modern Writer

*Teacher's Note:*

The following essay on Lu Xun, China's greatest modern writer, vividly highlights the corruption and despair that existed under the traditional Chinese system. Lu Xun's stories can be read as independent reading assignments to accompany the unit on modern history. Especially recommended is the preface to "Call to Arms," in which he recounts his disgust with Chinese herbal medicinal practices, and his realization that China needed "spiritual medicine" more than treatment for physical ailments.

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## *Student Reading*

## LU XUN: CHINA'S GREATEST MODERN WRITER

Lu Xun (or Lu Hsun-- pronounced "Lu Shun"-- 1881-1936) has been considered China's greatest modern writer for most of the twentieth century. Many of the other authors of fictional works of social criticism popular during the 1920s and 1930s have been at least partially discredited or criticized during the various political movements in China since 1949, but Lu Xun's reputation has remained consistently distinguished. Mao Zedong (Mao Tse-tung) called him "commander of China's cultural revolution."

Perhaps it was because Lu Xun died relatively early in the Communist movement that he has not been criticized for making the kinds of political "errors" for which his colleagues have suffered. But the sophisticated complexity of his writing style, which lends itself to various interpretations, is also an important factor in his achievement of a position of preeminence. Though he was an influential essayist, Lu Xun is best known for his short stories. Chinese writers of the 1920s and 1930s were deeply distressed by the social and political disasters they saw all around them. Some put all their faith in an ideological movement and wrote propaganda pieces advocating revolution. The most doctrinaire of these works of "revolutionary literature" are hardly literary: they are more concerned with presenting political solutions than with lifelike characters, realistic situations, or deeper insight into human nature. Other writers felt less certain of what solution to propose, and used their fiction instead to vividly and sensitively describe the current plight of the Chinese, with the implied intention of stimulating readers to realize the necessity of acting to eliminate such human degradation and corruption.

But Lu Xun chose neither of these options. In the early 1920s, he did not feel absolute optimism that radical social change would occur in China, and he did not project idealized revolutionary heroes or situations in his fiction. Yet on the other hand, he also did not simply offer sensitive descriptions of the sufferings of the Chinese people. Instead, through vivid analogies and exaggerated characters, Lu Xun presented his personal vision of Chinese society. The intensity and darkness of this vision makes reading a Lu Xun story a moving and disturbing experience.

### About the Author

Lu Xun is the pen name of the writer born as Zhou Shuren (Chou Shu-jen) in 1881 to a family with a strong Confucian background. His grandfather served as a high official in Peking, and his father was also a scholar. But Lu Xun's childhood was filled with hardship. Not only did he endure the Sino-Japanese War and the Boxer Rebellion,[1] but his father suffered from chronic illness, and the family was so poor they had to pawn their belongings to buy his medicine. Moreover, when Lu Xun was thirteen, his grandfather in Peking was accused of complicity in a bribery case, and was detained in custody for seven years; every fall during this period the family had to send money to the Ministry of Punishment to insure that the grandfather would not be sentenced to death. This overt corruption certainly influenced Lu Xun's contempt for the traditional system of government.

In 1904, he went to Sendai, in Japan, to study medicine, but he soon realized that China needed "spiritual medicine" even more than treatment for physical ills. Lu Xun returned to Tokyo in 1906, and decided to devote himself to education and literature rather than medicine, thus expressing his lifelong dedication to teaching and encouraging young people as the major hope for China's future.

Lu Xun's last story, "Divorce," was published in 1925. The following year Lu Xun protested the killing of students in a demonstration, and he had to flee--he went to Amoy, then Canton, then Shanghai, and continued to aid leftist students.[2] From this time until his death in 1936, Lu Xun supported political change through overt action and "pen warfare": he was a prolific writer of short, biting essays attacking social injustice and political corruption. He avidly encouraged young writers, translators, and artists, and was a particularly enthusiastic supporter of wood block prints which depicted the intense sufferings of the Chinese people to show the desperate need for a revolution.

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## QUESTIONS FOR DISCUSSION

1) How does Lu Xun's life story illustrate the social and political circumstances of his time?

2) Why do you think Lu Xun gave up writing short stories after 1925?

3) Why did Lu Xun place all his hope in young people?

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[1] The Boxer Rebellion was an uprising of Chinese people against the existence of foreigners in China. They wanted to make all foreigners leave China.

[2] Leftist students were those who rebelled against the political system and sought social and political change.

## *Unit 4*

# Cultural Revolution Literature: Hao Ran

### *Teacher's Note:*

Hao Ran (pronounced "How Rawn") was probably the most popular author in the People's Republic of China during the Cultural Revolution period. He is the leader of his generation of writers, those born in the 1930s and 1940s of proletarian backgrounds who have written for the Communist Party throughout their careers. His hundreds of stories and several novels, which have sold millions of copies, had mass appeal, for they glorify the socialist revolution by depicting proletarian heroes who serve the state with self-sacrificing dedication. They are written in a lyrical style which romanticizes peasant life and values. The ideals Hao Ran illustrates are clear-cut and easy for students to grasp. Since his fiction is highly representative of official Cultural Revolution attitudes, it provides a graphic vehicle for classroom discussion of this controversial period. (See also the **Government and Politics** section of this workbook. Hao Ran's type of literature was popular until 1976 when the Dissent Literature began to appear. See the unit, *"Chinese Views"*, for a contrast to this kind of literature.)

## *Student Reading*

# HAO RAN: WRITER OF THE REVOLUTION

### Historical Setting

In his talks at the Yenan Forum on Literature and Art in 1942, Mao Zedong insisted on the importance of literature aimed at a mass audience, which would use the popular idiom and describe the positive aspects of the lives of peasants and proletarians. The purpose of art was to serve the people and the revolution; the artistic beauty of literature was subordinated to its political content. The Yenan talks served as the basic guide to writing after the success of the Chinese Communist Revolution in 1949, except for the brief "Hundred Flowers" interlude (1956-57) when public debate over the problems and limitations of the regime were temporarily tolerated. However, the flood of criticism during the "Hundred Flowers" period became too threatening and it was stopped. The principles of the Yenan talks then constituted the reigning ideology for writers and artists at least until the fall of the Gang of Four in 1976.

### About the Author

Hao Ran, whose real name is Liang Qinkuang, is greatly admired because of his class background. He was born in 1932 to a poor peasant family in Hebei, about thirty miles east of Beijing. He received only three and a half years of education in a local village school, but he learned to read and write. His father died when Hao Ran was seven, and his mother died when he was twelve. As an orphan, Hao took care of himself by running errands for the Eighth Route Army. He passed long winter evenings listening to stories told by old peasants and soldiers. When he was fifteen, his relatives arranged a marriage for him; he eventually had four sons. A member of the Children's Corps, Hao Ran joined the Chinese Communist Party at the age of sixteen. In 1949, he was asked to write a short play as local propaganda material for the movement to increase production and suppress anti-revolutionaries; the skit was a success and Hao Ran's literary career was initiated. He claims he did not choose to write, but found this his best means of supporting the revolution.

During the 1950s, Hao Ran worked as a newspaper correspondent for the *Hebei Daily*. Assigned to describe peasants and village life, he visited collective farms, participated in agricultural work, and developed close ties with the local peasants. He also continued to write plays, sketches, and songs; gradually he specialized in short stories based on his experiences in the land reform movement. His stories praise heroic working people for the sacrifices they make for the revolution. His first volume of short stories was published in 1958, followed by the second volume in 1959, and the third in 1960.

Hao Ran was among the first party cadres sent to live on the farms to do collective labor, in 1960-61. In the introduction to *Pearls*, one of his collections of short stories, Hao Ran wrote:

> I shall never forget how some of these stories were written. It was harvest time and we cadres took turns watching over the threshing ground at night with the commune members. In the deep of night, I paced round the quiet square covered with grain and bathed in moonlight. As the cool breeze wafted over the fragrance of new rice, countless stirring events sprang to my mind all crying out for utterance. I turned a manure crate upside-down and spread a sack over it. Then by the light of my storm lantern I started scribbling on this makeshift "desk".
>
> (Reprinted with permission from Chao Chin, "Introducing Hao Jan," *Chinese Literature*, 1974, vol. 4 (April), pp. 98-99.)

In 1961, Hao Ran went to Peking to serve as a literary editor of the Party journal *Red Flag*, and to study Marxist theory. After six more volumes of collected stories and some children's fiction, he began to work on his first novel, *Bright Sunny Sky*, the first volume of which was finished in 1964, followed by two more volumes in 1966. The novel shows the triumph of Party policy which allowed poor peasants, who have worked hard on collective farms, to share equally in profits with the middle-class peasants who contributed private plots of land to the collective. Directly confronting class privilege, which was a major obstacle to land reform, Hao Ran idealizes the peasants and young cadres who struggle for a new classless society.

During the Cultural Revolution, Hao Ran again lived and worked on an agricultural commune, then wrote his second novel, *The Broad Road in Golden Light,* which concerns the change from individual labor on farms to mutual-aid teams. As part of the general movement against individualism, he had not only his colleagues in the Peking Writers Association, but also actual peasants and workers, review the rough draft of the first volume and suggest revisions before it was published in 1972. For example, one peasant reader was troubled with an incident in the novel in which a former landlord criticizes a poor peasant for fighting to plant his crop without mechanized help because he cannot afford it: Hao Ran had made the poor peasant respond meekly, but the reader suggested he should be more courageous, so in the revision he becomes enraged at the landlord. "Such concern over the perfection of the work, not just the success of any individual in the precess of creating a novel, moved me to tears," Hao Ran said. "The peasant readers have no desire to make me a famous writer; they only want their true story told, which is a story of the glory of revolution and the need for continuing vigilance to protect the glory" (quoted in Hsu Kai-yu, *The Chinese Literary Scene*, New York: Penguin, 1976, p. 95.).

In the early 1970s, Hao Ran also served the revolution by conducting writers' workshops for the Bureau of Cultural Affairs to assist young talented writers. He remains a prolific writer, who can produce at the rate of about half a million words per year. Though not the most popular writer in China after the fall of the Gang of Four because of the rise of Dissent Literature, Hao Ran still continues to be an influential figure. He is respected for his brilliant descriptive passages, if not for his stereotyped characters. He does not refer to himself as a professional writer, but as a "full-time worker in the field of literature and art."

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## QUESTIONS FOR DISCUSSION

1) Why was the author's background so important during the Cultural Revolution?

2) Hao Ran's first novel sold three million copies and his second novel sold over four million copies. What aspects of his background make him especially suited to write fiction which appeals to the masses of the Chinese people?

3) What are the values of Hao Ran's stories and novels? What types of people are the heroes? Who are the villains?

4) Hao Ran's generation of writers lived through the Chinese Revolution, and their careers began because of the revolution. How does this background help explain the values illustrated in Hao Ran's fiction?

5) What are the implications of Hao Ran's openness to making revisions in his work following the suggestions of peasants and workers described in the fiction?

6) Why does Hao Ran call himself a "literary worker," rather than a writer or an artist?

## *Student Reading*

***Hao Jan***

Translation from Chinese Literature,
1974, vol. 4 (April), pp. 36-48.

# Date Orchard

Arriving at the date orchard, I was back in my home village, Chisu, after an absence of years.

The dates were ripening. The orchard, stretching for miles around, reminded me of a bride in her wedding clothes smiling bashfully as she waited to be fetched to her husband's home. The interlaced boughs, just beginning to lose their green leaves, were bent under thick clusters of fruit. Under the afternoon sun the dates glowed with colour: agate-red, jade-green or a mottled green and russet. The whole orchard was as pretty as a picture.

Stooping, I made my way under the dense, low-hanging boughs which seemed to be stretching out to catch at my jacket, their leaves shimmying and rustling as if in welcome. I was intoxicated by the beauty around me.

I kept on until, in a clearing ahead, I caught sight of a whitewashed adobe wall. It was my uncle's home, the only cottage in the date orchard and, to me, a dear, familiar sight. It was here that my mother had brought me as a child to avoid the Japs' "mopping-up" campaigns. Here that I and my comrades had held meetings and spent the night when I was old enough to join the resistance. At that time, this thatched cottage housed the provincial district office and guerrilla headquarters. The dates served as fine nourishment for the partisans, the owner of the cottage as their guard. Here many wounded fighters recovered their strength.

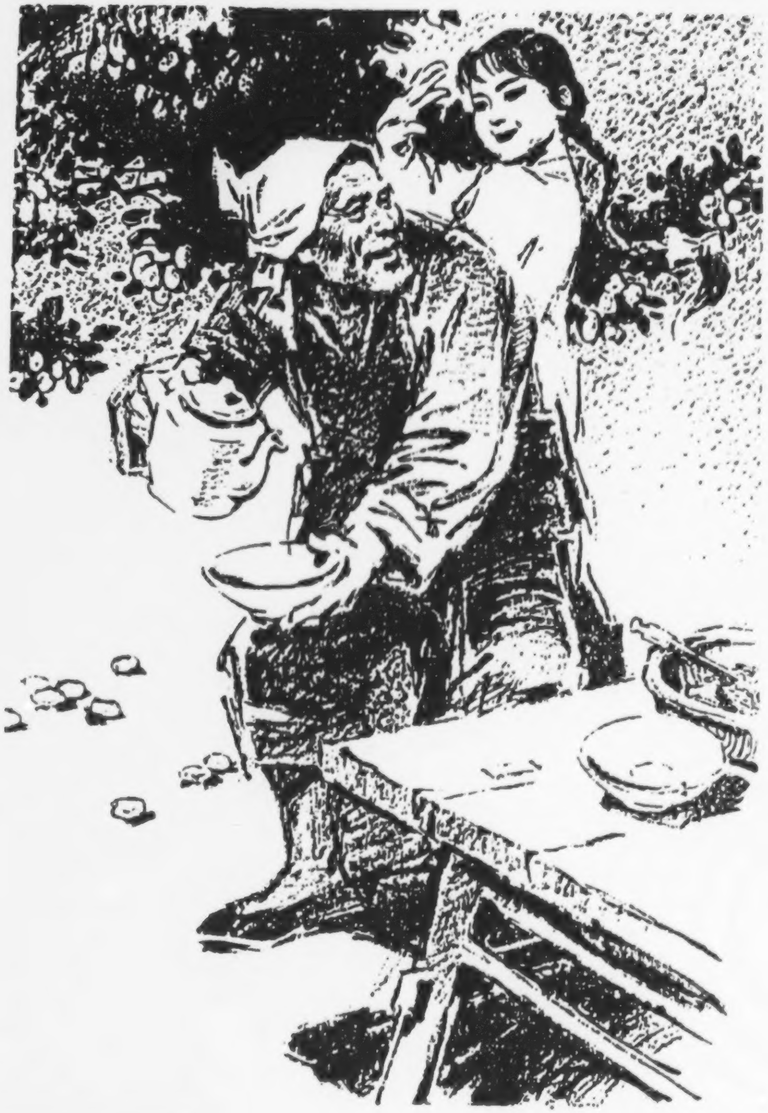
Crossing a ditch overgrown with wild flowers and grass, I saw once again the wicket gate half hidden behind thick foliage. It was ajar. My uncle was sitting under the big spreading date tree in the middle of his yard. We had met at the bus station the previous day and arranged for my visit today. While waiting for me, with the deftness of long practice, he was weaving a wicker basket. My uncle was known in these parts as a champion date-grower and a warm-hearted fellow always willing to help others with pruning or grafting. Old though he now was, his hands had lost none of their skill.

"Well, uncle, here I am!" I called, stepping in.

"So you came on foot, not by bike, eh?" He turned slowly towards me, a smile on his wrinkled face. "Come on in. Or maybe you'd rather sit outside where it's brighter while I go and make you some tea." With that he stood up, brushed the dust off his trousers and walked stiffly but steadily into the north room.

In his absence I looked eagerly round the quiet, secluded courtyard. A regular date-land, this was. The courtyard was shaded by date trees; strings of dates hung from the eaves of the new tiled house; windfalls were sunning in baskets and on mats on the ground. Unbuttoning my coat, I sat down on a block of date-wood in front of the old date tree. Without warning, a commotion broke out above me and big ruddy dates beat down on my head like hailstones. I jumped to my feet. Before I could raise my head a fresh lot of dates rained down. As I retreated hastily to the gateway, a mocking peal of laughter ran out from the tree.

I looked up in annoyance. Perched there was a girl in black cloth shoes, blue trousers rolled up to her knees and a snowy white blouse, one corner of which had caught on a branch. Her plaits, tied with pink silk bows, were swaying from side to side. But her face was hidden from me by the dense branches.



Who was this cheeky girl? She was still laughing uncontrollably. The situation was saved by my uncle's return with a pot of tea and some bowls.

"Come down, minx! Quick!" he shouted up at her, smiling.

Only then did the laughter stop. "I've been treating our visitor to dates," the girl called back cheerfully. The next second she had scrambled to the ground.

She was a girl in her teens with fine arched eyebrows who surveyed me through narrowed eyes, her nose slightly turned up. As she compressed her lips to hold back her laughter, two big dimples appeared in her rosy cheeks glowing with health. She was energetically rubbing her plump hands, perhaps because she had scraped them while climbing the tree.

Now, with a pert toss of her head she asked, "Why are you staring like that? Don't you recognize me?"

Her naivety made me laugh. Still looking steadily at her I replied, "To tell the truth, I don't." Chisu Village was not large, and I knew most of the youngsters of her age. I thought it possible she might be here on a visit. But she certainly didn't behave like a visitor. I glanced doubtfully at my uncle.

The girl guessed what I wanted. "Don't tell him!" she ordered, tossing her head again and darting round to lean against the old man's back.

Uncle put down the tea pot, scolding, "Look out! Do you want to scald me?" Then he straightened up, tugged at his short moustache, and simply smiled but said nothing.

"Who is she, uncle?" I asked.

"Don't tell him!" The girl clapped one hand over his mouth.

Uncle pushed her hand away, announcing loudly: "A wild-date tree, that's what she is. That's what makes her so prickly."

As if embarrassed, the girl dodged behind his back, peeping out at me with her bright mischievous eyes. Then, in a flash, I recognized her. She was still the child I'd known so long ago. As I sized her up, my boyhood came back to me.

It was war-time. 1945. The date trees were in full flower when a pregnant woman mounted on a donkey came to the orchard. The third night after her arrival, she gave birth to a plump baby girl in my uncle's cottage.

At that time the Japanese invaders, growing desperate, were frantically seizing grain and killing villagers on the north China plain. Both at the front and in the rear the situation was tense. This woman, who was a district head, wanted to go back to fight when her baby was just two weeks old. She told my uncle: "I leave my child to you, old comrade. I hope you will bring her up to carry on the torch of revolution."

Three months later, sad news came to the date orchard. We learned that the child's mother had given her life for the cause.

So my uncle adopted the child, to whom he gave the resounding name Red Treasure. To her he was father and mother, both. She passed a happy childhood in the date orchard. When her mother first left, my uncle used to wrap the baby in his cotton-padded coat and carry her to the village to find women to nurse her. And the village women lavished such care on her that she never went short of milk, not even if their own babies had to go hungry. So the little girl was brought up by the whole village. Later on, when our children's corps met in the orchard, we often saw her tagging after my uncle. Because he doted on her and the villagers too considered her as someone special, she could do whatever she wanted. She became very self-willed, with a sharp tongue. Then the other kids gave her the nickname "wild-date tree". Several years after Liberation my uncle managed to find out the whereabouts of Red Treasure's father, who in 1955 took her to the provincial capital to study. For six or seven years I had seen nothing of her.

By now, Red Treasure had got the better of her giggles.

"How time flies! You've certainly shot up," I remarked.

"Not fast enough to suit me!" She shook her head. Squatting down to pick up the dates on the ground she asked, "When will you be leaving, brother?"

"Want to come with me?"

"Why ever should I?" She broke into laughter again. "Nowhere else is a patch on this date orchard of ours. Where else could you find dates as sweet as our Chisu dates?"

These were my feelings exactly. In all my travels I had yet to see a place as beautiful as this orchard. Of all the dates I had eaten, none could compare with those of my own village. Was it our local soil or water which gave them their incomparable sweetness?

"She finished middle school last summer," the old man cut in proudly. "She could have lived in a big storeyed building and got herself a fine job in town, but no — she needs must come back to this orchard." He turned to the girl. "Where did you learn such odd ways?"

"From you, of course!" she crowed.

Uncle beamed all over his face, his heart warmed by her answer. The Japs and diehards had smashed his pots and pans and burnt his cottage not once but many times, yet failed to drive him away. Some well-meaning villagers advised him, "Move in with us. It's far too risky out here."

"I can't leave the date trees," Uncle explained. "In these hard times, dates can save lives." Every year, indeed, loads of dates were shipped out of the orchard. Not a fighter in the gullies and plain but had eaten our big Chisu dates. After Liberation, Red Treasure's father urged him to go and live with them in the city. He firmly declined, explaining, "I have my roots here. This is where I'm happy. I'm doing fine now, and while I still have some strength I must do my bit for the revolution."

Red Treasure, her pocket bulging with dates, straightened up now and said to me: "Don't be in a hurry to leave, brother. We've a Youth League meeting in a couple of days and I want you to give us a talk. I hear you've been to Shantung. How are the dates there? Do they have many? Do they taste as good as ours?" Emptying the dates from her pocket on to the mat, she inquired seriously: "What do they do with their old trees? This is a big problem. I can't find a solution for it in any of the books I've read. When the old trees stop bearing they have to be dug up. It's like digging out our own hearts. Have you come across any good method of making the old trees bear, brother?"

The girl had rattled off these questions so fast that no one else could get a word in edgeways. Did she expect an answer or not? I grinned.

Between sips of date-blossom tea, Uncle advised, "You can drop that idea. It won't get you anywhere. How can you turn an old tree young again?"

"Why not? You're too conservative," she retorted.

"Hear that?" Uncle asked me, chortling. "This wild-date's needling me again. Can it be done, or can't it?"

"Of course it can!" Red Treasure snorted. "If not, how come those seven old trees bore so many dates this year?"

"They bore dates, I grant you that. But why? Let's hear you explain the reason. If you can make the other old trees start bearing too, I'll say you're a smart lassie...."

For some reason or other, Red Treasure clamped her lips together. Not another word would she utter. Uncle, as if aware that he had been tactless, immediately changed the subject.

I couldn't understand why old trees were such a sensitive subject. Not liking to pry, I held my tongue.

"Technician, technician!" came shouting from the orchard. As the voices approached, a group of girls, all more or less the same age, appeared at the gate. They lined up there, giggling, and asked Red Treasure: "Hey! Why didn't you answer us?"

Without moving or looking up she retorted crossly: "How was I to know whom you wanted? Here's our master. You can't call me a technician."

The girls exchanged winks and chorused: "Comrade Wild-date, do come!"

Red Treasure rounded on them, raising her fist. "May your tongues drop out if you call me that again!"

The girls scattered, laughing, then surged back to surround her and carry her off.

Uncle and I sipped tea and ate dates while we chatted. The courtyard was quiet now that Red Treasure had left. All we could hear was the occasional plop of ripe dates as the light wind blew them down.

We talked about the change in our village these years, the expansion of the orchard and the experience old hands had acquired in raising dates. When I spoke of training the younger generation and passing on his experience, Uncle looked thoughtful. He took another sip of tea, looked up, and rubbing his chin remarked: "I've worked in this orchard for sixty years and can't say that I've no experience. The trouble is I can't read or write. I've my own ideas, mind you, but I can't get them out. When County Head Ma was staying here we used to sit up at night talking and he urged me to sum up my experience. There's nothing I'd like better than to pass on the dodges I've learned. I don't want to carry them to the grave with me! But I only know a few characters, and when it comes to writing I'm stumped. All I can do is give on-the-spot demonstrations."

"Now that Red Treasure's back, let her do the writing for you," I suggested.

His face lit up and he slapped his knee. "That's right. It's a good thing she's back. Though it made no sense to me, at first, her coming."

He told me then what had happened.

When Red Treasure alighted that day at the long-distance bus station, several miles away, there was nobody there to meet her. She slung her bedding-roll over her shoulder and hurried back as fast as she could to the orchard.

Uncle asked her, "Which college have you got into, Red Treasure?"

"Date Orchard College — to learn from you to be a peasant."

This wasn't the future Uncle had planned for her. "Your mother left you in my care," he said. "I brought you up and handed you over to your dad, hoping you'd turn out someone useful. Otherwise I'd be letting down my comrades-in-arms as well as those who died for the revolution."

Red Treasure stepped forward, eyes flashing, and shot back: "What sort of people are useful? Aren't you useful? If I learn to be like you, won't my dad be pleased? Could my mother have asked anything better?"

Uncle was floored.

So the girl who had grown up here returned to the date orchard. And her presence there was like a breath of spring. Whatever the hour or season, in the mist of dawn, the blaze of noon or the fading splendour of sunset, clear laughter could be heard ringing from the orchard and a girlish figure could be seen dancing through it. She followed in her master's steps, digging trenches, pruning branches and catching insects; and all the time she worked she asked endless questions, some of which he was hard put to it to answer. There seemed no end to the girl's thirst for knowledge. She made a mental note of all the old man said and every evening, after a hasty supper, she would write it down in her notebook. If the room was too hot, she would move a table outside to the courtyard. What she wrote Uncle didn't know. He supposed all educated people were fond of writing.

The days slipped away until three months had passed. It was the rainy season at the end of August. One wet day Uncle and Red Treasure took time off to make some dumplings. After the meal, she produced a red-covered notebook and said: "Shall I read you something?"

The old man nodded. Red Treasure began to read. The more he heard, the more excited he grew. It was all about raising date trees, just what he would have said himself if he could have found the words.

"Where did you get hold of this wonderful material, lass?" he asked.

"From you!" she twinkled.

"From me? Nonsense!"

"I did too. I've been writing down every evening what you told me during work. You must tell me if there's anything wrong, and I'll change it. Then I'll send a copy to the county head...."

The old man beamed as he finished this account. For me, it had conjured up an enchanting scene: A summer night, hazy moonlight, with not a breath of wind to stir the trees, the silence unbroken by voices or the shrill of insects. A girl, bent over a small table, was writing intently under an oil lamp. From time to time she paused, frowning thoughtfully, then took up her pen again. Beads of sweat from her heart-shaped face dripped on her hand as she transcribed the experience the old man had amassed in sixty years of hard work, transmuted by her own ardent enthusiasm.

"Let me show you something," said Uncle, standing up and going towards the house.

I heard the sound of a cupboard being opened. Then the old man came out with a package which he was unwrapping. It was a notebook. Patting it with his calloused hand he said, "One notebook's already full. She's started another."

I took the notebook. It was small yet seemed heavy. I opened it and found it filled with writing in a neat vigorous hand. The words seemed to be dancing for joy. A slip of paper fluttered to the ground. Picking it up I read:

> COMPACT
>
> Forty-nine old date trees are to be left this year. If no way of reviving them has been found by next year, they can then be cut down or dug up.
>
> Brigade leader Yang Tse
> Technician Red Treasure

Observing my bewilderment, Uncle chuckled. "It's very strange," he said. "Those forty-nine date trees were planted before my time. They're so old that for seven or eight years now they've been barren. This spring the brigade leader came to see me about them. I said: better uproot them to make room for new trees. So he sent seven men to do the job. They had just started digging when Red Treasure came back from a meeting. Hearing what was happening, she dashed there to stop them. She begged the brigade leader to keep the old trees while she tried to find a way to make them bear fruit. She kept on at him till he agreed to that compact."

This intriguing episode reminded me of their odd behaviour earlier on when talking about the old date trees.

"Has she found a way yet?" I asked.

He pounded a fist on the table. "That's what's so strange. She hasn't, yet those few trees which the men started digging up all produced a good crop of dates again this year." He paused reflectively. "Red Treasure doesn't know the reason herself. She gave the other trees plenty of water as well as fertilizer. I'd tried that before myself, but it was no use." He broke off then, but presently urged me not to bring this question up in front of Red Treasure. For she was very worked up these days, trying to figure out why those barren trees had started bearing again.

Uncle and I spent the whole afternoon talking, first in the courtyard and then in the orchard where we went for a stroll. We did not come back till sunset had crimsoned the western sky.

I had not seen Red Treasure since lunch. But now she suddenly darted out from the courtyard.

Standing at the gate, she called: "Hey! Time for supper."

"I haven't got it ready yet," boomed Uncle. He rolled up his sleeves.

Red Treasure barred the way to the northern room. "Don't you stir. Try my cooking today."

"Fine, fine. Let's see what sort of cook you are." Uncle beamed. Seating himself at the table he said to me, "This child wants to learn everything: date-raising, farming, needlework, and now cooking."

Young people are resilient: they soon forget their troubles. Now Red Treasure was once more as carefree and lively as at the time of my arrival. She danced out with a basin in her hands.

The basin was filled with lentil and millet porridge garnished with dates. She gave each of us a big bowlful, but only ladled half a bowl for herself, squatting by the small table to eat. Then, abruptly, her mood changed again. She seemed downcast, restless. No matter how Uncle praised her cooking and tried to humour her, she said not a word.

At last he lost patience and bellowed: "Don't bolt your food!"

"I've something to do." She put down the bowl, took a mattock and hurried away.

I wanted to call her back, but Uncle signed to me not to. When she was out of earshot he explained, "The child's gone to see those old date trees. These days she's got them so much on her mind that she's lost her appetite. If you call me crazy about trees, she's worse. But you have to give yourself heart and soul to a job to make a go of it. Red Treasure's a girl in a thousand — there's no stopping her."

After supper, I went out alone to look for these old date trees and Red Treasure. I saw a group of girls coming towards me through the orchard. They were neither talking nor laughing, but looked as if they had something on their minds. Before I could greet them they called to me from a distance: "Go and fetch Red Treasure home. We can't budge her. It's getting dark and it's no use her sitting there."

I walked in the direction they indicated. After crossing a ditch I caught sight of Red Treasure seated on a heap of freshly dug soil, a book and the mattock beside her. Her fine brows were knitted and, chin in hand, she was staring at the ground.

Suddenly she jumped to her feet and started digging round another old date tree. The branches of the tree shook as she swung her mattock. After working for a while she mopped her perspiring face, then squatted down to examine the hole she had made.

I wondered whether I should call her or not.

Just then she let out a cry: "Aha! Got you at last!" She leapt for joy as if she had discovered some treasure. Then, snatching up mattock and book, she started racing back. The mattock grazed some branches; dates cascaded down. She was too excited to notice. And when she spotted me she could only gasp out, "Brother!"

"What's up?"

"For months I've been racking my brains. Now I've found the answer."

"Answer to what?"

Laying down the book and mattock, she led me back to the tree where she had been digging. Its branches were so loaded with dates that they were sagging. Pointing to it she said: "Look here! This tree had no dates for seven years. Some of its roots were cut this spring, but I stopped them from digging it up, and fresh roots have since grown. Now look at that tree." She pulled me over to another tree with sparse foliage and no fruit, the roots of which she had also exposed. "This tree wasn't touched this spring, so it still has the same old, bald roots. The difference between the two trees made everything clear!"

"It's not clear to me." I shook my head.

"Don't be so dense! Haven't you ever studied natural science? Plants, like people, need nourishment which they imbibe through their roots. The more roots they have the more nourishment they get and the better they grow. See this tree. Its roots were cut back in spring, then covered with soil, and a whole lot of new roots have grown from the places cut. . . ."

"I get it!" I cried, clapping.

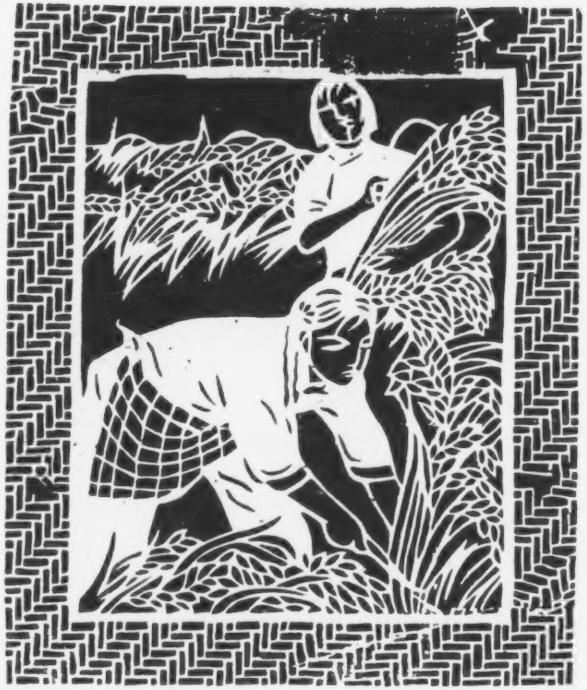
"This is the method of rejuvenation," she went on, her face radiant. "We can try it out in future on all our old date trees. Prune the old roots, apply fertilizer, then water them to make fresh root-hairs grow." While speaking, she picked a few of the biggest dates. "Know what these are?"

"Dates!" I grinned.

"Comrade, it's a staple food," she corrected me. "Increasing the output of dates means increasing our country's food output. Understand?" She put the dates in my hand. "These are fruits of victory, taste them. Aren't they sweet?"

I popped a date in my mouth and started munching. Sweet? It was sweeter than any date I had ever tasted.

*Illustrated by Chen Yu-hsien*



## Unit 5

# Contemporary Literature: The Fiction of Chen Jo-hsi

Chen Jo-hsi's The Execution of Mayor Yin and Other Stories from The Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution, provides a collection of short stroies that will appeal to high school students. The book is available in paperback from Indiana University Press or from many public libraries.

The student Reading that follows provides background on the author for the entire class. Individual students or groups of students can then be assigned to read and report on different stories in the collection.

*Note: Throughout this unit the author's name is written in the Wade-Giles system of romanization following her custom. In pinyin it appears as Chen Roxi.*

Available from:

Indiana University Press
10th and Morton Streets
Bloomington, IN 47405
812-855-6804

Price: $9.95 (paperback)

## Student Reading

### CONTEMPORARY LITERATURE: THE FICTION OF CHEN JO-HSI

Chen Jo-hsi (pronounced "Chen Row-Shee" and spelled in pinyin Chen Roxi), who lived in China for seven years during the Cultural Revolution, turned her first-hand experience into fiction, which is part of the trend of Dissent Literature from China. What she portrays, however, extends beyond the particulars of Chinese history to raise such basic questions as the justification of political authority, the need for individual privacy, and the significance of family background. In artistic control and emotional depth, Chen's work is among the best Chinese fiction written for several decades. The stories give poignant insight into the experience of the Cultural Revolution for the Chinese people; they also explore general issues of political power and individual rights: therefore they are not only moving to read but also useful for stimulating far-ranging classroom discussion.

#### About the Author

Chen Jo-hsi was born in Taiwan in 1938; there she received a pro-Western, anti-communist education. Her writing talent was recognized while she was a student at National Taiwan University, where she majored in Foreign Languages and Literatures and published her first collection of short stories. After her graduation in 1961, Chen Jo-hsi came to the United States to study. In America, she received more positive information about the People's Republic of China, and in reaction against Taiwanese anti-communist propaganda she became an enthusiastic supporter of Maoist China. At Johns Hopkins University, she met Tuan Shiyao, who was a Ph.D. student in fluid mechanics, and they were married in 1964. The young couple shared an idealistic faith in the socialist values and accomplishments of China under Mao; she herself recalled, "We worshipped Chairman Mao then. My husband and I used to read to each other at night from Chairman Mao's poems and then put his book under our pillows before going to sleep" (quoted in Frederick Wakeman, Jr., "The Real China," *New York Review of Books*, July 20, 1978, p. 9).

In 1966, when her husband had completed his doctorate and Chen Jo-hsi was pregnant, and after two years of soul-searching, they courageously decided to repatriate to China, abandoning their families and western comforts, to "serve the people" in the country they identified as their fatherland and to give birth to their child on Chinese soil as a child of Chairman Mao. They arrived in Peking in October 1966, just at the outbreak of the Cultural Revolution. They spent two years in the Peking Hotel waiting for an assignment to do some useful work. "In those days the status of repatriated Chinese was quite low, especially those who came from America." In the eyes of the rebels, they were either secret agents or incorrigible capitalists. Tuan Shiyao, Chen's husband, was not allowed to teach or to do research in his specialty, but was eventually assigned to work at a waterworks institute in Nanjing which had been closed by the Red Guards. He dug coal for three months, then was sent to undergo "reform through labor" on a May Seventh collective farm in northern Jiangsu. Chen Jo-hsi remained at the Hydraulic Engineering College in Nanjing, helping to care for the thirty or so children whose parents were away undergoing labor reform.

In 1972, Chen Jo-hsi gave birth to another son and was sent to Shanghai Workers' University to learn how model workers taught English. She and her husband were then reunited at the Hydraulic Engineering College in Nanjing. Early in 1973, they requested permission to leave China. Some of the reasons for this second difficult decision, which made then vulnerable to severe criticism, are implicit in "Chairman Mao is a Rotten Egg": the narrator had strong reservations about the effects on children's developing personalities of growing up in such a controlled society. Moreover, the couple probably felt that they could never overcome the suspicions aroused by their backgrounds: Tuan's father had served in the Nationalist Army in Taiwan, and they both had dubious status as intellectuals and as repatriates from America. As Chen Jo-hsi's stories indicate, coming from a "black" class background could be used against any individual-- even a child-- whenever it was convenient.

On November 14, 1973, they left China and settled in Hong Kong. Chen Jo-hsi had not done any writing while in China, and she had determined not to give any account of her experiences after she left, but, as she has explained, she gradually changed her mind while working as a schoolteacher in Hong Kong.

> "Originally I didn't wish to talk about my past but wanted simply to get on with the rest of my life. But confined within the human walls of Hong Kong, I felt even lonelier, and I missed my friends on the Mainland.
>
> In my seven-year stay on the Mainland, I accomplished nothing: the land I tilled yielded far from enough even to feed myself. As for teaching, I joined merely in deceiving other people's children. As I thought about this again and again, there was one thing [of importance]: I came to know more about my countrymen. Before, my being a Chinese was taken for granted - I was born with it and had no choice. After these years in China, I have finally realized that the Chinese people are at once tragic and noble, lovable and respectable: even the most ordinary person has embodied the crystallization of thousands of years of history and culture; he has his own dignity that cannot be altered by any totalitarian political system. Of course, I don't know that many people. But whenever I think of them, it is as if I remembered my relatives and friends in my old hometown in Taiwan, and I feel infinitely warm toward them. To give expression to this sentiment, I again tried to write.

(Translated by Leo Oufan, Lee from Chen's Preface to the Taiwan edition of *The Execution of Mayor Yin and Other Stories*, in "Dissent Literature," *Chinese Literature: Essays, Articles, Reviews*, Vol. 1, January 1979, p. 60.)

Chen Jo-hsi's first story, "The Execution of Mayor Yin," was published in the monthly Hong Kong journal *Ming Bao* in November 1974, a year after her departure from China. This story had tremendous impact in Hong Kong, Taiwan, and among overseas Chinese. It was followed by more stories in *Ming Bao* in the next two years. In 1976, Chen moved with her family to Vancouver, and a slightly censored version of her collected short stories was published in Taiwan, where they were interpreted as being more unambivalently anti-communist than Chen Jo-hsi had intended. In 1978, these stories were published in English translation and her second collection of stories in Chinese was issued in Taipei. Since then Chen Jo-hsi has also published an autobiographical novel, *The Repatriates*.

*Unit Consultant: Marsha Wagner, Librarian*
*C.V. Starr East Asian Library, Columbia University*

## QUESTIONS FOR DISCUSSION

1) What aspects of Chen Jo-hsi's background make her uniquely qualified to write these stories about the Cultural Revolution?

2) What are Chen Jo-hsi's values, as far as you can tell? Which ones seem to have changed? Which ones have remained constant?

3) Why would a Chinese student raised in Taiwan and educated in the U.S. want to settle in the People's Republic of China in the late 1960s?

4) For what reasons did Chen Jo-hsi and Tuan Shi-yao feel the greatest disillusionment and disappointment during their stay in China?

## *Student Reading*

# REHABILITATED WRITER REFLECTS ON VAGARIES OF CHINESE LIFE

## "These Ten Years"

by Xiao Qian

Looking back, these have been an extraordinary 10 years both for the country and for me.

Personally, I am perfectly content. I did not become an outcast just in 1957. As far back as 1950 I knew that I had been put on a "blacklist." Since 1978, my greatest pleasure has come from learning through various indications that my name had been taken off of that frightening namelist. Thus, some of the things that I have written since then have again seen the light of day, and I am once again able to travel outside the country and back. Furthermore, I have some work to do other than make my bed. When I thought about how some intellectuals are still living in a single room shared by three generations, I publicly announced that life absolutely could not be better for me. Every time guests express sadness about my room being so narrow, I say that for Chinese intellectuals this is an upper middle class room. As the waters rise, all boats rise. I do not intend to lose contact with the realities of my country.

Do I still have lingering fears? To be honest, I cannot flatly deny that I do not. When I realize that people are dismissed not for what they do but for what they say or write, I cannot help but be concerned. Still, I feel that China in the 1980's has come along way from the 1950's. Clearly, there has been a change in the climate, so that now people dare express feeling or sympathy for those who have been dismissed, and without being sent to supervised labor for it as I was. This makes me feel optimistic, and I feel that the future holds great hope.

Because of my own and other people's painful lessons, I have learned during the past 10 years both how to swallow words and to speak only 70 percent, or possibly less, of what I might like to say. Even so, I have a feeling of futility. For example, both the National Peoples' Congress and the Chinese Peoples' Consultative Committee have repeatedly called for serious attention to education. Recently a young person told me that at Yenan, that sacred place of the revolution, the whole area is covered with the old homes of this or that revolutionary hero, with even Lin Biao's old home being preserved as well. At the same time, the middle and primary school classrooms there are damp, rudimentary, and terribly crowded!

Yes, the several storms of the past 10 years have died down, but not because of the power of the constitution, but because of a certain able person at the top level in the Party. This makes people worry. What if there had been no able person, or if the able person had been unable to work his will! Today one can only say that this is a transitional period between the rule of men and the rule of law. It seems that of the three big mountains [of imperialism, feudalism, and bureaucratism], the one that is hardest to move is feudalism.

During these 10 years, I visited three of the "four little Asian tigers" [Hong Kong, South Korea, Singapore, and Taiwan], and was profoundly moved. Some that had been poor are now rich, and some that depended on imports are themselves now able to manufacture. When I look at them one by one, I am happy, but when I look at the total situation, I am sad. At the beginning of the 1960's, the situation in each of these countries was more or less the same as our own, or possibly not quite as good as our own. But what about today? We are trying to catch up, while they are not just standing still.

Recently I read Jia Pingao's novel *Impulse*, in which he wrote about an honest, courageous hardworking and promising young rural reporter named Jingou, who was chained and thrown into prison for having exposed a shameful secret of the township Chinese Communist Party committee. In the end, this unjust verdict was reversed through the efforts of Jingou's sweetheart, Shihua, who reluctantly slept with the son of a high ranking cadre. Such a profound and biting satire!

China is magnificent. Were this a small country, it would have been long since ruined by a cultural revolution. I am deeply in love with China and I firmly believe that it is like a huge tree that insects cannot consume or that frost cannot bring down. Even so, when I see the insects feeding and the frost attacking my heart still aches.

*Guangming Ribao*, in Foreign Broadcast Information Service (FBIS) published by the Department of State, Dec. 1988.

## *Unit 6*

# Pearl Buck's *The Good Earth*

### ***Teacher's Background***

When her second novel, *The Good Earth*, was published in 1931, Pearl Buck became famous throughout the world for her moving story of the joys and tragedies of the Chinese peasant farmer Wang Lung and his family. The novel was a best seller in the United States, and it was soon translated into more than thirty foreign languages; it has appeared in Chinese alone in at least seven different translations. *The Good Earth* was made into a Broadway play and a motion picture. For this book Pearl Buck received the Pulitzer Prize in 1932 and the William Dean Howells Medal for Distinguished Fiction in 1935. Her international reputation was established when she was awarded the Nobel Prize for Literature in 1938, primarily in recognition of her masterpiece novel, *The Good Earth*, and two biographies of her parents, *The Exile* and *Fighting Angel*, both published in 1936.

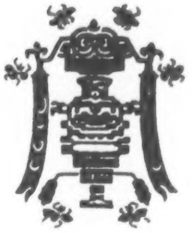
Though it may seem problematic to choose a book written by an American, rather than a work of authentic Chinese literature, to introduce American students to Chinese customs, there are several reasons for using *The Good Earth*. First, it is popular and many students read it anyway, so a critical discussion of it is important. Second, Chinese writers in the twentieth century have been primarily concerned with China's political fate and their works are often more didactic than realistic. Pearl Buck, on the other hand, was mainly committed to describing the Chinese people she knew and to presenting her American audience with the details of Chinese life, customs and attitudes. Pearl Buck's standpoint is finally that of an outsider who is particularly sensitive to aspects of Chinese life which are different from what Westerners are accustomed to. Therefore, she takes pains to record many details which a Chinese writer might take for granted. *The Good Earth* gives an accurate and well informed depiction of traditional Chinese culture in the early twentieth century.

## About the Author

The daughter of Absalom and Caroline Sydenstricker, Buck was born on June 26, 1892 in Hillsboro, West Virginia, while her parents were on leave from their missionary duties in China. But when she was only a few months old, her parents returned to China with Buck, and she lived in China until she was seventeen years old. Buck felt that she belonged to both cultures, American and Chinese. She always preferred Chinese food, and her first language was Chinese. However, the first language she learned to write was English, and in the mornings her mother tutored her in American subjects, while her father read to her from the Bible at night and on Sundays. Yet in the afternoons Buck had a traditional Chinese tutor who taught her Chinese reading, writing, and Confucian principles. She also learned from her Chinese nurse, who told her Buddhist and Daoist stories, and took Buck to worship in a local temple. Buck played with Chinese children and visited their homes.

When she was seventeen, Pearl Buck returned to the United States to attend Randolph-Macon Women's College (1910-1914). Soon after her return to China she married John Lossing Buck, an American agricultural specialist employed by the Presbyterian Mission Board to teach American farming methods to the Chinese. While living with her husband in North China for several years, Pearl got to know the farm families there and carefully observed their lives. She spent the next ten years (1921-1931) living in Nanking, a stay interrupted only for a year of study for the M.A. degree in English at Cornell while her retarded daughter received American medical treatment. The Chinese in Nanking were much more influenced by Western ideas than the Northern farmers, and Pearl Buck began to write both essays and fiction about the young people's conflicts between old and new ways. Her first book, *East Wind: West Wind*, published in 1930, describes two marriages: a traditional girl named Kwei-lan is unhappy in her arranged marriage to a man who believes in modern Western practices; and Kwei-lan's brother defiantly marries an American girl in spite of his parents' objections. *The Good Earth* was published in 1931, and in 1935 republished as a one-volume trilogy entitled *House of Earth* with its sequels *Sons* (1933), and *A House Divided* (1935).

*FEATURED RESOURCE*



# Novel Aids: *The Good Earth*

This highly recommended teaching package on the novel provides a self contained lesson planner complete with pre- and post-tests, vocabulary building, comprehension enhancing exercises, and a final test. This resource is valuable not only as a way to develop a number of language and grammar skills, but also as an excellent introduction to the vagaries of Chinese life in the earlier 20th century. It is also a good introduction to Chinese culture.

Available from:

SUNDANCE
Publishers & Distributers
Newton Road
Littleton, MA 01464

Price: $14.95

## *Student Reading*

### SUMMARY OF *THE GOOD EARTH*

The story begins on the day of Wang Lung's wedding. Wang Lung is a poor young peasant who lives in an earthen brick house with his father, who has arranged for him to marry a slave girl named O-lan from the great family of the House of Hwang. After Wang Lung brings his quiet but diligent new wife home, she works side by side with him in the fields until their first child is born. They are delighted with their son, and at the New Year O-lan dresses him up and proudly takes him to the House of Hwang to show him off. She discovers that due to ostentatious waste and decadence the Hwang household has squandered their fortune, and is now poor enough to be willing to sell off their land. Since Wang Lung, with the help of O-lan who continues to join him in the fields, has had a relatively good year, he determines to extend his prosperity and better his position by buying some land from the House of Hwang. Although they must work harder with more land, Wang Lung and O-lan continue to produce good harvests; they also produce a second son and a daughter.

But soon Wang Lung encounters difficulties. His selfish and unprincipled uncle is jealous, and demands a portion of Wang Lung's new wealth, while Wang Lung, obsessed with his desire to acquire more land, spends all the family savings; a drought causes a poor harvest and the family all suffer from lack of food and from their envious, starving neighbors' looting of the little dried beans and corn they have left. O-lan has to strangle their fourth child as soon as she is born because otherwise she would die of starvation. Desperately poor and hungry, Wang Lung sells his furniture for a bit of silver to take his family south, though he refuses to sell his land. They ride a firewagon to a southern city, where they live in a makeshift hut on the street. They survive by O-lan, the grandfather, and the children begging for food and Wang Lung pulling a jinrickshaw (or rickshaw) for the rich, or pulling wagonloads of cargo at night.

In the southern city, Wang Lung perceives the extraordinary wealth of westerners and Chinese aristocrats and capitalists and he is interested in the revolutionaries' protests of the oppression of the poor. He watches soldiers seize innocent men and force them to carry equipment for their armies. Yet Wang Lung's overriding concern is to get back to his beloved land. He gets his chance when the enemy invades the city and the rich people flee; Wang Lung and O-lan join the throng of poor people who loot the nearby rich man's house and get enough gold and jewels to enable them to return north. They repair their house and plough the fields, having bought seeds, an ox, new furniture and farm tools, and finally more land from the bankrupt House of Hwang.

There follow seven years of prosperity, during which the sons grow and begin school, a third son is born with a twin sister, and the harvest is so plentiful that Wang Lung hires laborers and his loyal neighbor, Ching, as a steward. When a flood causes a general famine in the seventh year, Wang Lung is rich enough not to worry about survival yet, while his lands are under water, he becomes restless in his idleness. Bored with his plain and coarse wife, he ventures into a tea shop in town operated by a man from the south where the rich and idle spend their time drinking, gambling, and visiting prostitutes. There he begins an affair with Lotus, a delicately beautiful but manipulatively demanding courtesan whom he desires obsessively. Wang Lung is cruel to his wife and children and spends his fortune on Lotus, finally using up much of his savings to purchase her and build an adjacent courtyard for her to live in as his second wife. Here Lotus indolently lies around in silks, eating expensive delicacies, and gossiping with the deceitful and opportunistic wife of Wang Lung's uncle.

But discord arises immediately. O-lan is deeply hurt and angry, which makes Wang Lung defensively guilty and cold with her; there are conflicts between O-lan and Lotus' maid Cuckoo who had mistreated O-lan when she was a concubine of the old master in the House of Hwang. Wang Lung's old father protests the decadence of catering to a "harlot" in the house. Finally, Lotus is intolerant of Wang Lung's children, especially his favorite daughter who had become retarded due to malnutrition during the famine. As a result, Wang Lung's passion for Lotus eventually cools, and when the flood recedes and he returns to his farming work, he is no longer obsessed with love.

In the last third of the book, Wang Lung experiences a succession of joys and sorrows in his family relationships and in his farming. Seasons of good harvests are punctuated by occasional bad years, due to a heavy flood, a severe winter freeze, and a scourge of locusts. Yet on the whole Wang Lung continues to prosper. His wealth, however, also brings a series of discontents. His first son is idle and interested only in women; Wang Lung is furious when he finds the son has visited first a local whore and then his own Lotus, so he arranges a marriage for him. Moreover, Wang Lung's good-for-nothing uncle, with his wife and son, force themselves on the family with their demands for money and their morally corrupting influence; Wang Lung must be kind to them because the uncle is a leader of a band of robbers, from which Wang Lung's prosperous household is protected for as long as he provides for the uncle. He eventually renders the uncle and his wife harmless by making them addicted to opium.

Family affairs continue to have ups and downs. O-lan's sickness finally overpowers her, and Wang Lung's tender solicitousness to her on her deathbed cannot fully compensate for the insults she received when Lotus moved into the house. She is content to die only after her first son's marriage is consummated, so she can expect a grandson. Wang Lung's father dies immediately after O-lan, and the faithful steward Ching is buried next. But these losses are accompanied by new joys: the first son produces grandsons and granddaughters, and the second son-- a successful grain merchant-- and the second daughter are also married and have children.

As Wang Lung ages, he rents out his farm land to tenants. His eldest son persuades him to buy the old estate of the House of Hwang in town, both as a means of moving out from the place where the disgraceful uncle and his wife live, and as a symbol of Wang Lung's elevated social position. Wang Lung is gratified that now he can take the place of the Old Master of Hwang who once intimidated him so much. But although Wang Lung is head of a three-generation extended family who live in luxury with numerous servants, he cannot find peace. The two older brothers and their wives quarrel; the youngest son refuses to become a farmer as Wang Lung had intended and instead joins the army. The uncle's malicious son causes more trouble when he brings his military regiment to camp for six weeks in Wang Lung's elegant house. And Wang Lung, long tired of the aging Lotus, finds some comfort in taking the young slave Pear Blossom as his concubine.

Finally, Wang Lung returns to the earthen house of his land to die. Material prosperity has brought him superficial social satisfaction, but only his land can provide peace and security. Even his final days are troubled, when he overhears his two older sons planning to sell the land as soon as he dies.

## QUESTIONS ON THEMES AND VALUES IN *THE GOOD EARTH*

1) What characters represent decadence in the novel? What makes them decadent? Can they be reformed? How?

2) Who are the good characters in the novel? What is the source of their virtue? Can they be corrupted? How?

3) What does Wang Lung most believe in, and in what order would he rank these values: money, the gods, the land, the family, social status, the government, etc. How do you rank these values in your own life?

# *Resource List For Chinese Literature*

## CHINESE LITERATURE IN TRANSLATION

The following is an annotated list of representative titles in Chinese literature that can be read by high school students. The selections range from the earliest times to the 1980s.

Certain works might be read by the entire class in conjunction with their study of a period in Chinese history; others might be assigned to individual students for special reports. Also cross-referenced here are a number of books by Chinese authors which, while not considered Chinese literature per se, are very readable and representative of Chinese views of social and political issues in China.

Related units in other sections of the workbook, which provide background for any of the texts, are indicated on the list.

### *The Book of Songs (Shijing/Shih ching)*

This anthology of 305 folk songs was probably compiled during the sixth century B.C. Its most accessible poems are short love songs and work songs. It also contains a number of songs complaining about greedy landlords or protesting military service. The relatively simple imagery of these folksongs demonstrates the close relationship between man and nature in a this-worldly agricultural society.

Recommended translation: Arthur Waley, trans. *The Book of Songs*.
1937; reprint, New York: Grove Press, 1960.

### *The Poems of Wang Wei*

One of the representative poets of the "Golden Age of Chinese Poetry" in the Tang dynasty, Wang Wei (710-761) demonstrates various currents of the period, as he was a statesman, courtier, musician, recluse, and Buddhist. A master of poetic craft, Wang Wei is best known for his nature poetry, which express a harmony between the observer and the observed; yet his involvement in political affairs adds tension to the apparently simple style. (See the unit on Medieval China in the Traditional History section for this and the next 3 books.)

Recommended translations: G.W. Robinson, trans. *Poems of Wang Wei*. Baltimore: Penguin, 1973.

Pauline Yu, trans. *The Poetry of Wang Wei*. Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1980.

### *The Romance of the Western Chamber*

This long five-part play, composed about 1300, is based on one of China's most famous love stories, concerning an aspiring young scholar who is torn between duty to his parents and career versus attraction to the modest yet seductive young woman he encounters by chance. The characterization and the poetry of this play represent a high point in the history of Chinese drama.

Recommended translation: S.I. Hsiung, trans. *The Romance of the Western Chamber* 1936; reprint, New York: Columbia University Press, 1968.

### *Monkey* or *The Journey to the West*

One of China's most popular series of stories, this novel recounts the legends of Monkey and his companions who accompanied the seventh-century Buddhist monk Xuanzang (Hsuan-tsang) on his sixteen-year pilgrimage along the silk route to India to bring Buddhist sutras back to China. Filled with humor, wit, satire, and imaginative fantasy, the novel also suggests serious religious and human truth. Composed by Wu Chengen (ca. 1500-1580), the novel is based on several earlier versions of the legend, and by the same token it has inspired countless later stories, plays, operas, and other artifacts of popular culture.

Recommended translations: Arthur Waley, trans. *Monkey* 1943; reprint, New York: Grove Press, 1958. This is Waley's engaging, highly readable, but abridged and simplified version.

Alison Waley, ed. *Adventures of the Monkey God*. Abridged version of A. Waley's classic translation is very accessible to the high school student. Distributed by the Heian International Institute, Union City, CA, 94587.

Anthony Yu, trans. *The Journey to the West*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1977, 4 volumes. This is the first complete translation into English, and its style reflects both the complex ambiguity of the original language and the erudition of the scholar-translator.

### *The Dream of the Red Chamber* or *The Story of the Stone*

China's greatest novel, this 120-chapter masterpiece written in the eighteenth century charts the decline of a great aristocratic family from its peak of imperial favor to its disgrace through financial mismanagement and social decadence. The main characters are unforgettable adolescents portrayed with fine psychological complexity; the Buddhist/Daoist frame structure adds an allegorical quality to the story. Details of daily life in traditional China are recounted with loving care and the complex social relationships in a very large extended family are related with striking realism.

Recommended translations: Chi-chen Wang, trans. *Dream of the Red Chamber.* New York: Anchor/Doubleday, 1958. This single-volume abridged edition has been adapted and simplified; many details are missing, but the flavor still comes through.

David Hawkes and John Minford, trans. *The Story of the Stone*. Baltimore: Penguin, 1973, 5 volumes. A complete and delightfully idiomatic translation which faithfully reflects the complexity and sophistication of the original. A reading of volume one only would be worthwhile.

### *Short Stories of Lu Xun*

Known throughout the twentieth century as China's greatest modern writer, Lu Xun used fiction to awaken his readers-- intellectuals of the 1920s-- to the necessity of profound social and political change in China. A master of pointed irony, disquieting ambiguity, and startlingly apt images, Lu Xun is highly regarded for his style as well as for his earnest political concerns. (See workbook unit on Lu Xun.)

Recommended translation: Yang Hsien-yi and Gladys Yang, trans. *Selected Stories of Lu Hsun*. New York: Norton, 1977. An collection of 18 or his best short stories plus the preface to "Call to Arms."

*The Complete Stories of Lu Xun*. Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1981. A collection of all 26 of his stories and the preface to "Call to Arms."

William A. Lyell, trans. *Diary of a Madman and Other Stories*. Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 1990.

### *Family*

This novel is the first of a trilogy of novels completed by Ba Jin (Pa Chin) in 1931 under the title *Turbulent Currents*. It shows three sons of a traditional extended family confronting the contradictions between the feudal past and a modernized future. Each one compromises or rebels in a different way, reflecting not only the social unrest in China of that period but also the varied psychological responses to a time of social transition. Filled with highly dramatic events, the novel's force springs largely from the tragedy involved in broken family ties.

Recommended translation: Olga Lang, trans. *Family*. New York: Anchor/Doubleday, 1972.

### *Rickshaw Boy*

As a contrast to *Family*'s aristocratic milieu, Lao She's 1937 novel depicts the suffering of the urban poor. The protagonist, Camel, is a downtrodden rickshaw puller who destroys himself while trying valiantly to better his circumstances in a dog-eat-dog world, where no individual can survive alone. Yet Camel's experiences in the attempt reveal actual life in the streets of pre-revolutionary Peking.

Recommended translation: Jean M. James, trans. *Rickshaw: The Novel Lo-t'o Hsiang Tzu*. Honolulu: University Press of Hawaii, 1979.

### *Miss Sophie's Diary*

Ding Ling is China's best known twentieth-century woman writer. She became prominent for her shocking story written in 1928 which portrays the inner life and lusts of a sickly yet ambitious, selfish yet self-conscious young woman. Sophie, who lives in Beijing, is trapped by her intellectualized ideals which cannot be fulfilled in real life. Bold for its expression of a young woman's sexual impulses and desire to control, this novella strikes Western readers as surprisingly modern.

Recommended translation: W. J. F. Jenner, trans. *Miss Sophie's Diary and Other Stories*. Beijing: Panda Books, 1985.

### *Market Street: A Chinese Woman in Harbin*

As a contrast to Ding Ling's work, Xiao Hong's intimate autobiographical writing is set in the poverty-stricken and "backward" countryside of northeast China, or-- as in this case-- in the northeastern city of Harbin in the 1930s. *Market Street*, also concerning a woman's search for herself, is a fictionalized autobiography which is penetrating in its intensity, moving yet not sentimental. It is a life recaptured in its vivid detail through art. Its themes include love, underground politics, female roles in a male-dominated society, and a quest for beauty and meaning.

Recommended translation: Howard Goldblatt, trans. *Market Street: A Chinese Woman in Harbin*. Seattle: University of Washington Press, 1986.

### *Chinese Lives: An Oral History of Contemporary China*

This wonderfully entertaining collection of interviews provides a wealth of options for teaching about China. (See featured unit in Workbook **Introduction**.)

Zhang Xinxin and Sang Ye, with preface by Studs Terkel.
New York: Pantheon Books, 1987.

### *The Execution of Mayor Yin and Other Stories from the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution*

This collection of stories about the Cultural Revolution is unique in that the stories are told by a woman from Taiwan who repatriated to mainland China in order to participate in the socialist revolution. Disheartened by the excesses and absurdity of the Cultural Revolution, she and her husband left China in 1973. Although part of Chinese dissent literature, the book stands apart because it is fiction rather than straight autobiography.

Chen Jo-hsi (Chen Roxi). Bloomington: Indiana University
Press, 1978.

## CHINESE FILMS ON VIDEO TAPE

A number of twentieth-century Chinese literary works have been made into films, which are very interesting when compared with the original literary version. These include:

**I. Based on literature written before 1942:**

- *Family* (based on Ba Jin's novel)
- *Rickshaw Boy* (based on Lao She's novel)
- *Midnight* (based on Mao Dun's novel)
- *Lin Family Shop* (Based on Mao Dun's story)
- *Ah Q* (Based on Lu Xun's story)
- *Teahouse* (based on Lao She's play)
- *The New Year Sacrifice* (based on Lu Xun' story)

**II. Based on literature written after 1976:**

*At Middle Age* (based on Shen Rong's novella)

*Herdsman* (based on Zhang Xianliang's novella)

*Old Well* (based on Zheng Yi's novel)

*Town Called Hibiscus* (based on Gu Hua's novel)

A number of other fine videos are available, and vividly reflect the social and political life of contemporary China. These include:

- *Yellow Earth*[*]
- *River Without Buoys*
- *Under the Bridge*

Video tapes may be ordered from:

Cheng & Tsui Company
25 West Street
Boston, MA 02111

Nan Hai (USA) Company, Inc.
644 Broadway, Suite 403
San Francisco, CA 94133
(415) 398-6671
Facsimile (415) 443-4016

China Books & Periodicals
2929 24th Street
San Francisco, CA 94110
(415) 282-2994

Approximate cost for videos is $45.00

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[*] Bonnie McDougall has just translated the screenplay of Yellow Earth into English and it will be published in Hong Kong later this year.

## *Section XV*

# Foreign Policy

This very brief section serves only as an introduction to teachers on the vast topic of Chinese foreign relations. In addition to providing background for teachers, the section addresses China's relationship with the US. Teachers are referred to the sections **What It Means To Be Chinese**, **Traditional History**, and **Modern History** for further reading on how China has viewed itself among nations, and its trade with the rest of the world.

For teachers wishing to present a more complete unit on Chinese foreign relations, we recommend focusing on the following topics: China as a third world power, a regional power, a global power, foreign economic relations, and defense policy. These topics may be approached in a number of ways. Issues, such as the environment, nuclear power, trading patterns and problems, human rights, or international organizations such as the United Nations provide excellent starting points for further inquiry into China. Also, investigating a particular country's relations with China, such as the Soviet Union, the U.S., or Japan for instance, will highlight China's foreign policy position.

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Unit 1: ***Background Reading for Teachers***

Unit 2: ***China's Trade and Relations with the U.S.***

- Student Reading: "*Two Hundred Years of Trade with China.*"
- Student Reading: "*Taiwan and U.S.-China Relations*"
- Student Reading: "*President Nixon's Comments on his trip to China*"
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- Questions For Discussion

Featured Resource: *Opposing Viewpoints*

Resource List

## *Unit 1*

# Background Reading for Teachers: China's Foreign Policy

China's traditional self-image as a universalistic civilization and a world cultural center has made it difficult to forge an identity in a world of nation-states. Against this background, Chinese intellectuals and political leaders have debated the question of how China is to view itself: as a member of the socialist world, the third world, or the Western-oriented international trading society that encompasses Europe, the Americas, Japan and the rest of the Pacific Rim. This is not an either/or choice necessarily, but there has been discussion and disagreement within China over what its strategic stance should be as it forges a new identity as a nation-state in an increasingly interdependent world.

China, with its large population and massive resource-rich territory, is potentially a great power, and the policies of the P.R.C. have been directed - in part - at reestablishing China's position and identity as a world leader. China's military forces, while not the most efficient, are the world's largest, and China is one of the few countries capable of launching a retaliatory nuclear strike. The P.R.C. has become more active in international organizations, including the United Nations, where it is one of the five permanent members of the Security Council. China has also demonstrated the capability of putting satellites into space with its own rockets.

For ideological as well as economic reasons, however, since the early 1960s the Chinese have preferred to align themselves rhetorically with the poorer countries of the third world and to distance themselves from the two superpowers. Despite China's technological achievements, it remains essentially a giant developing country in need of economic assistance. And as a socialist country with a historical tradition of cultural superiority in the region, its periods of entente with the Soviet Union and the United States have often broken down. Yet, by the late 1980s, China's relations with both the United States and the Soviet Union had substantially improved.

Within the Pacific region, China is potentially a major economic and political force. Its relations with Japan, Korea, and its southeast Asian neighbors, Vietnam, Cambodia, Laos, Malaysia, Thailand, Indonesia, Singapore, and the Philippines, will be determined by how they perceive this power will be used.

By the late 1980s Japan had become China's primary trading partner and source of foreign investment. The Chinese remain sensitive to Japanese atrocities committed in China during W.W.II, but the two countries share a long history of cultural interchange and commonalities.

After decades of strained relations, trade, cultural and educational exchange between the United States and China are increasing. Although both countries agree that Taiwan is part of China, the United States has long supported the Nationalist party government on Taiwan and insists that reunification with the mainland should be achieved by peaceful means; China maintains that this is an internal matter to be settled by the Chinese themselves and protests the continuing U.S. commitment to preventing military attack on Taiwan. Having experienced foreign encroachment and intrusion in their internal affairs from the mid-1800s to the mid-1900s, the Chinese remain sensitive to any perceived challenges to their national sovereignty.

The economic reforms of the 1980s have led to disagreement among those who favor the "open-door" policy of contact and economic exchange with the West and those who fear the "spiritual pollution" and "bourgeois liberalization" of social and economic values that have accompanied economic exchange with the West. Just as in the late 1800s, three positions can be discerned among the Chinese leaders: 1) a "neo-traditional" interpretation of Marxism that contains many traditional Chinese values (deference to seniors, paternalistic government, economic self-sufficiency, a Chinese-centered rather than cosmopolitan culture); 2) complete Westernization, including the abandonment of socialism and Marxism (since it is illegal to voice these ideas openly, it is difficult to gauge the strength of this opinion), a position held mainly by younger people and reformers; 3) adoption of Western technology and managerial methods, while attempting to isolate these elements culturally. The idea of a "Chinese-style socialism" represents this desire to adopt all that is useful from the West while still retaining a distinctive, and indeed superior, Chinese cultural identity.

中國

# Unit 2
# *China's Trade with the U.S.*

美國

## *Student Reading*

### 200 YEARS OF THE CHINA TRADE

*Was it easier to trade with China in 1784 than it is in 1984? Trade between the U.S. and the People's Republic of China is booming. The two nations are exchanging about $4 billion worth of goods this year. By 1985, experts expect the amount of that trade to soar to $10 billion a year. Two needs fuel this trade:*

*(1) The Chinese need to bring their farms, factories, and armed services up to date. Tractors, computers, and other equipment made in the West can help them do this, they feel.*

*(2) U.S. companies' need to grow. A healthy market for their goods in China could help. One hitch: The Chinese are short of dollars. Two European automakers have accepted hams and tea as part payment for their products. But most U.S. companies want hard cash.*

Nearly 200 years ago, the shoe was on the other foot. The U.S. was eager to buy Chinese goods. But the Chinese wanted only silver from the U.S. The Yankees had little silver. Still, they found ways to make the China trade work. Their success began a new era in U.S. commercial history. This story tells how.

It was February, 1784. Only five months earlier, the U.S. and Great Britain had signed the Treaty of Paris. This agreement ended the Revolutionary War. U.S. ships could no longer trade with the British West Indies. Trade with other nations was in a slump. Americans especially missed tea. Robert Morris, a banker, decided to find a way to supply that tea. By doing so, he said, he hoped "to encourage others in the adventurous pursuit of commerce."

#### Empress of China

Morris hired a small ship and renamed it the Empress of China. The ship was set to sail east, around the southern tip of Africa, to Canton, China. It would return by the same route. The ship's captain, John Green, had spent the war attacking British cargo ships. His crew of 34 men included a gunner, who would come in handy if the ship met pirates. Also aboard were two carpenters, a barrel-maker, and several boys. The boys were beginning their careers in the merchant marine.

In some ways, the most important man aboard was the "supercargo," Samuel Shaw of Boston. Shaw was a businessman, in charge of the $120,000 cargo in the ship's hold. The Empress carried lead, 2,600 animal skins, fine camlet cloth, cotton, and a few barrels of pepper. It also carried 30 tons of ginseng, a root that grew wild in North America. The Chinese valued ginseng for its healing powers.

## Trading in Canton

The Empress left New York harbor on February 22, 1784. Six months later, in August, it arrived at Macao, a Portuguese outpost on the Chinese coast. Here, Captain Green hired Chinese pilots to guide his ship up the Pearl River to Whampoa. Trading ships stayed in Whampoa while their Supercargoes worked out deals in Canton, 12 miles upstream.

The Chinese wanted as few foreigners as possible in their country. They believed that China was the center of a square earth. Foreigners, they felt, had nothing but trouble to offer China. The Chinese called the Americans the "New People." But Americans were lumped with all outsiders as "Foreign Devils."

Samuel Shaw spent the next fourth months in Canton. Foreigners there weren't free to roam. The Chinese ordered them to stay in compounds call hongs. Hongs were pleasant places, where Chinese merchants called to trade.

Shaw traded his cargo for tea, nankeen (Chinese cotton), tableware, silk, and spice. The shipment was welcomed in the U.S. when the Empress returned there in May, 1785. The Chinese goods brought Robert Morris and his partners $30,000-an impressive profit.

Other U.S. merchants were quick to see the value of the China trade. At first, however, they flooded the Chinese market with ginseng. Chinese demand for the root dropped, and so did its price. But the Chinese did want sea-otter pelts, which Yankees traded from Indians in the American Northwest. Sandalwood, found in the Sandwich Islands (Hawaii), also brought a high price from Chinese merchants.

## From Ginseng to Opium

The trade took an ugly turn in the early 1800's. British merchants began carrying opium to China, and many Americans followed suit. Opium, a drug, created its own demand by making addicts of its users. U.S. merchants found they could buy a pound of opium in Turkey for $2.50 and sell it in Canton for $10.00.

A Chinese attempt to shut down the opium traffic led to war with Britain. The "Opium War" lasted two years. It ended with a treaty that punished China and opened four more ports to British shipping. In later treaties, China granted the U.S. and France the same privileges Britain had.

Turmoil within China would interrupt trade with the U.S. during the next 100 years. Then, in 1949, a Communist government took over in China. The next year, Chinese and U.S. troops faced off in Korea, and the China trade ended for 22 years.

Now, commerce between China and the U.S. is picking up again. Trade has brought the two nations closer, just as it did 196 years ago, in 1784.

DISCUSSION QUESTION: How might trade between nations lead to peace? How might it lead to war?

*Karen Markoe, Associate Professor*
*State University of New York Maritime College*

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## CHINA TRADE TIMELINE

| | |
|---|---|
| 1784: | NY ship, Empress of China, opens U.S.-China trade. |
| 1787: | Boston ship, Columbia, carries sea-otter pelts to Canton. |
| 1805: | Baltimore ship, Entan, carries opium to Canton. |
| 1840-42: | Opium War. |
| 1844: | China grants U.S. trading rights in Treaty of Wanghia. |
| 1899-1900: | U.S. persuades China to keep ports open to Western trade from all nations. |
| 1950: | Korean War begins; U.S. and China break all relations. |
| 1972: | U.S.-China trade resumes. |
| 1979: | U.S. and China resume diplomatic relations. |

## Taiwan and U.S.- China Relations

On March 1, 1979, the United States and the Peoples' Republic of China (PRC) established diplomatic relations, almost thirty years after the Communist government came to power in 1949. The process of establishing diplomatic ties with the United States began in February of 1972 when President Nixon visited China. That visit produced "The Shanghai Communique," which was an acknowledgement by Beijing (the capital of the PRC) and Washington that the two countries face an obstacle to establishing diplomatic relations, but also that they would work toward "normalizing" their relations.

"It was clear," writes one historian, "that the principal obstacle to regular diplomatic relations, to 'normalization' with China, was not the American role in Vietnam but rather Taiwan."[1] Simply put, the problem centered on the fact that both China and Taiwan claim that there is only one China, and Taiwan is a part of China, but each side also claims to be the legitimate government of China. The PRC objected to the United States having diplomatic relations with both the PRC and Taiwan, because it would mean that the U.S. believed there were "two Chinas," and not just one China. Further, Beijing demanded that the U.S. withdraw its troops stationed in Taiwan, but refused to promise that the PRC would not use force to "reunite" Taiwan with the mainland, which the U.S. asked the PRC to promise.

The PRC government believed that the issue of Taiwan was an "internal" problem; it concerned only the Chinese on Taiwan and the Chinese on the Mainland, and the U.S. should not interfere. In the "Shanghai Communique" the U.S. agreed that there was only one China, and while restating its wish for a peaceful resolution to the issue, also agreed to reduce U.S. forces on Taiwan.

As the relationship between Beijing and Washington progressed, the U.S. moved away from its official recognition of the Nationalist government on Taiwan as the legitimate government of all of China. The U.S. supported a move in the United Nations for Beijing to replace Taiwan in the China seat. And finally, official ties with Taiwan were cut, in keeping with the U.S. acknowledgement that there could only be one legitimate government in China.

Many Americans were upset at what they felt was the "abandonment" of

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[1] . All quotes taken from Warren I. Cohen *America's Response to China*, (New York, Columbia Univ. Press) c 1990. p. 198-209.

Taiwan, and soon after diplomatic relations were established with the PRC, the U.S. Congress passed the "Taiwan Relations Act." This Act sought to grant Taiwan the same privileges as a sovereign nation, though it was no longer recognized as one, and it promised to make available "such defense articles and defense services as may be necessary to enable Taiwan to maintain a sufficient self-defense capability." Some Americans, and members of Congress felt that without a promise by the PRC not to use force against Taiwan, the U.S. had a moral obligation to help Taiwan protect itself. The PRC government was extremely angry. The issue of Taiwan continued to be a major obstacle in the early years of the PRC's relations with the U.S..

In 1982, the U.S. and the PRC again signed a "joint communique" (sometimes referred to the the "the 2nd Shanghai Communique") making explicit that the U.S. would not sell Taiwan a greater number of weapons than it did before 1979, and that they would not be more sophisticated. But, the U.S. refused to commit itself to a date on which it would stop selling weapons to Taiwan, while stating, however, that the U.S. was not pursuing a policy to create "two Chinas."

Throughout the 1980s the PRC's relationship with the U.S. continued to flourish, as did the U.S. relationship with Taiwan. The PRC made many offers to Taiwan to "reunify" with the mainland, but Taiwan declined. The political system on Taiwan is moving toward a democracy, while the political system on mainland China is not. The PRC is reforming its socialist system, but the two are still very different. Taiwan and the PRC have established unoffical trade links, mail and telecommunications links, and officially Taiwan now permits its citizens to travel to the PRC, and allows citizens from the PRC to visit Taiwan. The road ahead is uncertain, but perhaps American interests are best expressed in the quote Warren Cohen has taken from Theodore Roosevelt, "it is to the advantage, and not to the disadvantage of other nations when any nation becomes stable and prosperous, able to keep the peace within its own borders, and strong enough not to invite aggression from without. We heartily hope for the progress of China, and so far as by peaceable and legitimate means we are able we will do our part toward furthering that progress."

*Composed by Catherine H. Keyser*

## VOCABULARY

normalizing relations
socialist political system
reunify
sovereign
moral obligation
hegemony

## QUESTIONS FOR DISCUSSION

1. Using your own words, describe the major obstacle in China establishing diplomatic relations with the U.S.

2. Why did China want the U.S. to stop selling weapons to Taiwan, and why did the U.S. refuse to stop selling weapons to Taiwan?

中國美國

## *Student Reading*

# Excerpts from President Nixon's Comments on his Trip to China, 1972.

In our talks, the talks that I had with the leaders of the People's Republic and that the Secretary of State had with the office of the Government of the People's Republic in the foreign affairs area, we both realized that a bridge of understanding that spans almost 12,000 miles and 22 years of hostility can't be built in 1 week of discussions. But we have agreed to begin to build that bridge, recognizing that our work will require years of patient effort. We made no attempt to pretend that major differences did not exist between our two governments, because they do exist.

This communique was unique in honestly setting forth differences rather than trying to cover them up with diplomatic doubletalk.

As I am sure you realize, it was a great experience for us to see the timeless wonders of ancient China, the changes that are being made in modern China. And one fact stands out, among many others, from my talks with the Chinese leaders. It is their total belief, their total dedication, to their system of government. That is their right, just as it is the right of any country to choose the kind of government it wants.

But as I return from this trip, just as has been the case on my return from other trips abroad which have taken me to over 80 countries, I come back to America with an even stronger faith in our system of government.

As I flew across America today, all the way from Alaska, over the Rockies, the Plains, and then on to Washington, I thought of the greatness of our country and, most of all, I thought of the freedom, the opportunity, the progress that 200 million Americans are privileged to enjoy. I realized again this is a beautiful country. And tonight my prayer and my hope is that as a result of this trip, our children will have a better chance to grow up in a peaceful world.

Reprinted from the *State Department Bulletin*, March 1972.

# *Student Reference*

## TEXT OF JOINT COMMUNIQUE, ISSUED AT SHANGHAI, FEBRUARY 27

President Richard Nixon of the United States of America visited the People's Republic of China at the invitation of Premier Chou En-lai of the People's Republic of China from February 21 to February 28, 1972. Accompanying the President were Mrs. Nixon, U.S. Secretary of State William Rogers, Assistant to the President Dr. Henry Kissinger, and other American officials.

President Nixon met with Chairman Mao Tse-tung of the Communist Party of China on February 21. The two leaders had a serious and frank exchange of views on Sino-U.S. relations and world affairs.

During the visit, extensive, earnest and frank discussions were held between President Nixon and Premier Chou En-lai on the normalization of relations between the United States of America and the People's Republic of China, as well as on other matters of interest to both sides...

There are essential differences between China and the United States in their social systems and foreign policies. However, the two sides agreed that countries, regardless of their social systems, should conduct their relations on the principles of respect for the sovereignty and territorial integrity of all states, non-aggression against other states, non-interference in the internal affairs of other states, equality and mutual benefit, and peaceful coexistence. International disputes should be settled on this basis, without resorting to the use or threat of force. The United States and the People's Republic of China are prepared to apply these principles to their mutual relations.

With these principles of international relations in mind the two sides stated that:

—progress toward the normalization of relations between China and the United States is in the interests of all countries;

—both wish to reduce the danger of international military conflict;

—neither should seek hegemony in the Asia-Pacific region and each is opposed to efforts by any other country or group of countries to establish such hegemony; and

—neither is prepared to negotiate on behalf of any third party or to enter into agreements or understandings with the other directed at other states...

The two sides reviewed the long-standing serious disputes between China and the United States. The Chinese side reaffirmed its position: The Taiwan question is the crucial question obstructing the normalization of relations between China and the United States; the Government of the People's Republic of China is the sole legal government of China; Taiwan is a province of China which has long been returned to the motherland; the liberation of Taiwan is China's internal affair in which no other country has the right to interfere; and all U.S. forces and military installations must be withdrawn from Taiwan. The Chinese Government firmly opposes any activities which aim at the creation of "one China, one Taiwan," "one China, two governments," "two Chinas," and "independent Taiwan" or advocate that "the status of Taiwan remains to be determined."

The U.S. side declared: The United States acknowledges that all Chinese on either side of the Taiwan Strait maintain there is but one China and that Taiwan is a part of China. The United States Government does not challenge that position. It reaffirms its interest in a peaceful settlement of the Taiwan question by the Chinese themselves. With this prospect in mind, it affirms the ultimate objective of the withdrawal of all U.S. forces and military installations from Taiwan. In the meantime, it will progressively reduce its forces and military installations on Taiwan as the tension in the area diminishes...

The two sides expressed the hope that the gains achieved during this visit would open up new prospects for the relations between the two countries. They believe that the normalization of relations between the two countries is not only in the interest of the Chinese and American peoples but also contributes to the relaxation of tension in Asia and the world...

# Excerpts from the Taiwan Relations Act of 1979

## SHORT TITLE

SECTION 1. This Act may be cited as the "Taiwan Relations Act".

## FINDINGS AND DECLARATION OF POLICY

SEC. 2. (a) The President having terminated governmental relations between the United States and the governing authorities on Taiwan recognized by the United States as the Republic of China prior to January 1, 1979, the Congress finds that the enactment of this Act is necessary—

(1) to help maintain peace, security, and stability in the Western Pacific; and

(2) to promote the foreign policy of the United States by authorizing the continuation of commercial, cultural, and other relations between the people of the United States and the people on Taiwan.

(b) It is the policy of the United States—

(1) to preserve and promote extensive, close, and friendly commercial, cultural, and other relations between the people of the United States and the people on Taiwan, as well as the people on the China mainland and all other peoples of the Western Pacific area;

(2) to declare that peace and stability in the area are in the political, security, and economic interests of the United States, and are matters of international concern;

(3) to make clear that the United States decision to establish diplomatic relations with the People's Republic of China rests upon the expectation that the future of Taiwan will be determined by peaceful means;

(4) to consider any effort to determine the future of Taiwan by other than peaceful means, including by boycotts or embargoes, a threat to the peace and security of the Western Pacific area and of grave concern to the United States;

(5) to provide Taiwan with arms of a defensive character; and

(6) to maintain the capacity of the United States to resist any resort to force or other forms of coercion that would jeopardize the security, or the social or economic system, of the people on Taiwan.

(c) Nothing contained in this Act shall contravene the interest of the United States in human rights, especially with respect to the human rights of all the approximately eighteen million inhabitants of Taiwan. The preservation and enhancement of the human rights of all the people on Taiwan are hereby reaffirmed as objectives of the United States.

*FEATURED RESOURCE*

# Opposing Viewpoints: "Is China A World Power?" "What Should US Policy Be Toward China?"

These two chapters, featured in the *China: Opposing Viewpoints*, provide background, information and exercises to help students address these questions. The contents of the chapters are:

Chapter 4: Is China a World Power?
  Chapter Preface
  1. China Is Becoming a World Power
     *Harry Harding*
  2. China Remains a Regional Power
     *Jonathan D. Pollack*
  3. China Promotes World Stability
     *Hu Yaobang & Zhao Ziyang*
  4. China Promotes World Instability
     *Ya-chün Chang*
  5. Taiwan and Mainland China Should Be United
     *Li Jiaquan*
  6. Taiwan Should Remain Independent of China
     *Trong R. Chai*
  A Critical Thinking Activity:
    Understanding Words in Context
  Periodical Bibliography

Chapter 5: What Should US Policy Be Toward China?
  Chapter Preface
  1. The US Should Support China
     *Winston Lord*
  2. The US Should Not Support China
     *A. James Gregor*
  3. The US Should Limit Arms Sales to China
     *Martin L. Lasater*
  4. The US Should Continue Arms Sales to China
     *William T. Tow*
  A Critical Thinking Activity:
    Distinguishing Between Fact and Opinion
  Periodical Bibliography

Available From:

Greenhaven Press
P.O. Box 289009
San Diego, CA 92128-9009
$ 7.95 (paperback)

# *Resource List For Foreign Policy*

### *Chinese American Relations After Normalization*

Produced by the Foreign Policy Association, *Headline Series*, this booklet discusses the issues leading up to normalization, and issues that remain a problem in the relationship. It is 60 pages, and contains question for discussion.

Available from:
Foreign Policy Association
205 Lexington Avenue
New York, NY 10016

Price: $4.00 (Ask for information about subscription rates.)

### *Through Chinese Eyes*

Peter Seybolt

Volume II of a two volume series on China contains a chapter on China and the United States, which uses excerpts from primary sources. Also contains a teacher lesson plan book to accompany each volume. The World Cultures Series is produced by the Center for International Training and Education (CITE).

Available from:
CITE
777 United Nations Plaza
New York, NY 10017

Price: Inquire

### *Great Decisions 1989*

This issue includes a chapter on "China: Redefining the Revolution", which contains a section on Chinese foreign policy. *Great Decisions* comes with an activity book to help teachers prepare lesson plans.

Available from: Foreign Policy Association
777 United Nations Plaza
New York, NY 10017

Price: Inquire

***America's Response to China, (3rd. Edition)***
Warren I. Cohen

This book is an excellent library resource, and a background resource for teachers. It is very readable, and has been updated to 1989.

Available from: Columbia University Press
135 South Broadway
Irvington, NY 10533

Price: Inquire

***China, (3rd Edition)***

Published by the Global press, this valuable workbook contains many articles from the world press, as well as background readings on China, Taiwan and Hong Kong, with a section devoted to China's foreign policy.

Available from: Global Studies
The Dushkin Publishing Group, Inc.
Sluice Dock
Guilford, CT 06437

Price: Inquire.

*Section XVI*

# Chinese Americans

This short section in no way does justice to the wealth of materials available on Chinese Americans. It is included here simply to suggest an approach to studying China that may be appealing if there are a large number of Chinese Americans in the classroom or school. It is also useful as a way to link China and the U.S. in history, and to facilitate greater cultural understanding.

## CONTENTS

Unit 1: ***Teacher Guide to Chinese Americans and U.S. History***

Resource List

## *Unit 1*

# Teacher's Guide to Chinese Americans and U.S. History

### Introduction

*The following guide is meant to serve as the basis for a classroom discussion, by suggesting questions and responses.*

**Question**: Ask your class if they know why their forebears came to this country. How did they get here and where did they go?
Why might the Chinese have started coming here in the 19th century?
Where would they have gone?
What was happening in the United States in the mid 19th century that might have encouraged Chinese immigration? What were the "pull" factors?

Hunger, civil disorder caused by the Taiping Rebellion and a dying Qing dynasty, growing oppression in Guangdong province - the major source of Chinese immigrants - and the quest for western knowledge are generally cited as among the major reasons why the early Chinese immigrants undertook the hazardous and often wretched sea voyage which might last as long as 60 days. Some of the earliest immigrants came to join the Gold Rush or to set up small businesses in California, paying their own way out of savings or family money.

The majority, however, came as contract laborers recruited by American mining and railroad companies. Jack Chen reminds us that this system of indentured labor "was no different from the method used by millions of European immigrants to the eastern states."

**Questions**: Do you know if the motives for immigration were the same for European and Chinese immigrants?
What kind of incentive was there for the Europeans to integrate into the existing society?
What can be done to encourage-- or discourage-- such assimilation?
Do you know how the Chinese immigrants began life in America?

Was U.S. policy the same towards immigrants from the western hemisphere and from China?
How might a predominantly male society differ from one based on families?

There were, however, major differences between the Chinese and East European immigrants. Many of the Chinese came as sojourners. They fully intended to return to their family and village in China as soon as they had paid off their debts to the company and had saved enough money to assure a living in China. In the meantime, they sent remittances home to the family. Jack Chen tells us: "Over half of the 300,000 Chinese who reached America before the 1880s returned to China."

He explains that they were bound to their country, not only by the usual ties, but also by religious beliefs which demanded that they tend the graves of their dead ancestors. They were under intense pressure to return home and meet their filial obligations.

Of those who remained in the United States, some "assimilated" easily. But for most it was a bleak existence and they were unable to realize their intentions. Sometimes a young man went home to marry the woman selected for him by his family. He soon left, better able to support his growing family from the United States.

Another difference from the European experience was that Chinese immigration which began as essentially male was forced to remain that way- even after it became apparent the immigrants were going to remain in the US. By 1870, California law prohibited the entry of Chinese women unless they were the wives of merchants. The Chinese Exclusion Act of 1882 banned the immigration of Chinese laborers and set the stage for subsequent legislation which made it very difficult for a Chinese woman to enter this country. Chinese in California were forbidden by state law to marry white people until 1948. (Such laws remained in some states until the Supreme Court ruled them unconstitutional in 1967.)

The 1924 National Origins Act set a numerical restriction on immigration to the U.S. Highly restrictive national quotas were set at one-sixth of the total population of that national group in the U.S. in 1920. This had the effect of recognizing northern and western Europeans as the most desirable and Asians as the least desirable immigrant group.

**"Arriving in San Francisco, immigrants found that... the institutional network with its threads reaching back home was there to greet them the moment they stepped off the boat. In the very early days, Chinese merchant houses... provided interpreters, rough housing, community centers, and assistance in finding work. Later...clan [family] associations were formed to look after immigrants of one surname group...This type of organization... was traditional in China: a district mutual self-help society in a strange town."** [Chen, p.27]

**"The familiar physical environment and culture was of enormous importance: the open fronted shops, the smells and aromas of Chinese cooking, the Guangdong faces and clothes, the Chinese signs and speech - a home away from home: Chinatown in the 1850's. Strangely lacking were women and children."** [Chen, p.29]

**Questions:** What kind of work might the Chinese have done when they came here? What skills did they have? Remember a large percentage came from Guangdong province.

The 19th century immigrants from China were first welcomed in California. They brought their traditional crafts with them. The same expertise which built the Great Wall of China carved out the rock of the Sierra Nevadas and the Rockies so the Central Pacific railroad could link California with the rest of the United States.

**"They knew the techniques of draining, reclamation and flood prevention... and they brought these techniques with them from their native villages".** [Chen, p.86] They reclaimed California's swamps and deserts. They built the levees and the irrigation ditches. Unable by law to purchase land of their own, they worked on the wheat, fruit and vegetable farms and in the vineyards of the rich Central Valley. Lacking families and accustomed to work in large groups, they became the first migrant workers.

They knew the sea and worked as independent fisherman catching shrimp, lobster, abalone and other seafood for California markets. When laws were passed regulating the size of Chinese nets and imposing special taxes on them, they moved on to the salmon canneries of Oregon and Washington. They worked as cigar makers and shepherds. And in a world without women, they cooked, they opened laundries and they worked in the households of the growing class of industrialists, merchants and bankers.

**Questions:** Initially, the Chinese had been encouraged to come to the U.S. This began to change. Why? Were there reasons- other than economic- why they began to be the victims of discrimination? What other events were occurring in the latter half of the 19th century which might have affected American perceptions of the Chinese?

In the latter part of the 19th century many of the sojourners began to lose touch with their native Chinese villages. Time, distance and the growing perception that they would be unable to realize their dreams forced them to consider remaining in America. But by now times had changed and the Chinese became the victims of their own hard work and of the nationalist sentiment that was sweeping the United States. The nation of immigrants wanted to close the door on any intruders who might threaten the new "American culture." The Chinese had outstayed their usefulness. Their skills were less valuable in an industrializing society. The same railroad built by their labor now brought white people from the east who wanted jobs. A major economic depression in the mid-1870's limited the opportunities. Ineligible for citizenship, the Chinese had no political power with which to protest increasing abuse and humiliation.

**Questions:** When are we more likely to accept people who are "different"? What is the purpose of a racial stereotype? Why do people accept the stereotypes assigned them? What is a "melting pot" concept? Do you agree with it? Should ethnic groups be expected to relinquish their cultural identity?

**"When there were few or relatively few Chinese in a community, each one could be judged on his or her own merits by the larger community. Later, as the number of Chinese increased or were concentrated more heavily in one area, individuality disappeared. The unthinking spoke not of Ah Chen or Lee Sung but of "the Chinese."** [Chen. p. 132]

Thus the scene was set for violent anti-Chinese demonstrations, riots and the legislation designed to stop the growth of Chinese society in the U.S. Eventually, in the 2Oth century, as the Chinese population began to decline, a new, more tolerant attitude slowly began to develop. And, in 1943, the Chinese Exclusion Acts were finally repealed and the Chinese were allowed to become naturalized citizens. Today, approximately 20,000 Chinese a year are permitted to enter the U.S.

The authors of *Sentimental Imperialists* credit this change in attitude to **"a sense of [American] embarrassment over the outrageous treatment of Chinese, the location of an economic niche in which their labor fit usefully and non-competitively, and a growing recognition that the Chinese were little different from other immigrant groups in the nature of problems they posed for American society and culture."**

Others might argue that a more tolerant attitude emerged because the Chinese quietly accepted the stereotype assigned them. They became the patient, hardworking, quiet Chinese as well as having a traditional respect for learning which guaranteed them access to technical and professional jobs.

**"One measure of the success of white racism is the silence of the minority race and the amount of white energy necessary to maintain or increase that silence. The Chinese-American is told that it's not a matter of being ignored and excluded but of being quiet and foreign."** [CCAS Bulletin, p.8]

**Questions:** Using the following table, compute the relative percentage of Chinese to the total population in the U.S. prior to 1890. Would it be accurate to say there were "hordes" of Chinese in the U.S.? Use this table to compute how many Chinese were permitted to enter the U.S. after 1924 under the terms of the National Origins Act.

**Chinese Populations in the U.S.**

| | U.S. | Chinese in America | | U.S. | Chinese in America |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 1860 | 31,443,321 | 34,933 | 1930 | 122,775,046 | 74,954 |
| 1870 | 39,818,449 | 63,199 | 1940 | 131,669,275 | 77,504 |
| 1880 | 50,155,783 | 105,465 | 1950 | 150,697,361 | 117,629 |
| 1890 | 62,947,714 | 107,488 | 1960 | 179,323,175 | 237,292 |
| 1900 | 75,994,575 | 89,863 | 1970 | 203,235,298 | 435,062 |
| 1910 | 91,972,266 | 71,531 | 1980 | 226,504,825 | Not available |
| 1920 | 105,710,620 | 61,639 | | | |

**Questions:** Over the last 15 years there has been increasing public awareness of racial and ethnic discrimination in the U.S. Why? How might this sensitivity be affected by a severe economic depression or a change in national policy?

**Question:** Have you ever wondered why there were so many Chinese laundries?

After the Exclusion Acts were passed, laborers without property risked deportation. Therefore, the Chinese who wished to stay here wanted to change their status from laborer to small businessman. It took very little capital to set up a laundry. A group of men each contributed small amounts of money and then drew lots to determine who would get the general fund. The lucky winner used it to start a laundry. [Chen, p.197-198]

## Bibliography

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Maxine Hong Kingston, *China Man*, New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1980
Milton Meltzer, *The Chinese Americans*, New York: Crowell, 1980
    (written particularly for high school students)
James C. Thomson, Jr. , Peter W. Stanley & John Curtis Perry, *Sentimental Imperialists*,
    New York: Harper & Row, 1981.
*Bulletin of Concerned Asian Scholars*, Vol. IV, No. 3, Fall, 1972.

Reprinted from *China Update* (Vol. 5, No. 1, September 1981). Published by the Schools Outreach Program, Midwest China Study Center, 2375 Como Avenue West, St. Paul, Minnesota, 55108.

# *Resource List: Chinese Americans*

***The Chinese Who Built America***
Stan Steiner

Harper Colophon, 1979.

Available from: SOCIAL STUDIES SCHOOL SERVICE,
10,000 Culver Blvd.,
P.O. Box 802,
Culver City, California 90230.

Price: inquire.

***The Chinese Experience in America***
Shih-Shan Henry Tsai

A nice library reference book on why Chinese came to America and the problems they experienced in establishing communities here.

Available from: University of Indiana Press
Bloomington, Indiana

Price: inquire.

***The Chinese of America***
Jack Chen

The New York Times Book Review writes, "Chinese Americans have a remarkable--almost unbelievable-- history, and no one has recounted it better than Jack Chen in this book...The Chinese of America is, in fact, the best book on the subject." A good addition to the library.

Available From: Harper & Row
1700 Montgomery Street
San Francisco 94111- 1069.
(415)989-9000.

Price: inquire.

*Thousand Pieces of Gold*
Ruthann Lum McCunn

A biographical novel of a Chinese pioneer woman in the Northwest, and her struggle against prejudice and injustice.

Available from: Design Enterprises of San Francisco,
P.O. Box 14695
San Francisco, CA 94114.

Price: $5.95 paperback.

*A Pictorial History of Early Chinatown (New York)*

Available from: Arts, Inc.
32 Market Street,
New York, New York, 10002

Price: $5.00.

*Asian America*
Roger Daniels

This winner of the 1988 Outstanding Book award of the Myers Center for the Study of Human Rights in the United States, recounts in a positive way the patterns of community, change and continuity of Chinese and Japanese Americans. This is an excellent overview of these two groups from 1850 to 1980.

Available from: University of Washington Press
P.O. Box 50096
Seattle, WA 98145

Price: $17.50

# 海外華人

## *Section XVII*

# Overseas Chinese

Immigrants from China have settled in countries all over the world for the past 200 years. Many Chinese emmigrants maintain ties with their family and native village in China, and some see their residence in another country as temporary, their intention always being to return to China. The latter group are called "sojourning" Chinese, or huaqiao (pronounced hua chiao).

The huaqiao are a particularly important group in Southeast Asia. Since mistreatment of the huaqiao recurs periodically as an international issue (the massacres of Chinese in Indonesia in 1965; the expulsion of the Chinese from Vietnam as "boat people in the 1970s and 1980s), this student reading is included here as a way of providing students with some background on the issue and its history. The article was written by Peter S. Bennett of the Social Studies Department, Staples High School, Westport, Connecticut.

## *Student Reading*

# THE HUAQIAO: THE SOJOURNING CHINESE OF SOUTHEAST ASIA

Today, Southeast Asia agonizing over refugees. Hundreds of thousands of people are seeking to escape a variety of terrible conditions, especially in the three former French colonies of Vietnam, Laos and Cambodia. Some years ago our television screens began stressing the plight of the Vietnamese "boat-people" and, have depicted the tragic victims of the savage struggles in Cambodia. While we can, if we will listen, gain some knowledge of the enormity of the numbers and of the suffering of those involved, we rarely ever have an opportunity to hear why such events are taking place.

The situation of the Vietnamese "boat-people" is a particularly good example. We heard that thousands of refugees were being driven out of Vietnam, and that almost all of them were leaving by boat. We were told that those vessels were usually old, inadequate, overcrowded and vulnerable to attack by rapacious pirates. We were shown the refugee camps in Hong Kong, in Indonesia and, especially, in Malaysia that were being overwhelmed by the rising tide of fleeing Vietnamese. Indeed, by the end of 1978, Malaysian officials were refusing to accept any more refugees. Listing hulk, crammed with desperate passengers, were turned away, even forcibly towed back to the pirate-infested seas...

But why...? Why did the recently-united Vietnamese government force out thousands of people from the country, especially from its southern provinces? Why did they drive away some of the best-educated, hardest-working members of their population? The simplest answer to such questions is that the "boat-people" were, in most cases, Chinese.

For centuries, indeed for some two thousand years, China has been the primary enemy of the governments of Vietnam. For about one thousand years (c.111 B.C. to 939 A.D.), Vietnam was a subject state of China, forced to pay tribute to her conqueror and to follow his ways. But once free from Chinese domination, the Vietnamese have jealously guarded their independence and suspiciously viewed any possibly threatening gesture by their gigantic northern neighbor. It was, then, one of the great ironies of the Vietnam Wars of the 1940s-1970s that the United States was able to drive North Vietnam into an uneasy alliance with Mao Zedong and the Chinese Communists. Because of the alliance, we very quickly forgot, almost as though we never knew, that China was viewed as "enemy number one" by Vietnam. Now with the Vietnam Wars over, the traditional fear and suspicion of China has quickly returned to Vietnam.

Vietnam is not, however, the only Southeast Asian country with a well-established pattern and history of anti-Chinese prejudices. Such feelings exist throughout most of

Southeast Asia. Wherever there are significant Chinese minorities, strong prejudices against that group have developed. It is interesting to note that although the percentage of Chinese in many of the countries is quite low, their influence is often amazingly high.

| COUNTRY | CHINESE % OF THE POPULATION |
|---|---|
| Singapore | 74% |
| Malaysia | 36% |
| Thailand | 14% |
| Cambodia | 5% |
| Burma | 2% |
| Vietnam | -2% |
| Indonesia | -1% |
| Philippines | -1% |
| Laos | -1% |

A high percentage of the Southeast Asian Chinese emigrated from China in the late 19th and early 20th centuries. At that time all of the present countries, except Thailand, were under the direct colonial rule of western countries. Those colonial rulers often arranged for groups to emigrate from China because those rulers were looking for sources of cheap labor to develop the plantations and mines in their colonial holdings. The native Southeast Asians were usually reluctant to leave their own village-centered lives for such work. The Chinese, on the other hand, coming from a much more densely-populated and famine-prone society, were more willing to leave their traditional home to seek their fortune elsewhere. But they didn't expect to stay abroad permanently. They expected to make their money and to return to China, which they believed was the only "truly civilized" place for one to enjoy the good life.

Chinese fortune-hunters poured overseas, especially from the southern coastal provinces. Of course, they did not emigrate only to Southeast Asia. From the 1850s through the 1880s, well over 100,000 hard-working laborers entered the United States to dig in the mines and to help build the railroads of the western states and territories. Indeed, they were so zealous in their efforts that, in 1882, anti-Chinese lobbyists demanded and got an end to that flood of Chinese immigrants into the "land of opportunity".

And that was the nub of the problem in the Southeast Asia as well. Wherever they settled, the Chinese immigrants were very hard workers. Eventually they became successful economically, but they were also very clannish in their habits. They were not willing to assimilate into the culture of their new land; they were unwilling to give up their "Chineseness". Rarely did a Chinese man marry a Burmese or Thai or Malay woman. He would marry a Chinese woman from the Chinese community within that country. And if none were available, he would wait until a marriage could be arranged and a bride sent form China. Of course the men learned the local language, but they never gave up their Chinese language. And they saw to it that Chinese schools were set up so that their children could be "correctly" educated in the Chinese language and traditions. So, the Chinese married Chinese, learned Chinese, talked Chinese, and maintained Chinese customs in their homes. Since they hoped that those homes were temporary, even after their families had lived in Southeast Asia for several generations, the Chinese families made no effort to assimilate. And even if they had wanted to do so, that would not have been a natural or easy process. The physical appearance of the Chinese was too different from that of most Southeast Asians for them to simply melt into the society.

World War Two and then the Maoist victory in China thoroughly disrupted the hopes for a return to China that many of the "Overseas Chinese" still held. They had to stay where they were, but that did not discourage them from continuing to work hard at their jobs and at maintaining their "Chineseness". Most of them had been denied the chance to but land and become farmers in earlier days. So their savings, slowly and painfully accumulated, went into shops and businesses in the larger villages, towns and cities. Eventually they often came to dominate the small stores, the services, the trades, the banking and money-lending for a surprisingly large percentage of the Southeast Asian world. As it evolved, the natives were the small farmers, the westerners controlled the largest enterprises, and the Chinese gained a firm grasp on the middle levels of the Southeast Asian economy.

This, then, became the pattern. The Chinese are settled mainly in towns and cities; most Southeast Asians live in small villages. The Chinese did and do stress formal education; most Southeast Asians are illiterate. The Chinese work mainly in trades and businesses; most Southeast Asians are farmers. Because they literally live in different worlds, the two groups, Chinese and Southeast Asians, have developed very negative images of each other. The Chinese tend to see the native populations as lazy and ignorant. The Southeast Asians usually think of the Chinese as snobbish and grasping. The result of these conflicting images has been disastrous for the Chinese. Their clannishness, their refusal to assimilate, their sense of superiority, and their prominence in and domination of key sectors of the local economies have earned them hatred from Burma to Manila, from Bangkok to Djakarta.

The Vietnamese "boat-people" only represent the tip of a powerful volcano. Back in 1965, Singapore was pushed out of the Malaysian Federation: the Malays were too threatened by the predominantly Chinese population of that metropolis. Despite that effort, a horrendous potential for civil war still lurks in Malaysia, a struggle that would pit Malay vs Chinese. The Indonesian government recently announced that it was considering deporting all of its Chinese population back to the People's Republic of China. And the new Heng Samrin government in Cambodia is now reviewing the status of the Chinese minority in that stricken land.

As new anti-Chinese developments continue to occur it becomes more and more apparent that there is an unfortunate parallel between the experiences of the Chinese in Southeast Asia and that of the Jews in Europe. Both had strong cultural traditions that they carried with them wherever they went. Both were unwilling to sacrifice their beliefs in order to gain acceptance from other peoples and cultures. Both believed that they were a special and in some ways superior cultural group. Both were denied the right to purchase land in predominantly farming societies, so they were forced into buying-selling-lending businesses in order to survive. And both became targets of often intense discrimination because of the combination of their cultural exclusiveness and their economic successes.

The phenomenon of the "boat-people" should not have greatly surprised anyone familiar with the general experience of the Chinese in Southeast Asia. That was certainly not the first instance of discrimination that they have encountered there. It will not be the last! So, when you see the next TV newscast or read the next newspaper article about troubles in Southeast Asia, behind some of those unexplained "what" may well be a "why" related to the Hauqiao, the sojourning overseas Chinese ...

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# *APPENDIX*

The appendix consists of three readings, as follows:

1. *A Film Guide to* *The Heart of the Dragon*
2. *China's Gifts to the West*
3. *Chinese Ideas in the West*

They are each separated by a red divider.

# "The Heart of the Dragon"

A 12-PART SERIES STARTING APRIL 10, 1986, ON PBS

Made possible by General Electric

A Viewer's Guide by Cultural Information Service

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# "The Heart of the Dragon"

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**"The truth is that if I have written anything useful about China it has been merely because I listened to what I thought I heard the Chinese people saying about themselves. I wrote it down, as honestly and frankly as I could—considering my own belief that it was all in the family—that I belonged to the same family as the Chinese—the human family."** — Edgar Snow

"The Heart of the Dragon," an extraordinary series of twelve one-hour films about life in the People's Republic of China, starts May 6, 1985, and continues through July 22 on PBS. Funded by a grant from General Electric, the series is co-produced for American television by MacNeil-Lehrer-Gannett Productions and South Carolina ETV. Robert MacNeil and Jim Lehrer, co-anchors of public television's "MacNeil/Lehrer NewsHour," host the programs, providing introductions, background and interviews with China experts.

"The Heart of the Dragon" offers American viewers a rare and to a great extent unprecedented look inside China today. Winner of an International Emmy Award for Best Documentary of 1984, it was filmed on location over an 18-month period during 1981 - 1983. The Chinese government granted the British producers autonomy and access to areas of the country previously off-limits to foreign journalists, including rural villages, factory towns, a coal mine, a locomotive plant, a prison, a psychiatric hospital, and a porcelain plant. Throughout the films, the real subject of the camera is the Chinese people: rice farmers and bamboo cutters, welders and lathe operators, students and teachers, Communist Party leaders and Daoist priests, a bride and groom, an estranged couple and their mothers-in-law, a truck driver and a railway policeman, a thief and a judge, a painter and a composer, a scientist and a millionaire.

In the spirit of veteran China watcher Edgar Snow, this film series lets the Chinese speak for themselves about the everyday human activities which form the warp and woof of their existence. "The Heart of the Dragon" puts a human face on the contrasts, contradictions and consistencies of China. Rare archival film footage and still photographs highlight the historical roots of Chinese thought and daily routines.

The executive producer of "The Heart of the Dragon" is Peter Montagnon, who was the co-producer of Kenneth Clark's "Civilisation" and producer of "The Long Search," an exploration of religious experience around the world. Writers and directors of the individual films include Montagnon, producer Nigel Houghton, David Kennard and Mischa Scorer. Patrick Lui is the producer, and the late Alasdair Clayre, author of the companion book, served as producer and script editor.

This Viewer's Guide is designed for learners of all ages who would like to take advantage of the opportunies created by the series to expand their knowledge and understanding of contemporary China. Teachers may want to use the May-July broadcast to sample the programs in anticipation of a rebroadcast during the school year. Librarians will want to review the many new books available on China to create displays and reading lists; the resources page at the back of this Viewer's Guide identifies key titles.

The Chinese have an expression about the typical tourist's view of their country—it is like "gazing at flowers from horseback." These twelve beautifully photographed and highly personal films enable television viewers to see China face to face in exquisite detail.

Many Americans have only vague impressions of China. All too often what is known is based on limited reading, propaganda or myth. China has traditionally intrigued, baffled and even threatened Westerners.

Before viewing "The Heart of the Dragon," answer the following attitude survey to see how much you know and what you feel about the world's oldest and most populous nation. After viewing the twelve films, repeat the exercise to see if any of your attitudes have changed.

- What word immediately comes to mind when you think of China?
- What major figures in Chinese history or politics can you name? Who is the current leader of China?
- What has Communism achieved in China since 1949? What has it failed to accomplish?
- Name two major challenges facing modern China.
- What does China need from Western societies? What can the United States learn from the Chinese experience of the last 35 years?
- What problems and conflicts in present-day China are universal to our times?
- What has been the primary source of your knowledge about China: (a) newspapers, (b) television, (c) books, (d) friends who have traveled there?
- Describe your vision of what China will be like in the year 2000.

# 回顧 Remembering

**"For thousands of years the dragon has symbolized the power that can bring ordinary people prosperity or disaster, life or death. And that is the power that their rulers have also had over them."**

A nation is shaped by its memories. The Chinese feel a profound sense of continuity with the past. In some areas of daily life, the routine has not changed for generations. For China, the oldest centralized state in the world, the presence of an all-powerful and all-wise leader is another constant.

"Remembering" examines the significance of several great rulers in Chinese history. Qin Shihuangdi, the first emperor of China, united the country in 221 B.C. and began construction of the Great Wall. His militaristic style—invoked by the vast army of terracotta figures of men and horses which archaeologists have found guarding his tomb—was contrary to the form of government proposed by the sage Confucius, whose ideas the Qin Emperor tried to suppress.

Later emperors more closely conformed to the Confucian ideal of a benevolent ruler heading a harmonious and ordered society. During the Tang Dynasty (618-906), the arts flourished, and the civil service was invented. Qianlong (1736-1795) epitomized the wealth and power of the Chinese emperor. He demanded and received unquestioned obedience from his court in the Forbidden City.

In the twentieth century, a new leader emerged amidst turbulent political, social and economic events: famine in the 30s and 40s, invasion by the Japanese and the atrocities committed during the occupation, civil war between the Chinese Nationalists and the Communists. When the People's Republic of China was established in 1949, the charismatic revolutionary leader Mao Zedong was in control. China quickly experienced reconstruction in the 50s, the Great Leap Forward begun in 1958, and the failure of the collectives and famine in the early 60s.

In 1966, Mao launched the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution during which young followers, the Red Guards, were encouraged to revere their leader and destroy all remnants of the old traditions. Large numbers of China's intellectuals and managers were arrested, tortured or murdered. By Mao's death in 1976, the country had come to a virtual standstill. In the subsequent trial of the Gang of Four, who had spearheaded the Cultural Revolution, extremism was repudiated, and the old values reemerged. Mao had created a new order, but he had failed to obliterate China's memories.

### THE SERIES SCHEDULE

| | |
|---|---|
| **Remembering** | **May 6** |
| **Eating** | **May 13** |
| **Living** | **May 20** |
| **Believing** | **May 27** |
| **Caring** | **June 3** |
| **Marrying** | **June 10** |
| **Mediating** | **June 17** |
| **Working** | **June 24** |
| **Correcting** | **July 1** |
| **Creating** | **July 8** |
| **Understanding** | **July 15** |
| **Trading** | **July 22** |

**Check local PBS listings to confirm the broadcast and rebroadcast dates and times in your area.**

## QUESTIONS & EXERCISES

1. "A study of Confucius," writes George Anastaplo, a professor of law at Loyola University of Chicago, "may be the best introduction to the character of the Chinese people today just as the study of Dostoyevsky may be the best introduction to the Russian people today." What are the basic premises of Confucian thought? As you watch "The Heart of the Dragon," note instances which prove or disprove Anastaplo's statement.

2. The Great Wall of China is one of the most popular tourist sites in China. What does it symbolize to the Chinese people and to the rest of the world?

3. The Forbidden City in Beijing, home of China's emperors, has been described as China's architectural masterpiece. What aspect of the Forbidden City do you find most impressive? How does its architecture reflect the position of the emperor and the Chinese understanding of their place in the universe?

4. What historical and cultural factors explain China's "longing for a godlike ruler"? How was Mao similar to both Qin Shihuangdi and Qianlong?

5. The 27-year rule of Mao Zedong was marked by shifting experiments to modernize China, leadership feuds, and political turmoil. What was the Great Helmsman's vision of the ideal Communist society? Why did the mass mobilization of peasant labor (the Great Leap Forward) fail? What was Mao's goal during the Cultural Revolution?

6. Collect articles or books written during the 60s and 70s about the Cultural Revolution. How was it reported in the

United States? Share your impressions of the archival footage of the mass parades in 1966 and the activities of the Red Guards.

7. In his memoir titled *Son of the Revolution*, Liang Heng, who was born in 1954, reveals what China was like under the different stages of Mao's political experiment. In the end he asks: "Why had the Revolution given us all so little when we had sacrificed everything for it?" How would you answer him? Do you think Maoism will return to China?

8. In a 1981 article on China and Mao, A. M. Rosenthal, executive editor of *The New York Times*, posed the following questions: "Was there a good Mao and then a bad Mao? Or did the bad Mao grow out of the 'good' Mao? Was China's problem Mao or the Communist system he installed?" State your opinions on these points.

9. Discuss the following thought from "Remembering": "For the Chinese, history is not an objective account of the past—it's a lesson for the future, a morality tale. And it's the state that always points the moral." What moral has been learned from the past two decades in China?

10. China is the oldest enduring civilization on earth. Chinese-American author Maxine Hong Kingston calls it "the old planet." Another writer, Annie Dillard, observes: "China is the only one of the world's great early civilizations that still exists—this, in spite of its crippling geography, its beautiful, mostly barren and famishing land. The Chinese have done what the Babylonians, the Greeks, the Persians, and the Romans were unable to do. By their own efforts, they have kept their country going; they have kept it whole." If you had to choose one character trait that has enabled the Chinese to endure the changes and ideological jolts of their long history, what would you select?

In his book *The Third Wave*, Alvin Toffler asks: "By what criteria do you judge an entire civilization? By the standard of living it provided for the masses who lived in it? By its influence on those who lived outside its perimeter? By its impact on the biosphere? By the excellence of its arts? By the lengthened life span of its people? By its scientific achievements? By the freedom of the individual?"

- "Remembering" helps viewers begin thinking about the variety, vitality and durability of Chinese civilization. What other criteria would you add to Toffler's list?
- One of the major challenges to understanding other people is to see them as they see themselves. What have you learned about the Chinese people's understanding of themselves from the opening episode of "The Heart of the Dragon"?

# 飲食 Eating

**"Over the last 6,000 years, the Chinese have learned a great deal about cultivating food. The Chinese believe that everything you eat profoundly affects you, and so does the way you grow and harvest it."**

In China, cooking the family meal is the most important ritual of the day. No nation is more obsessive about food than the Chinese. "Eating" explores the roots of this preoccupation with food, the links between diet and health, and the complex rituals which have sprung up over the centuries around the cultivation, preparation and enjoyment of Chinese cuisine.

In visits to four regions of the country, fishermen and farmers demonstrate an efficient use of food and fuel resources. A booming carryout chicken business in busy Canton exemplifies the profits to be made satisfying Chinese appetites. The variety of food is celebrated during a stop at a market offering everything from anteaters to sea slugs and at a restaurant which serves 10,000 customers a day in 20 separate dining areas. The scarcity of food is evident in Henan province and the Yellow River Valley, where droughts and floods often limit the population's food choices. The exact opposite is true in Sichuan province. Here the world's oldest irrigation and flood control system has created topsoil over six feet deep, making the province the rice-bowl of China.

## QUESTIONS & EXERCISES

1. According to this program, "feeding the family is an honorable occupation, a skill worth learning." What are some of the unwritten rules of Chinese cooking? Were you surprised by the scenes of young men and boys preparing the family meal? What does this indicate about the significance of cooking

in Chinese culture? What priority do you give to time spent cooking?

2. Lucretius once stated: "What is food to one man may be fierce poison to others." React to the scenes of foodstuffs at the Canton market. Do you have an open mind toward the eating tastes and preferences of others?

3. The Chinese regard food and health as inseparable. How is this viewpoint illustrated in the program?

4. How is an understanding of ecology reflected by these scenes: (a) fish farming, (b) cormorant fishing in Guilin, (c) the Ho family's use of pigs, (d) weeding rice with the feet?

5. How have droughts and floods influenced Chinese attitudes toward food production and eating?

6. Banquets are revealed to be "symbols of family prosperity and togetherness." What role does the social side of eating play in your life?

7. What function does the traditional Chinese tea-house serve in China? Name a comparable place in your community.

8. In his book *China: Alive in the Bitter Sea*, Fox Butterfield writes: "For the Chinese, food is an obsession. When the Chinese greet each other, they don't say 'Hello, how are you?' but 'Have you eaten or not?' When the Chinese measure population, they don't count heads, but mouths." How do you explain this fascination with eating? What new insights have you gained from this program about Chinese cuisine?

Animals feed. Humans eat. And the process of eating defines cultures and personalities. Anthropologists Peter Farb and George Armelagos have written: "To know what, where, how, when and with whom you eat is to know the character of a society."

- What could a person learn about you from what you eat? From when and how and where you eat? From with whom you eat?
- How do you think a visitor from China would react to your diet?

# 生活 Living

**"The work is extraordinarily hard. The routine is inexorable. There's nowhere to go and little to do except work. Every day is just like any other. And yet perhaps it's this very sense of routine and rhythm and the unchanging pattern of existence that gives such underlying strength to Chinese peasant life."**

Eighty percent of the people in China are peasants—Farm People—who live off the land. This program focuses on day-to-day existence in the rural mountain village of Maoping in southeast China. It is an area usually closed to visitors and was chosen by the filmmakers because the villagers' per capita income approximates the national average.

Peasant life revolves around manual labor. Under the new Responsibility System, only a year old in Maoping, each family has been given some land on which to cultivate rice and a plot to grow vegetables. Formerly, farming was collectivized, and there was no incentive to work hard; now the family can keep the crop or its profits. Similarly, the men who harvest bamboo in the mountains, another source of income, are rewarded for extra labor.

"Living" captures other aspects of peasant life through a tour of a 30-member, four-generation household; visits to a school, a clinic, and a small factory; and scenes of work on construction sites and in the rice fields. Women describe a typical day, and the Party Secretary and other leaders meet to assess the village's progress. There are signs of change as well—a new department store and community gatherings to watch television.

## QUESTIONS & EXERCISES

1. What are the basic building blocks of village society? What do you think are the advantages and disadvantages of having four generations living under the same roof?

2. In what ways is Fang Benren, the Communist Party Secretary in the village, less "a political commissar" than a "benevolent father-figure"? What are his responsibilities?

3. For these peasants, the meal is "almost a religious ritual" since it "encapsulates the three most important things in their lives: the home, the family, and food." What are the three most important things in your life?

4. Mao Zedong's dictum that incentives should not be used to promote productivity has now been replaced by the principle "he who works more, earns more." Describe some of the changes in the lives of the villagers brought about by the Responsibility System. Do you think there is a future for small-scale industrialization in the rural areas? Explain.

5. Some might say the Responsibility System encourages the peasants to have more children since the larger the family, the greater the profits to be made in domestic sideline production. How would you respond to this argument if you were the local brigade leader?

6. Compare the lifestyle of the peasants to city life in China. How would you answer the program's final question about the peasants: "Will the recent changes make them long for new horizons, or will they want to settle even deeper into the life they've always known?"

7. Most visitors to China never see the countryside. What insights into the lives and work of the Chinese peasants did you find most startling?

In an essay titled "The Long-Legged House," American naturalist Wendell Berry has written: "It is only in a country that is well-known, full of familiar names and places, full of life that is always changing, that the mind goes free of abstractions, and renews itself in the presence of the creation that so persistently eludes human comprehension and human law. It is only in the place that one belongs to, intimate and familiar, long watched over, that the details rise up out of the whole and become visible."

- What can we learn from Chinese peasants about belonging to a place? How well do you know the place—the land—where you live?
- In China, it is said that the land links the generations, and it is a great misfortune not to be buried close to your birthplace. What has the same significance in contemporary America?

# 信仰 Believing

**"You must obey with respect and rule with kindness. The cardinal Confucian virtue is this sense of humanity and benevolence. It is not an egalitarian vision of society, but it is one which has always fitted naturally into the ancient Chinese pattern of close family ties and absolute rule."**

The Chinese are a very pragmatic people, and they have adopted a tolerant attitude toward different religions and ethical systems. "Believing" explores the importance of Confucian thought in China; the ways in which the lessons of Buddhism and Daoism have been incorporated into daily life; and the persistence of a popular religion characterized by ancestor worship and rituals designed to appease supernatural powers.

For the past 30 years, Communism has tried to overshadow these ancient cultural and religious systems. This program profiles Mr. Zhao Kuisheng, leader of a brigade in Yantai on the east coast of China. He has lived through years of hunger, poverty, war and revolution and is a firm believer in the ideals and principles of the Communist Party. The younger generation, however, is another story.

Half of the present Chinese population is under the age of 26. Many watched the Cultural Revolution start with religious fervor and end in anarchy. In the Party-run schools, young children are taught the basic values of respecting authority, doing good deeds, and putting the Party and country above self. Still, Mr. Zhao worries that the "self-sacrificing revolutionary spirit" of the Communist Party will be replaced by a growing consumer mentality among the young.

## QUESTIONS & EXERCISES

1. What does Mr. Zhao mean by "the truth of Marxism-Leninism and Mao Zedong thought"? Why does he find the Communist vision more substantial than religious beliefs?

2. Discuss the basic tenets of Buddhism. Which of its teachings appeal to the Chinese? Which interest you?

3. Outline the Daoist view of nature, the body, and human existence. Which Daoist attitudes have been adopted by the Chinese? Are any Daoist principles part of your philosophy of life? Explain.

4. Why are some mountain tops in China considered holy? What is the purpose of the ritual performed on the holy mountain of Taishan at the Temple of the Princess of the Colored Clouds? In the years ahead, what significance might

be attached to the presence of a television transmitter on this holy mountain?

5. Explain the Confucian code of behavior. How is it evident in Chinese daily life? What virtues are emphasized? This Chinese philosopher is said to have had a greater influence on China than any other human being. Who is his counterpart in American history?

6. Donald J. Cohen, a child psychologist at Yale University who has surveyed Chinese education, wrote recently: "The Chinese educator does not see the child as a developing, unique person with conflicting desires . . . Instead, the Chinese view of feelings is that they are 'evaluative' and that personal growth is public—the cultivation of an explicit morality." Talk about the moral education given in the state-run Chinese schools. Who was Lei Feng, and why are children encouraged to emulate him? By comparison, how are American children taught civic responsibility?

7. What is the purpose of the Young Pioneers movement? What does their hand salute symbolize?

8. In 1985, Chinese authorities began to sponsor dances and rock music concerts in urban areas. Speculate about the possible consequences of exposing Chinese youth to this and other aspects of Western life. Do you think social change in China will reinforce or undermine Communist beliefs? Give an example to explain your position.

Christian theologian Harvey Cox has stated that twentieth century Christians, Buddhists, and Muslims must be able to move in and out of other religious traditions without losing their own faith in the process: "I'm really looking for a consciousness which allows me to participate as fully as possible in the worldview, piety and feelings of people with markedly different religions from mine. We may be moving toward a kind of religious consciousness where the most salient characteristic is a capacity for multiple religious symbol systems."

- Does such an openness to other ways of believing appeal to you?
- What do you find most valuable in the religious perspectives presented in "Believing"?

# 関懷 Caring

**"There seems a very thin dividing line drawn between criminals, the mentally ill, and in some instances, even the physically ill. Humans in all three categories are seen as having problems that stem in large part from incorrect attitudes, behavior or thought. Acceptance of authority, of the majority view of the group, is seen as one of the first steps back toward health."**

"Caring" visits Minus Eighteen Street, a row of modest homes in the industrial town of Harbin in northern China. The importance of the group in daily life emerges as Chinese families celebrate New Year's Eve. Mr. Ma, a railway policeman, explains the values he lives by—respect for his parents, equality with his wife, an obligation to properly educate his children. Scenes of neighborhood committee meetings and a policeman on his rounds reveal how order is maintained in the tight-knit community.

When someone strays from the norm on Minus Eighteen Street, he or she may end up at the prison or the mental hospital. "Caring" includes rare footage shot inside these institutions where a prisoner affirms that Communist morals mean "one for all, all for one," and a mental patient admits that falling in love with the wrong boy was incorrect thinking. At the hospital, a woman undergoes an operation with acupuncture anesthesia, demonstrating total confidence in those in charge.

## QUESTIONS & EXERCISES

1. What is the attitude toward the long-lived in Harbin? When are men and women able to get a pension? Why are "geriatric homes" not needed? How and why is the situation for China's elderly likely to change in the future?

2. The children in this program appear well behaved, obedient and respectful. The point is made that the young are usually included in adult activities. What are the positive sides to this arrangement?

3. Mr. Ma relates a Chinese maxim: "Leaves fall to the root of the tree." What does this saying reveal about relationships within the Chinese family? Do Americans have a parallel saying?

4. What are some of the functions and responsibilities of neighborhood committees in urban China? Who takes care of such matters in your neighborhood?

5. Describe differences between police duties in China and the United States.

6. The average age of the prisoners in the Harbin jail is 24. The governor who runs the institution notes that many of the troublemakers grew up during the Cultural Revolution. What went wrong with this generation of youth?

7. How does the Harbin prison compare with American prisons? What is the major goal of the prison?

8. Share your reaction to the scene in which a woman undergoes throat surgery with acupuncture anesthesia. How are doctors viewed in China?

9. The major task of the staff in the mental hospital is to change the attitudes of deviant persons. Do you think that to be psychologically healthy is to conform to the standards of society?

10. Could you find self-fulfillment in a community like Harbin where individual satisfaction must come from group approval and conformity to the constituted authorities? Give a reason for your answer.

To many Chinese, the kind of liberty enjoyed by Americans comes across as license. Peter Montagnon, the writer of "Caring," observes: "In modern Chinese, the very written characters that stand for 'individuality' and 'freedom' have overtones of selfishness, even a lack of regard for others."

- How important is your individuality to you?
- How important is your relationship to a group?

# 婚姻 Marrying

**"In the past, marriage had very little to do with love. The feelings of the couple were unimportant compared with the needs of their families. A wedding was something like the conclusion of a business deal between two companies."**

A young man from Maoping and a woman from a village three miles away are soon to be married. Her boss at the factory serves as the "go-between." It is his duty to negotiate between the two families on the terms: the presents for the bride, the food and drink to be provided by the groom to both households for the wedding festivities, and the furniture the bride's family will give the young couple.

The Communist Party has denounced large and expensive traditional marriages and tried to convince the Chinese people that couples should celebrate simply with tea, sweets and peanuts. In Maoping, Wang Zhiqing and Lu Yun opt instead for a marriage celebration involving 50 guests and culminating with an 18-course banquet.

"Marrying" provides an informative and entertaining look behind the scenes at a wedding in a community where the citizens still turn out to watch a touring opera troupe and are skeptical about the government's new one child per family policy. Tradition is important; it provides a sense of belonging and a link with the past.

## QUESTIONS & EXERCISES

1. The Chinese in this rural community believe marriage is a carefully orchestrated arrangement between two families: "Marriage in China was always seen as something far more than a personal matter between two people." How does this differ from the American view of marriage?

2. Share your responses to the role of the go-between in the negotiations between the families. Which family derives the best economic outcome from the wedding?

3. The New China News Agency revealed that during 1980 newlyweds in Peking spent an average of $1,036 on purchases connected with their marriages. That is the equivalent of more than a year's salary for both the bride and groom. Why have many Chinese couples, especially in rural areas, disregarded the Communist ideal of simple and cheap marriages?

4. While some American women are still trying to get the Equal Rights Amendment into the Constitution, China's Constitution in Article 53 states: "Women enjoy equal rights with men in all spheres of political, economic, cultural, social and family life. Men and women enjoy equal pay for equal work." What is the status of women in Maoping? What will be Lu Yun's role in her new family?

5. The ways in which marriages are made differ considerably around the world. Some cultures have no ceremonies, some have relatively minor ones, and others have highly elaborate rituals covering a succession of events occurring over a number of days or months. Which of the many colorful marriage rituals featured in this film are the most interesting to you? Why?

6. In a traditional Chinese marriage, there is a symbolic reason for the number of guests, the kinds of dishes served, and the sequence of events, such as carrying the furniture from the bride's village to the groom's. What lies behind the following American marriage customs: June as the month for weddings, brides wearing white, couples exchanging rings, the newlyweds being showered with rice, the cutting of the cake, the tossing of the bouquet and garter?

> Journalist Lance Morrow has written: "A wedding is a public business. That is the point of it. The couple are not merely marrying one another. They are, at least in part, submitting themselves to the larger logics of life, to the survival of the community, to life itself. They enter into a contract with processes deeper than they can know."
>
> - Why would the Chinese identify with this view of marriage? How communal was your wedding or would you like it to be? Do you think more emphasis should be placed on the social ramifications of the ceremony? Explain your reply.
> - Why do you think marriage is back in style in America after two decades during which many couples explored alternative lifestyles?

# 調解 Mediating

**"In China, it's traditional to solve disputes through local mediators. The tradition's an ancient one. In the past, if you could, you would avoid contact with a potentially corrupt, venal and dangerous magistrate. Nowadays, the civil courts are not corrupt but they are few, and the mediators deal with so many cases that the courts would be overwhelmed if they had to cope with them all."**

In Nanjing, a young couple's marriage has failed, and both have moved back with their mothers. Cai Xuanzhi, the husband, is a lathe operator in a small factory. He responded very cruelly to his wife, Gu Lingping, after her Caesarean delivery of a baby girl. China's one child per family policy means he will never have a son to carry on the family name and take care of him in his old age. Fearing for the baby's life, Gu has demanded a divorce.

A mediation committee from the couple's neighborhood takes up the challenge of effecting a reconciliation. In an emotion-charged session, Gu and Cai are encouraged to air their differences. Later the committee schedules meetings with each family and with all the parties together.

"Mediating" points out the importance of compromise and saving face to the Chinese. It also reveals the dynamics of male/female relationships, the pressures created by extended families, and the continuing significance of social harmony.

## QUESTIONS & EXERCISES

1. Divorce is allowed under Chinese marriage law, but it is frowned upon. Why is that so? What is the American attitude toward divorce? Has it changed in the past decade? If so, in what ways?

2. "There is no behavior more unfilial than to have no male descendant," stated Confucius centuries ago. Why is having a son so important to Chinese families?

3. According to this program, there are 800,000 mediating committees in China, and they process 15 times as many cases as the civil courts do. Who comprises the mediation committee helping Gu and Cai? What skills do the mediators possess?

4. What does "Mediating" reveal about the relationship between the sexes in China?

5. "The Chinese people love compromise," said Lu Hsun, a satirist who died in 1936. "If you say to them, 'This room is too dark, we must have a window made,' they will oppose you. But if you say, 'Let's take off the roof,' they will compromise with you and say 'Let's have a window.' " Why is compromise a popular virtue in China? Is compromise promoted in America?

6. Share reactions within your group as you answer the following questions: With whom do you sympathize in this case, the wife or the husband? Which family is most helpful? Most at fault? How do you feel about the resolution of the case? Do you think this marriage will last? How do you think this couple's problems would be handled by a marriage counselor in the United States?

7. Despite the strides made in slowing down its birthrate, China has been the target of criticism from abroad for the way its stringent family planning measures have been enforced. How does the one child policy work? Do you approve or disapprove of this approach to population control? Do you think it would work in other countries? Explain your answer.

8. One-quarter of the world's population lives in China. "Mediating" points out that "there are more than a thousand million Chinese, and if every family had three children, by the year 2000, the population would have increase 40%, and in a hundred years it would equal the present entire world population: four thousand million people." How will your children's children be affected by the success or failure of China's family planning policies?

In the companion volume to this television series, Alasdair Clayre writes: "The Chinese have a favorite term, *banfa*, meaning any strategem for getting round an obstacle; and the chief skill of a mediator often lies in his capacity to think of a solution that will get people out of a conflict while saving everyone's 'face': avoiding a quarrel and achieving a reconciliation by making people see things differently, preferably in such a way that no one's dignity is lost."

- How important to you on a scale of 1 to 5 is "saving face"?
- What groups in your community practice mediation techniques to resolve conflicts?

# 工作 Working

**"For most of the past thirty years, miners—indeed, all state employees—have been protected. They couldn't be fired. They had a contract for life. They used to call it 'The Iron Rice-Bowl'—guaranteed food, subsidized accommodation, enough pocket money for cigarettes and drink. If you played by the rules, you couldn't go far wrong. No longer."**

Datong is a remote industrial city on the Mongolian border about 180 miles northwest of Beijing. It is the last place on earth where steam locomotives are built—at the rate of one a day to meet the government quota. Datong also sits on one of China's richest coal fields. Both industries, the locomotive factory and the coal mines, are run by the state.

"Working" looks at the carefully structured and secure existence of China's industrial laborers. There is little room for choice in their lives. For example, 23-year-old Gong Peihua wanted to be a poet and still studies at night, but she inherited her father's job and is now apprenticed as a welder in the locomotive factory. The state provides jobs, housing, education and other services.

Given China's large population, those who have regular jobs and receive such cradle to grave care consider themselves fortunate, even those with dangerous jobs in the mines. Their situation may be changing, however, as a result of the new Responsibility System.

## QUESTIONS & EXERCISES

1. In industrial China, a person's identity is wrapped up in the work unit. The operative philosophy is you are what you do. Complete the following sentence: "My identity is wrapped up in____________________."

2. For the employees of state industries, membership in the Communist Party is a road to promotion and high regard in the community. Only 13% of the work force belong to the Party, and one must apply for membership. What character attributes for Party members are sought by leaders at

branch meeting depicted in the film? How are these qualifications similar to or different from those used by Western managers to determine promotions?

3. Share your responses to the May Day group marriage orchestrated by the Mining Bureau. What does this ritual imply about the interplay between work and private life?

4. In Datong, the work unit provides day care for the children of its employees. Why have U.S. companies been so slow to accommodate working mothers? Would you support a national child care policy in America? Why or why not?

5. Cite examples from the film which illustrate the state's tight control over the daily lives of the industrial workers.

6. The Japanese occupation of China in the 30s and 40s has been compared to the Nazi Holocaust in Europe. What was the impact of the Japanese occupation in Datong? Share your reactions to the scene in which workers visit a memorial to Chinese who were buried alive in pits. Why do you think the Party encourages visits to this site?

7. Identify the challenges facing Chinese industry today. Do you think the Responsibility System, which has worked so well in the agricultural sector, can be applied in factories? How well have the Chinese dealt with problems of unemployment? What has been their record on industrial safety?

In his book *Working*, Studs Terkel concludes that workers in America look for "daily meanings as well as daily bread, for recognition as well as cash, for astonishment rather than torpor; in short, for a sort of life rather than a Monday through Friday sort of dying."

- What is your work ethic? What do you hope to gain from your work?
- How would you describe the work ethic of the laborers shown in this program?

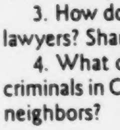
# 改正 Correcting

**"It seems to be part of the Chinese tradition to be suspicious of the law and of lawyers, just as they both respect and fear authority. People look on the court as a last resort."**

Nie Chengying, a 28-year-old wife and mother of a three-year-old girl, is awaiting trial in Nanjing. She confessed shortly after her arrest to cat-burglary: she broke into a neighbor's apartment by crawling over a plank into a window; she then stole a television set, a tape recorder and a quilt. She also stole money, food tickets and clothes from another neighbor. At the brewery where she works, she sold a stolen coat to a coworker. This is not the first time Nie has been in trouble with the law; previously, the brewery took disciplinary action against her for minor fraud.

"Correcting" traces the workings of China's legal system as the cameras follow Nie's case over a seven-day period from the reading of the indictment to the investigation by the court, interviews with the neighbors, family and witnesses, the trial, and the sentencing. Along the way, the film reveals in very human terms how the law in China is concerned with the values of social harmony and stability and is enforced by inducing guilt and shame.

## QUESTIONS & EXERCISES



1. As you watch "Correcting," make a list of similarities and differences between the legal systems of China and the United States. What, for example, are the functions of the Chinese procurator, the judge, the lay assessors, and the defense attorney? Who are their American counterparts?

2. How many lawyers are available to help China's thousand million people? How does this figure compare with the ratio of lawyers to population in the United States?

3. How do you explain Chinese suspicion of the law and lawyers? Share your own feelings about lawyers.

4. What do you learn about attitudes toward crime and criminals in China from the interviews with Nie's relatives and neighbors?

5. Discuss the role of shame in these legal proceedings and comment on this thought by Confucius: "Lead the people by laws and regulate them by penalties, and the people will try to keep themselves out of jail, but will have no sense of shame; lead the people by virtue and restrain them by rules of decorum, and the people will have a sense of shame, and moreover will become good."

6. Analyze Nie's various statements as she moves through the legal system. How does she describe her crime? What attitude does she project?

7. Are you surprised by the sentence awarded in her case? What factors worked in her favor? Do you think she will stay out of trouble in the future? Why or why not?

8. Is there reason to believe that changes occurring in contemporary China will cause an increase in crime? Explain your opinion.

Alasdair Clayre in *The Heart of the Dragon* observes: "The purpose of the legal system in China has never been merely to prevent crime by locking up prisoners, or even merely to deter; it has always included the aim of reforming criminals. This has been seen as necessary for the restoration of the harmony of the social order. In China the individual has always been judged according to his frictionless functioning within society. . . . Both traditional and modern legal philosophies are more concerned with society than with the individual."

- How important is concern with the harmony of the social order in the deliberations of American courts?
- How would the Chinese regard the assumption of innocence until guilt is proven? How important is that assumption to you?

## 創作 Creating

**"Like their paintings and their poetry, music for the Chinese seems to be more about mood than about technique; more about inner feelings than any imagined objective reality."**

Contemporary Chinese painters, poets, writers and musicians, many of whom were forced to give up their art during the Cultural Revolution, are once again engaged in the act of creating. This program shows how their work reflects both traditional and Western influences yet retains a distinctly Chinese approach to reality.

A composer for the Shanghai Ladies' String Quartet talks about the expression of subjective sentiment; an eight-year-old prodigy, a painter of bamboo in the classical style, illustrates the necessary balance between line and white space; a painter from Phoenix in the beautiful countryside of Hunan province creates an impressionistic painting of his hometown using old and new techniques; an elderly writer of more than 100 novels explains that the creative process can remain independent from politics and social pressures; an artist who came of age painting propaganda posters during the 70s reveals the influences behind his series of representational paintings of a Sichuan village; a film director discusses the attempt to recreate reality through concrete images; and a young Chinese painter studying in London articulates excitement about his new work dealing with the unconscious, a concept frowned upon by Communist intellectuals.

### QUESTIONS & EXERCISES

1. What does the composer mean when he talks about the "soul" of Chinese music? Can you hear it in the music used on the soundtrack of this film?

2. How is Chinese poetry different from Western poetry? What added dimensions does it possess?

3. What criteria does the young boy profiled in the film use to distinguish between a good and a bad bamboo painting? What makes this art genre unique?

4. How does Chinese landscape painting reflect Buddhist and Daoist thought?

5. Wang Qiaowen, a writer, observes: "Artists are not magicians, but they can feel things in empty spaces." Have you found this to be true? Do you agree with art critics who claim that Chinese art is as much about what is not said or shown as it is about what is?

6. The Chinese philosopher Mencius said that "the ideal man is one whom riches and honor cannot seduce, power and

force cannot bend, and poverty and obscurity cannot alter." In what sense is the novelist Shen Congwen an "ideal man." Do you respect his decision not to write novels if he could not express himself freely? Do you think artists can be apolitical?

7. React to Huang Yongyu's impressionistic painting of the town of Phoenix and Luo Zhongli's representational paintings of a Sichuan village. What do they convey to you about Chinese life? What emotions are evoked?

8. Playwright Arthur Miller has written: "In China, art traditionally means style rather than any kind of crude verisimilitude; it has always worked to transmute rather than report the visible and audible reality." Which works of art in "Creating" most vividly illustrate this emphasis?

9. "Any musical innovation is full of danger to the whole state and ought to be prohibited," Plato wrote centuries ago. Even the present regime in China, which is tolerant of many Western influences, worries that artistic innovation may bring spiritual pollution. State your opinion on the proper relationship between government and the arts.

10. The goal of the arts and the media in China is to serve the people. Do you get a sense from "Creating" of limits placed on artistic freedom? How do the artists interviewed in the film explain their role in society?

Peter Montagnon, the writer of "Creating," characterizes the function of the artist in society as follows: "The artist, like some piece of social litmus paper, can signal changes in the moods, aspirations and hopes of ordinary people long before the message can be detected by more conventional means. They're a sort of early warning system."

- How do you think the Chinese will receive Tang Muli if he returns to China and displays his paintings of nudes and explorations of the unconscious mind?
- Which writers, filmmakers, musicians and painters in America have flagged changes in our society before they happened? How has the public responded to their messages?

# 理解 Understanding

**"Traditionally, the Chinese believe that the energy you feel in your body is the same energy that drives all of nature and powers the heavens above—it's the pulsing rhythm of the whole universe. Ideally, the heavens, the earth, and man are all in balance, in perfect harmony. If something gets out of balance, then the flow of energy is blocked; your body gets tired, a plant doesn't grow. . . . Most of the Chinese people throughout history have understood the universe this way."**

The Chinese were the first to use a magnetic compass and a seismoscope, make paper and gunpowder, and print with movable type. About the time of Marco Polo, however, the torch of scientific innovation passed to the West. Now the Chinese are trying to regain a leadership position in science and technology.

"Understanding" vividly demonstrates the roots of Chinese science in ancient philosophies. The Daoist idea that harmony is achieved in the universe by a balance of Yin and Yang applies to traditional holistic medicine. The concept of energy flowing through the body and the cosmos translates into such areas as acupuncture and earthquake prediction.

This ecological perspective combined with a gift for detail and the long-standing respect for teachers bodes well for the future of science in China. Already in laser technology and bioengineering, the Chinese are on a par with the West. Bureaucracies and research procedures may need to be simplified, however, before China becomes a center of scientific and technological innovation.

## QUESTIONS & EXERCISES

1. A restaurant in Chengdu lists dishes on the menu according to what illnesses they can help cure or avoid. Do you take seriously the connection between health and eating the right foods? Do you seek out "health foods"? Why or why not?

2. Have you ever been treated with herbal medicines? What happened?

3. Do the demonstration of how acupuncture acts as a painkiller in a rabbit and the scenes of an old woman undergoing eye surgery with acupuncture anesthesia convince you

of the viability of this traditional practice? If you know anyone who has undergone acupuncture, share the story.

4. What are the implications of the Chinese view that the earth is like a human body? Give examples.

5. The Chinese have a great respect for the web of connection linking the mind and the body, the individual and the universe. Discuss their system of monitoring natural phenomenon, such as the behavior of a herd of deer, to predict earthquakes. Would such a system work in the United States? Explain your opinion.

6. The eight scientific areas given special priority since 1978 by the Chinese government are: lasers, agriculture, energy, computers, space, new materials, high energy physics, and genetic engineering. Where do the Chinese stand in relations to other world powers in terms of scientific sophistication? What areas seem especially promising? What are some of the roadblocks facing China in the attempt to catch up to the rest of the world in these fields?

7. More than 10,000 students from China are currently enrolled in American schools and universities. Most of them are studying science and technology. What impact will they have on China's future?

Cultural analyst George Leonard has written: "The word *health* goes back to an old Anglo-Saxon root meaning *whole*. *Heal* comes from the same root, as does *holy*. The notion of health as wholeness, as the harmonious functioning of mind, body and spirit, is not new . . . But it is new for our times . . . It aims toward long, full lives, not just for the few, but for the many. Best of all, for a nation based on the frontier, it offers a frontier-sized challenge."

- Whereas to a large extent, American medicine stresses medication and crisis intervention (combat of disease after it has occurred), holistic medicine emphasizes wellness and prevention via regular monitoring of mind, body and environment. Do you think this approach has a future in America? Do Americans devote enough attention to self-care and preventive medicine?
- What steps have you taken recently to assume more responsibility for your health? What insights into health and healing have you gained from "Understanding"?

争分夺秒 奔向2000!

# 貿易 Trading

**"The Chinese are faced with a dilemma: they want Western know-how, technology and investment. But they're not sure whether they want all the values that seem to go with them. In the past, the Chinese have absorbed foreign influences while preserving their essential Chineseness. Today, they fear this may not be possible."**

China's contact with the rest of the world has always been under the control of the central government and, for long periods, was completely suppressed. The emperors decided when and where trading would be allowed, then gave merchants low social status so they could not become too powerful. "Trading" sketches the history of China's business contacts with the West, from its beginnings along the overland Silk Route through the opening of China's ports after its defeat in the Opium Wars with Britain. For a century, trading flourished out of such strongholds of foreign influence as Shanghai. After the revolution and throughout Mao Zedong's regime, China's doors were firmly closed again.

Now China sees trade as necessary to the achievement of its goal of modernization by the year 2000. This film profiles four individuals who represent different aspects of this business renewal. Liu Jinji is a self-made Shanghai millionaire who, despite having been made to sweep floors during the Cultural Revolution, has remained in China and is financing a building project to attract foreign investors. New Yorker Mildred Mottahedeh is using a Party-run pottery factory in China to make replicas of ancient Chinese porcelain. George Ling, one of the overseas Chinese seen as a business link between the West and China, has invested in a container factory at an agricultural commune. Li Ziaoyan is 22 and a Chinese entrepreneur; previously unemployed, she has found success by sewing and selling clothes in a Canton free market.

## QUESTIONS & EXERCISES

1. What was the impetus for foreign trade in ancient China? How was it controlled? What were China's chief exports? What products and influences entered the country via trade?

2. Outline the history of Chinese trade through its seaports. What was at issue during the Opium Wars? What were the terms of the Treaty of Nanking signed in 1842?

3. What attitudes and historical events have shaped China's repeated closed door policies toward the West and its persistent suspicion of foreigners?

4. Describe some of the difficulties foreign business firms and entrepreneurs have discovered in their dealings with the Chinese. If you were a management consultant in China, what specific steps would you recommend to solve these problems?

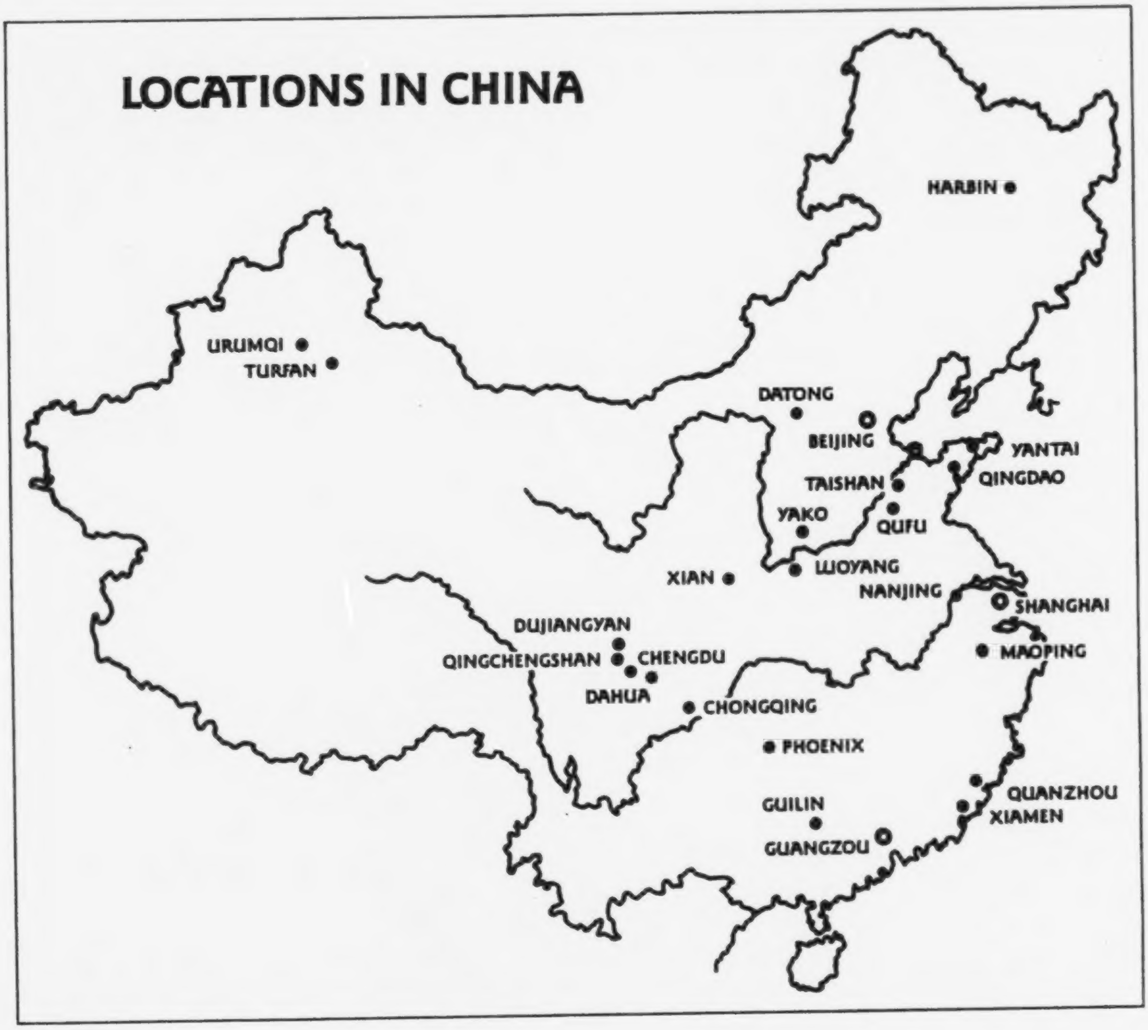
5. What economic incentives are being used by the Chinese to lure foreign investments and technology into the "Special Economic Zones"? What would you find most attractive about doing business in China?

6. How would you describe the lifestyle and political attitudes of the young woman who runs her own clothing business in the free market? Brainstorm about the future of the free enterprise system in China.

In his latest book on China, Orville Schell writes about how throughout history the West has held unreal images of China, whether seeing the nation as a hot spot for converts to Christianity or as an implacable foe. Now with the economic reforms taking place, there is more "dreaming of China as an endless sinkhole for Western capital and goods; a trading partner par excellence, a billion customers just waiting to drink our Cokes, wear our jeans, buy our factories, power plants, and weapons."

- Identify some reasonable expectations about the future relationship between China and the United States.
- What can we learn from the Chinese? What can they learn from us?

## LOCATIONS IN CHINA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書評

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**Videocassettes and 16mm films of "The Heart of the Dragon" are available for purchase or rental from Time-Life Video Distribution Center, 100 Eisenhower Drive, P.O. Box 644, Paramus, New Jersey 07653. Telephone: 1-800-526-4663. In New Jersey, call collect: 201-843-4545.**

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# China's Gifts to the West

By Derk Bodde

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中國物品西入考

ASIATIC STUDIES IN AMERICAN EDUCATION

*Number 1*

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# China's Gifts to the West

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*University of Pennsylvania*

Prepared for the Committee on Asiatic Studies
in American Education

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The Chinese characters on the cover read: *Chung-kuo wu-p'in hsi-ju k'ao.* Literally translated, this means: "Study of the Introduction to the West of Products from the Central Country (China)."

The seal printed on the cover under the author's name is that used by the author when he lived in China. It reads *Pu Te*, which is the way the author's name is pronounced in Chinese. The seal is printed in red as is customary in China.

# Foreword

In 1940 almost 10,000 new books were printed in the United States. Millions of copies of the 13,000 newspapers in the country were distributed. All of this was possible because we know how to make paper and to print with movable type—inventions which occurred in China. The world's first printed book, which is pictured on page 22 of this pamphlet, was made in China, 1,074 years ago.

As late as 1923 soy beans were practically unknown in the United States. But in 1940 there were over 79,000,000 bushels of soy beans grown on the farms of this country. The soy bean crop that year was worth over $60,000,000, and was used to make bread, crackers, soups, steering wheels and dashboards for automobiles, plastic combs and brushes, and hundreds of other articles. The soy bean plant came to us from China. So did peaches and apricots and chrysanthemums, and scores of other plants.

We have all read about "our debt to ancient Greece and Rome" and about "our heritage from Europe." We need to think also about our gifts from the cultures and peoples of Asia. This pamphlet tells of some of the things given by China to the Western world.

The story of China's gifts to the West goes back hundreds and hundreds of years. When Columbus came to America, China had already been exchanging goods with Europe for centuries.

When one knows the story of these gifts from China he appreciates more deeply the importance of the Chinese to our ways of living in the United States. And he realizes the importance of closer, friendlier cooperation among all peoples and nations. He realizes the great importance of the countries of Asia to the welfare and advancement of life in America and the rest of the world.

China has given much to the world. Other nations have also given much to China. And the exchange of discoveries and inventions and products has not stopped. There will be richer ways of living for all of us as, in the future, the nations of Asia and the nations of Europe and America draw closer and closer together.

. . . .

This pamphlet brings together authoritative material on *China's Gifts to the West* not otherwise available in small compass. It is worth the consideration of all citizens and teachers who recognize the mounting importance of close relations between East and West. The long-continuing influence of Asiatic culture on Western civilization becomes clearer as one reads Dr. Bodde's document. The materials he presents offer substance and content for increasing and improving Asiatic studies in our schools, colleges, and agencies of adult education.

The pamphlet is of direct and special value to teachers of social studies and the humanities. In classes in these fields—especially in surveys of world history—it offers material for basic reading by entire classes or for special reports from interested pupils. The pamphlet is an excellent guide for teachers who seek to "filter" Asiatic materials into existing courses; for that purpose, it contains valuable suggestions for teachers of science, shopwork, and the arts as well as of social studies and humanities. Teachers of intermediate grades and student-groups responsible for assembly and club meetings will find here useful materials for dramatization and for programs.

The American Council on Education has long stressed the importance of the international situation for American education. The appointment of a Committee on Asiatic Studies in American Education in 1941 is one outgrowth of the Council's concern in this field. Among the most neglected areas for comprehensive understanding of the world picture are the vast reaches and peoples of Asia. The Committee on Asiatic Studies has sought to aid schools in increasing and improving the Asiatic content of school curricula.

The Committee on Asiatic Studies in American Education is deeply indebted to Dr. Bodde for his preparation of the manuscript and to the Rockefeller Foundation for making its publication possible. This pamphlet is the first of a series now in preparation, intended as a contribution to the friendlier understanding of Asia on the part of American citizens.

Howard E. Wilson, *Chairman*

# Acknowledgment

It is a pleasure to acknowledge the kindness of those who have helped in the making of this pamphlet. Mrs. Fang Chao-ying, of the Asiatic Division, Library of Congress, who is known for her Chinese calligraphy, wrote the Chinese characters for the English title, which appear on the cover. Thanks are due to the Library of Congress for permission to reproduce the illustrations used in the pamphlet. Dr. Joseph Spencer and Mr. John Buoncristiani, both of the Office of Strategic Services, Washington, D.C., helped greatly in the preparation of the map. The actual drawing of the map is the work of Mr. Buoncristiani. Professor Conway Zirkle, of the Department of Botany, University of Pennsylvania, offered bibliographical suggestions which facilitated the writing of the section dealing with plants. Professor Thomas T. Read, of the School of Mines, Columbia University, supplied similar bibliographical aid for the section on Chinese minerals, to which he also gave freely from the results of his own research on that subject. To Professor Howard E. Wilson, chairman of the Committee on Asiatic Studies in American Education, American Council on Education, I owe a special debt of gratitude. His numerous suggestions have done much to make the pamphlet readable for students of high school age.

Derk Bodde, *Assistant Professor of Chinese,*
University of Pennsylvania

November 8, 1942

# China's Gifts to the West

China has oceans to her east, steppes and deserts to her north and northwest, and mountains and jungles to her west and south. She has long seemed to be an outstanding example of isolation. Yet the Chinese succeeded long ago in breaking through these geographic barriers and opening trade routes to link their country with the outside world. As long as hundreds of years ago, materials and inventions and ideas traveled between China and the civilizations of India, Persia, Egypt, Greece, and Rome. Throughout the Middle Ages contact between China and the countries of Europe continued. In modern times the contact has increased. China has never been as isolated as we have often assumed.

The earliest of the trade routes between China and the outside world was a route for caravans. It led overland from Northwest China across the deserts of Central Asia (Turkestan), through Persia, and on to the shores of the eastern Mediterranean. From Central Asia, a branch which passed southward through Afghanistan, linked China with India. It is the route westward to the Mediterranean, however, with which we are here concerned. The Chinese conquest of Turkestan in the first century B.C. made it possible for caravans to carry goods over this road between China and the Mediterranean. Until 500 years ago it was the most important line of contact between China and the rest of the world. Over it passed many travelers, among them Marco Polo when he journeyed from Europe to reach China in the year 1275.

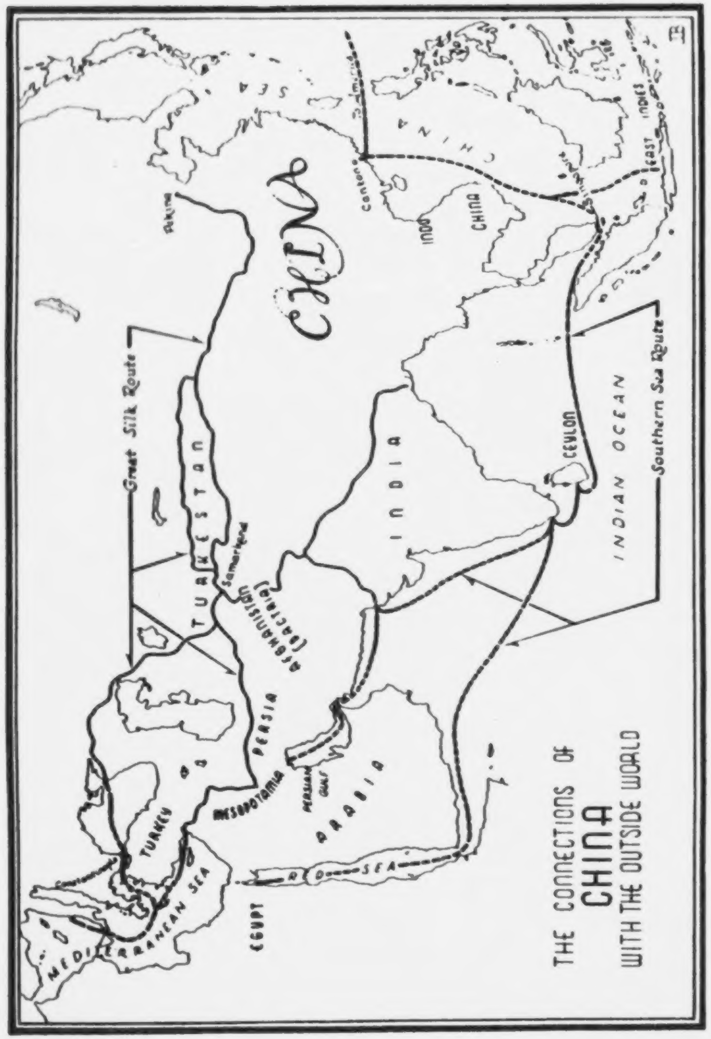
The second major trade route was the southern sea route by way of India. At its western end the route began either at the

Red Sea or the Persian Gulf. It went south and then east across the Indian Ocean to India and Ceylon, from there around the tip of Malaya past the present Singapore, and up along the coast of Indo-China to Canton and other southern Chinese ports. The Chinese end of this route was opened in the second century A.D., but did not attain real importance until the coming of Arab ships to the Far East in the seventh century. In still later times the Chinese replaced the Arabs as the main seafarers between China and India. They developed the sea route so that it rivaled and at times even surpassed the overland road by caravan. When the Portuguese, Dutch, English, and others came to China from the sixteenth century on, this sea route became the main road to the East. Trade on the overland route declined. Ships had proven superior to camels as carriers of trade.

A third route approached China from the ocean side—across the Pacific Ocean by way of the Americas. This route became very important in the nineteenth century after the United States gained its independence. With the development of the New England clipper-ship trade with China, the route became as important as the older Indian Ocean route. Trade lines across the Pacific are in modern times a prime factor in the close and friendly relations between the United States and China.

For more than two thousand years, goods and ideas have been carried between China and the Western world by these three routes. China has contributed much to the Western world, and Europe and America to China. The story to be told here deals only with the gifts from China to the West. These contributions have influenced very greatly the development of Western civilization. For the two thousand years between 200 B.C. and A.D. 1800, China gave to the West more than she received in return.

It is difficult for the historian to trace in detail the path of ideas from one region to another. It is easier to trace the route


CHINA
Peking
Great Silk Route
Southern Sea Route
TURKESTAN
Samarkand
AFGHANISTAN (BACTRIA)
PERSIA
MESOPOTAMIA
PERSIAN GULF
ARABIA
RED SEA
EGYPT
MEDITERRANEAN SEA
TURKEY
INDIA
CEYLON
INDIAN OCEAN
INDO CHINA
Canton
CHINA SEA
EAST INDIES

THE CONNECTIONS OF CHINA WITH THE OUTSIDE WORLD of material things as they pass from one center of civilization to another. China has given many ideas and ideals to the rest of the world; she has also given certain material goods or inventions or discoveries—silk, porcelain, tea, paper, printing, gunpowder, the compass, lacquer, medicines, plants, kites, playing cards, to mention only a few. The story of how these material gifts reached the Western world from China is a fascinating one. It is that story that this pamphlet tells.

## *SILK*

Of all the products we think of as typical of China, silk seems to be the oldest. Traces of silk fabric have been found among remains which date back to the earliest historical Chinese dynasty, about 1300 B.C. It is possible, moreover, that the use of silk in China goes back even earlier to prehistoric times.

Until the second century B.C., silk remained an article known to the Chinese alone. But in that century an event occurred which was of immense importance for East and West alike. At that time certain fierce tribes of nomads in Mongolia were making constant attacks upon the Chinese. These nomads were the same tribes of Huns who later were driven west by the Chinese and invaded Europe. In order to meet these attacks from the Huns, a diplomatic mission, headed by a man named Chang Ch'ien, was sent forth by the Chinese Emperor in the year 138 B.C. The mission sought to cross the arid wastes of Turkestan, in order to find and make an alliance with a certain friendly tribe in the west. The Chinese thought that this alliance might help to defeat the Hun raiders.

Soon after leaving China, Chang Ch'ien and his band of a hundred men were captured by the very Huns against whom his mission was directed. For ten long years he was held prisoner. Then, making his escape, he pushed dauntlessly westward once more. Finally he reached what was then Bactria, a

country in the extreme west of Turkestan, where he found the tribe that he had been sent to visit. They treated him with friendship, but showed no desire to join an alliance against the dreaded Huns. So Chang Ch'ien retraced his steps, only to suffer the misfortune of again falling a prisoner to the enemies. This time, however, he succeeded in escaping after a single year of captivity. In 126 B.C., twelve years after his departure, he returned to the Chinese capital, accompanied by but one of the hundred men who had started with him.

Chang Ch'ien's mission was a failure from a diplomatic point of view. But he brought back with him two important plants of western Asiatic origin. One was alfalfa, which was to prove of the greatest value to the Chinese as food for the horses used in their later military campaigns against the Huns. The other was the grape, which has ever since been one of China's favorite fruits.

Most important of all, however, Chang Ch'ien gave to the Chinese their first accurate knowledge of the expanses of Central Asia. Following his advice, they launched a series of military campaigns which during the next century broke the power of the Huns. Finally all of Turkestan was brought under Chinese rule. Across the desert the Chinese conquerors laid out a series of garrison posts. Thus, well before the birth of Christ, a trade route was established which crossed Turkestan from China, passed through Persian territory, and reached the eastern shores of the Mediterranean. From there ships could continue the journey to Rome itself. Thus were Rome and China, then the two most powerful empires in the world, linked by trade.

The most important product sent by China over this route to Rome was silk. Because of its high value and light weight, silk was ideal freight for the caravan trains of the long, long road. So much silk was carried over this route that it has since been commonly known as the great Silk Road.

In return for silk, the Roman Empire sent to the Chinese precious stones, wool textiles, asbestos, and—of greatest importance from a cultural point of view—glass, which is of western Asiatic origin. Yet none of these products could balance in value the precious silk. Woven into a semitransparent gauze, silk became the fashion among the ladies of Rome. In some periods of history silk was literally worth its weight in gold by the time it reached its destination. In fact, the Romans used so much silk and other Asiatic luxuries that during the first two centuries A.D. Rome suffered an adverse trade balance with Asiatic countries estimated to equal no less than half a billion United States dollars. One writer, indeed, has even gone so far as to suggest that this unfavorable trade balance was one important cause for the downfall of the Roman Empire.

After the collapse of Rome in A.D. 476, the silk trade was continued with Byzantium (Constantinople), the leading center of European civilization during the Middle Ages. During all this time, however, Europeans had no clear idea of how silk was produced. The Roman poet, Virgil (70–19 B.C.), for example, described silk as some kind of a vegetable product that is combed from trees. The Chinese, we may be sure, jealously guarded the methods of making silk. It was a valuable "trade secret."

About the middle of the sixth century, however, some monks arrived in Constantinople from the East, bearing the startling news that silk was not "combed from trees," but was produced by caterpillars. With the Byzantine Emperor's encouragement they were sent eastward once more to bring back the secret of

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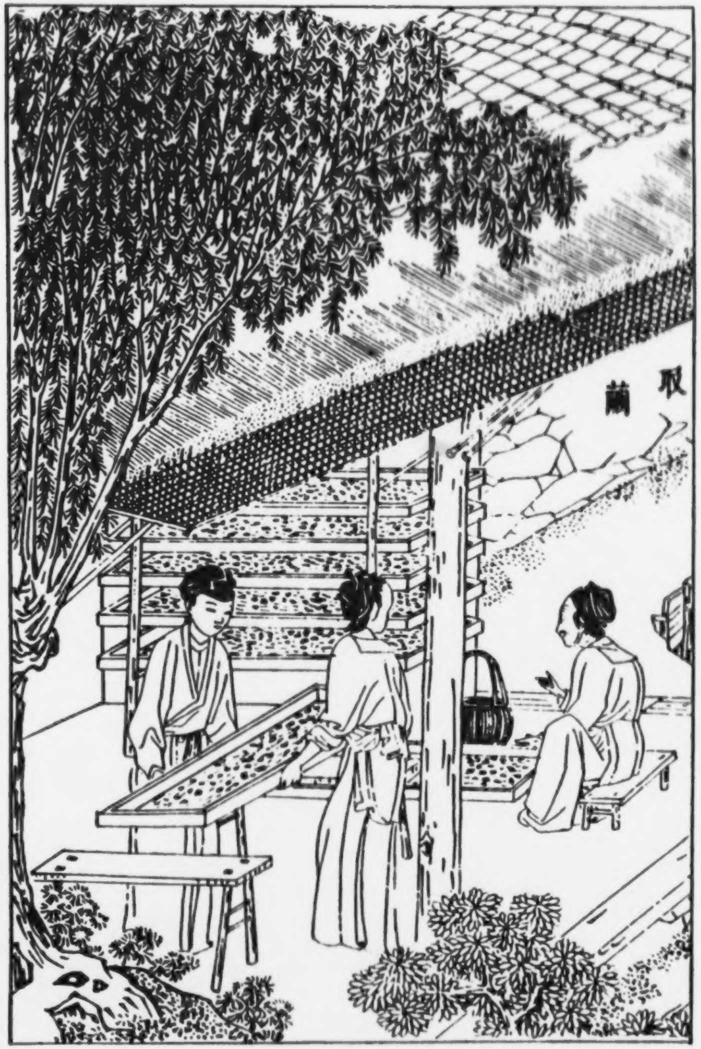
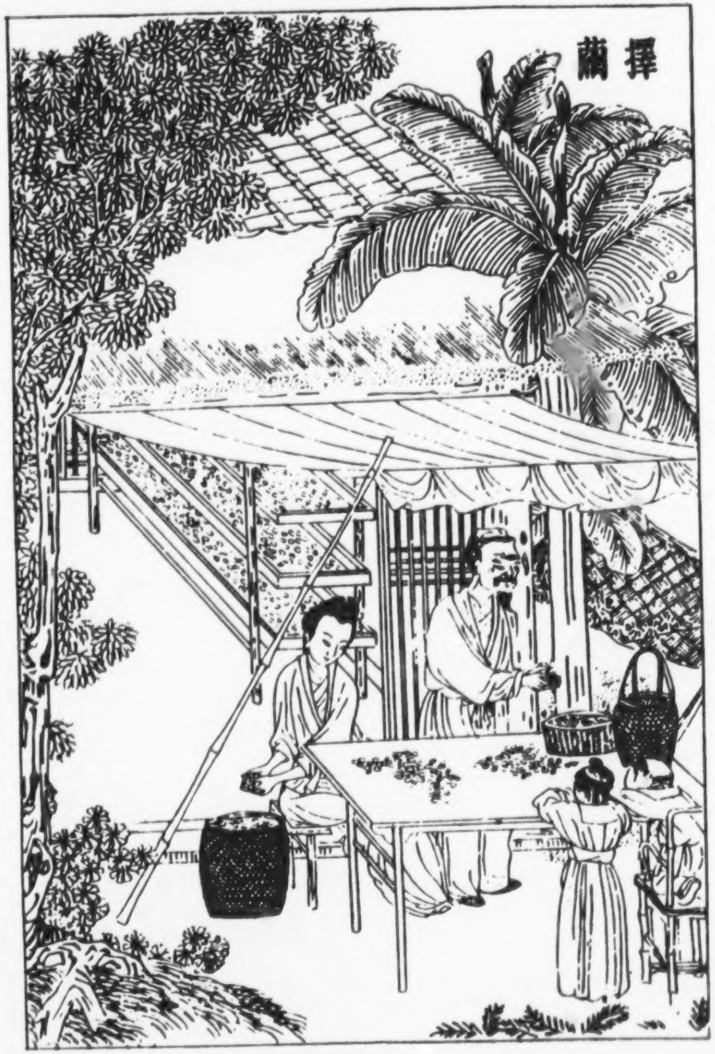
The pictures on pages 7–10 are taken from a series on silk making found in *T'ien-kung K'ai-wu*, a Chinese book originally printed in 1637 and reprinted by the Commercial Press, Shanghai, in 1927. A copy of this book may be found in the Asiatic Division, Library of Congress.



COLLECTING THE COCOONS



Sorting the Cocoons

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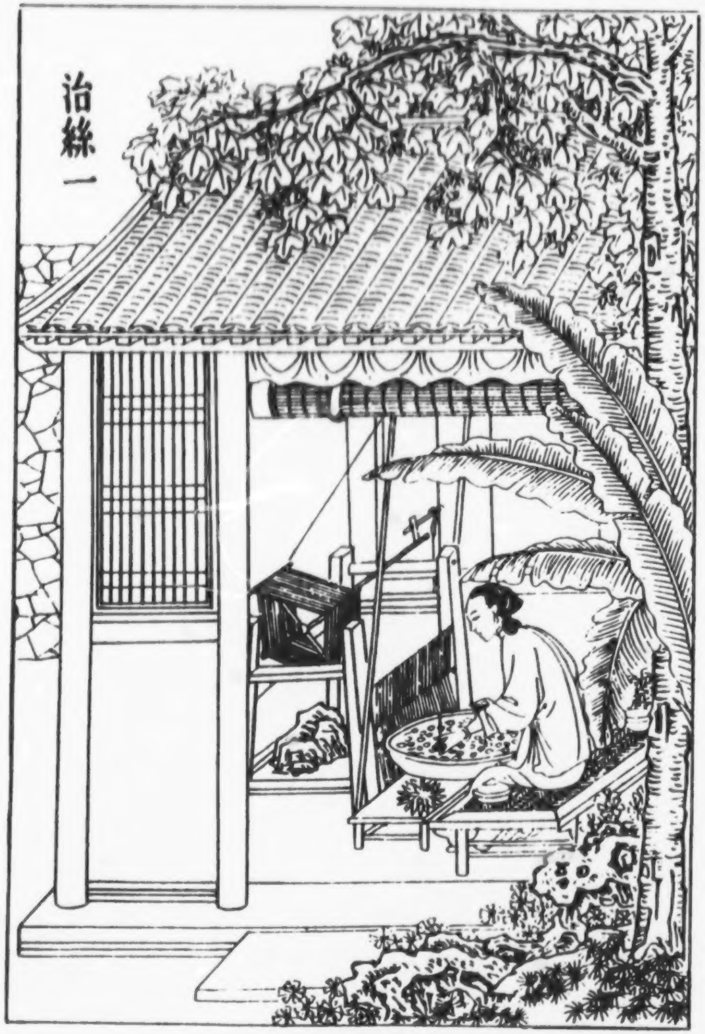
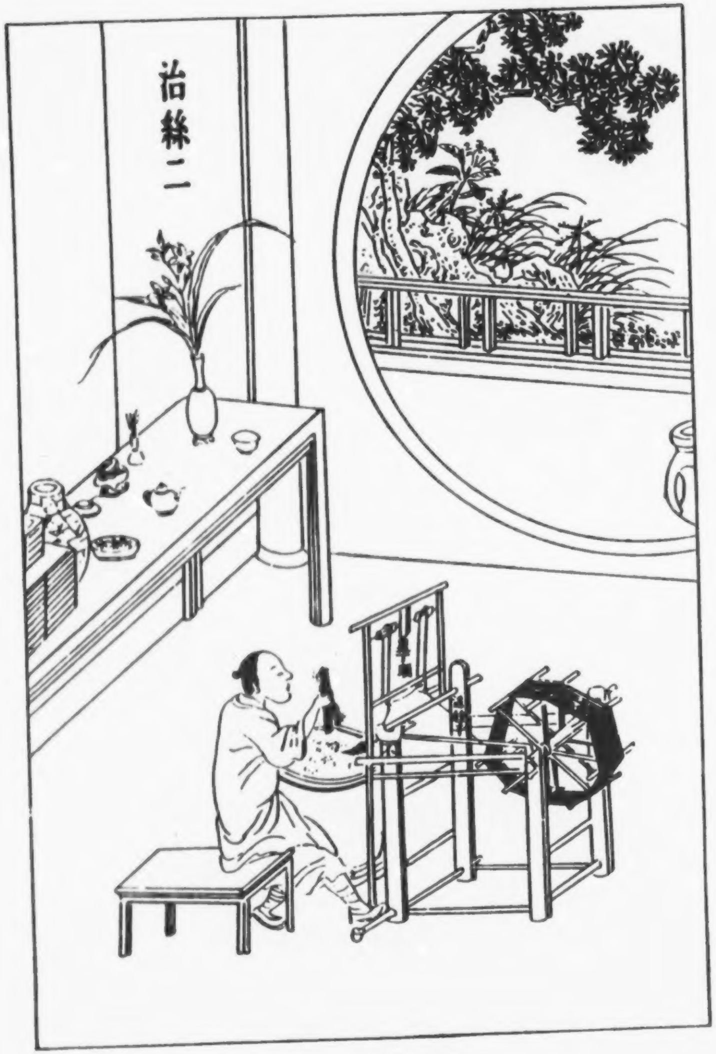


Spinning the Thread

[9]



Winding Silk Threads

silk. Some time between the years 552 and 554, they returned triumphantly to Constantinople, bringing with them some precious silkworm eggs which they had smuggled out of the country inside a bamboo cane. From these few eggs are descended the countless millions of silkworms that have since been grown in Europe.

Today, most European silk is made in Italy and France. The Far East, however, continues to produce the vast bulk of the world's supply. In recent decades Japan, using improved methods of large-scale production, has taken the lead from China in the manufacture of silk. Some of the silk produced in China, nevertheless, retains the high qualities of that produced in former times. When peace comes and China recovers from the ravages of war, it is quite possible that silk may again become one of her leading exports.

## *TEA*

Before tea was domesticated, it probably grew wild both in southwestern China and in northern India. Some people have supposed that tea was one of the many things brought from India to China by Buddhist disciples. The Hindus, however, have never been great tea drinkers. They drink only a little tea even today, although large quantities of tea are now grown in India for sale in the West. All probabilities seem to point to China as the first country in which the habit of tea drinking developed.

The earliest authentic reference to tea drinking in Chinese literature is one that occurs in the biography of a well-known Chinese historian. It can be dated between the years A.D. 264 and 273. This historian had the misfortune to hold office under an emperor notorious for his drunken sprees. In the early part of this emperor's reign, so the biography tells us, the historian enjoyed the favor of the new ruler. Frequently he was invited to attend drunken feasts at which each guest was expected to drink no less than seven Chinese pints of wine. Our poor historian, alas, suffered bad health, which made it hard for him to keep up with his merry companions on these occasions. His own drinking capacity, the biography adds, was only three pints.

It is at this point that the biography mentions tea. In order to help the historian out of his difficulties at one such party, a kind-hearted friend "secretly gave him some tea to take the place of wine." Perhaps this trick was found out. At any rate, so the biography says, the historian later fell into the bad graces of the emperor, was thrown into prison in the year 273, and soon afterward was put to death.

In earliest times the Chinese seem to have used tea only as a tonic or medicine. For some time it was regarded by many of them with the suspicion people anywhere usually have for any unfamiliar food or product. Thus a Chinese book dealing with marvels and wonders of all kinds, and written within twenty years following the incident of the unfortunate historian, lists tea under a special section devoted to "Foods to be Avoided." It sternly warns the reader that "the drinking of true tea will cause people to suffer lack of sleep"!

Several centuries passed before tea became really popular in China. Gradually its use spread to such neighboring countries as Tibet, Mongolia, Korea, and Japan. Only much later did it spread in any great quantity farther afield. In the seventeenth century, travelers who had been in China brought it back with them on their return to Western Europe. They and their tea traveled from China over the southern sea route by way of India. Pepys, in his famous diary, wrote in London on September 25, 1666: "I did send for a cup of tee; a China drink of which I never had drunk before." Within the next century the demand for it had become universal in England. Tea was becoming an important item in world trade.

Meanwhile, the Russians early in the seventeenth century were also becoming acquainted with tea. They received it, however, by way of the overland route through Central Asia. In course of time they became even greater tea drinkers than the English.

The different names for tea in various European languages are an interesting reflection of the two routes taken by it in its travels to the West. Thus the English word *tea* and the French *thé* are both derived from the Chinese *té*. This is the name for tea in the dialect of the southern coastal province of Fukien, from which ships started westward on the southern sea route. The Russian word, *chai*, on the other hand, is derived from *ch'a*, which is the way the word for tea is pronounced in North China, where the land route through Central Asia started. Other similar words, also derived from *ch'a*, are used by the Mongols, Turks, Persians, and modern Greeks.

From England tea was brought to this country. Its connection with the American Revolution in the form of the "Boston Tea Party" is known to us all. In the first half of the nineteenth century it was the most important single item brought back from Canton around Cape Horn by the Yankee sea captains in their famous clipper ships. In the latter part of the nineteenth century, however, tea growing became a major industry in India, Ceylon, the East Indies, and other regions, and the trade with China declined. Yet even today the most delicate varieties of tea (and there are dozens of them) still come from China.

## *PORCELAIN*

Porcelain, as indicated by its popular name of "china," is another major product of China. Earthenware bowls, plates, and vases have been baked from clay by almost all people since time immemorial, but porcelain is justly acclaimed as a product of Chinese genius alone. True porcelain is distinguished from ordinary pottery or earthenware by its hardness, whiteness, smoothness, translucence when made in thin pieces, nonporousness, and bell-like sound when tapped. The plates you eat from, even heavy thick ones, have these qualities and are therefore porcelain. A flower pot, on the other hand, or the brown cooky jar kept in the pantry are not porcelain but earthenware.

Two mineral ingredients are necessary to give porcelain its peculiar characteristics. The first is the white clay known as kaolin. It is an aluminum silica compound which takes its name from the Chinese term *kao-ling* (*gow-ling*), meaning "high hill." The latter is the name of a place where the clay was obtained in early times, lying twenty miles northeast of the famous porcelain kilns at Ching-te-chen in Central China. The second essential ingredient in porcelain is petuntse, a mineral resembling kaolin, but more glassy in character. Its name originates from the Chinese term *pai-tun-tzu* (*by-doon-dse*), meaning "white bricks." The name describes the brick-like blocks into which this mineral is kneaded by the Chinese porcelain workers before being mixed with kaolin, shaped into various objects, and then baked to become porcelain.

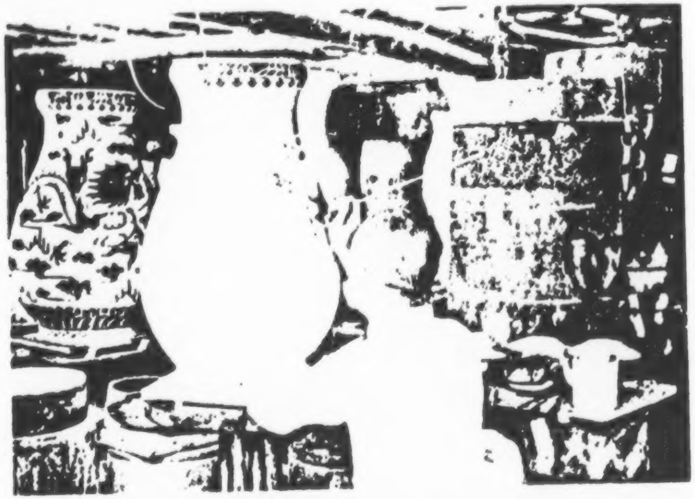
The word *tz'u*, which is the present-day Chinese term for porcelain, occurs for the first time in the poem of a Chinese writer who died in the year A.D. 300. This poem speaks of a wine pot which is said to be of "blue-green *tz'u*." Yet it is unlikely that the new word here refers to a genuine porcelain. Several centuries were still to elapse before patient experimentation gradually evolved the real porcelain with which we are familiar today.

In this experimentation it is probable that Chinese alchemists played a vital part. In their eager search for the elixir of immortality, they carried on constant experiments with many kinds of minerals, of which kaolin seems to have been one. Thus kaolin is mentioned in Chinese literature as a medicinal drug before it is referred to in connection with porcelain itself. Incidentally, it is not at all impossible that this Chinese alchemy was the inspiration of the alchemy of the Arabs and, through it, of medieval European alchemy, from which our modern chemistry eventually comes.

The first description that seems to point definitely to porcelain is that of the famous Arabic traveler, Suleyman, in his account dated 851 of travels in India and China. There he speaks of certain vases made in China out of a very fine clay, which have the transparency of glass bottles. In the centuries following Suleyman's time the southern sea route to China rose to a position of commanding importance. Over it porcelain became by all odds the major export shipped from China to the outside world. Tremendous quantities of porcelain went to Southeast Asia, including the Philippines, Indo-China, Siam, Malaya, the East Indies, Ceylon, and adjoining regions. Much porcelain went even farther, crossing the Indian Ocean and passing up the Persian Gulf to reach Persia, Syria, and Egypt. Some of it, too, went as far as the southeast coast of Africa, where its presence has been used by modern archaeologists as a means for dating certain recently discovered sites of Negro cultures.

From the fifteenth century on porcelain appeared in Europe in steadily increasing quantities. In the sixteenth century attempts, only partially successful, were made in Italy to imitate the marvelous product. Our word, porcelain, which comes from the Italian *porcellana*, is a memory of these attempts. This word originally referred in Italian to a small kind of white conch shell, from which porcelain was at first believed to be made.

It was only in 1709, however, that true hard porcelain was successfully produced in Europe, and this through a curious accident. For nine years before that date a German artisan, named Frederick Böttger, had been trying to make porcelain. His patron was Augustus the Strong of Saxony, and he worked at Meissen, a few miles outside of Dresden, which was later to become famous for its "chinaware." This was the period in Europe when most people wore wigs which were whitened with a powder. In 1709 Böttger happened to notice that the hair powder he was using was peculiarly heavy. Investigating the reason for this heaviness, he discovered that it was caused by the presence of kaolin. From this kaolin he succeeded in producing the first hard porcelain ever made in Europe.



Painting Designs on Porcelain: Famed Porcelain Works at Ching-te-chen, Central China

(Archibald D. Brankston, *The Early Ming Wares of Chingtechen.* Peking: Henri Vetch, 1938)

A porcelain works was straightway established at Meissen by Böttger's patron, Augustus. He became so enthusiastic over the new discovery that he wished it to be used even for the making of chairs and tables. As in the case of many other new inventions, the process was at first a jealously guarded secret. The artisans were sworn to absolute secrecy and operated their kilns behind high walls, where they lived as virtual prisoners. In 1718, however, one of them made his escape to Vienna, where he brought the precious secret. The following decades saw the rapid erection of porcelain works in France. Holland, England, and other countries.

Thus European porcelain came as an independent invention—an invention, nevertheless, directly inspired by examples of Chinese porcelain, which had been closely studied by Böttger during his years of experimentation. Most of the eighteenth century products of European kilns, moreoever, closely imitated Chinese wares in their technique, shape, color, and design. Especially is this true of the famous blue-and-white ware of Delft, Holland. The early examples of delftware often amazingly resemble the "willow pattern" and other designs commonly found on Chinese porcelain. Despite the enormous amount of porcelain since produced in Europe and elsewhere, however, the best work of the Chinese potter has never been successfully equaled outside the land of its origin.

## *PAPER*

Of all Chinese contributions to the Western world, none can be more clearly traced in its beginnings in China, and then in its gradual spread across Asia to Europe, than can paper. In early times Chinese books were made of narrow vertical strips of bamboo. Many of these, tied together into a bundle, formed one volume. The bulk and clumsiness of such a writing material is obvious. A Chinese philosopher of the fifth century B.C., Mo Tzu by name, used to take along with him three cartloads of such bamboo books wherever he traveled. For writing small documents the Chinese used strips of silk. These were more convenient, but were too expensive for general use. Clearly a new writing material was needed.

The formal invention of paper can be dated exactly in the year A.D. 105, and was the work of one who should surely be honored among the great contributors to human civilization. He was Ts'ai Lun, a man attached to the Chinese imperial court. Ts'ai Lun's biography in the history of his time describes his invention as follows:

> In ancient times writing was generally on bamboo or on pieces of silk, which were then called *chih* [a Chinese word pronounced *jer*, which has since been used to mean paper]. But silk being expensive and bamboo heavy, these two materials were not convenient. Then Ts'ai Lun thought of using tree bark, hemp, rags, and fish nets. In the first year of the Yüan-hsing period (A.D. 105) he made a report to the emperor on the process of paper making, and received high praise for his ability. From this time paper has been in use everywhere and is called the "paper of Marquis Ts'ai."

There is good reason to suppose that previous attempts to make paper, using raw silk, had already been going on, possibly as early as the third century B.C. What Ts'ai Lun seems to have done, however, was to develop an easy process for manufacture and, above all, to substitute cheaper materials in the place of the expensive silk. His achievement put paper within the reach of everyone.

Following Ts'ai Lun's invention, paper spread with amazing speed throughout all the lands under Chinese domination. Thus in the arid deserts of Chinese Turkestan the world's earliest surviving examples of paper have in recent times been found. They date from within fifty years of Ts'ai Lun's death. In this and following centuries we find the Chinese doing almost everything with paper that was in later times to be done in other countries. Rag paper and hemp paper, paper of various plant fibers and of cellulose, paper sized and loaded to improve its

quality for writing, wrapping paper and even paper napkins and toilet paper—all these were soon in general use.

From Central Asia paper pursued its triumphant way westward into the Arabic world, where its first manufacture can be exactly dated in the year 751. In that year, according to Arabic annals, at Samarkand, in the extreme west of Turkestan, the Arabs defeated a Chinese army and captured some of its soldiers. From some of them, who had formerly been paper makers, the Arabs first learned how to manufacture paper.

From Samarkand papermaking spread throughout the Arabic Empire, reaching Syria, Egypt (where it displaced papyrus), and Morocco. From there it finally entered Europe by way of Spain, where its manufacture is first recorded in A.D. 1150. From Spain, paper passed on to southern France, and then gradually to the rest of Europe, displacing parchment as it went.

The influence of paper upon the whole course of later Western civilization can hardly be overestimated. Without this cheap material it is unlikely that printing could ever have come into general use. Gutenberg's *Bible*, for example, which is probably the earliest European book printed from movable type, also happens to be one of the few books some of whose copies were printed on parchment instead of paper. It has been estimated that to produce one copy of the *Bible* on parchment, the skins of no less than 300 sheep were required. Had such conditions continued permanently, books would never have been available for more than the richest few, and printing might never have competed successfully with the older, and in some ways more artistic, process of copying manuscripts by hand. The debt of the world to Marquis Ts'ai is greater than the debt to many others whose names are better known.

### *PRINTING*

The noble sequel to paper in China was printing. As in the case of most major advances in human civilization, this invention was not the work of any single individual. It came as a climax to several separate processes, developed over a number of centuries. One of these was the invention and spread of paper itself, the significance of which has just been described. Another was the development of a suitable ink.

A third was the process of making what are called rubbings or squeezes. This is a Chinese technique for obtaining on paper exact copies of inscriptions that have been cut on stone monuments and tablets. A sheet of moistened tissue paper is closely fitted upon the face of the engraved stone. The outer surface of this paper is then rubbed with an ink pad so that all parts of the paper touching the raised portions of the underlying stone are inked black. The parts of the paper that fit into the cut-out depressions do not receive ink and are left white. Thus an exact black-and-white paper copy of the original inscription is obtained. The Chinese developed this technique of making rubbings because of their eagerness to obtain exact copies of their classics, which were often inscribed on stone monuments.

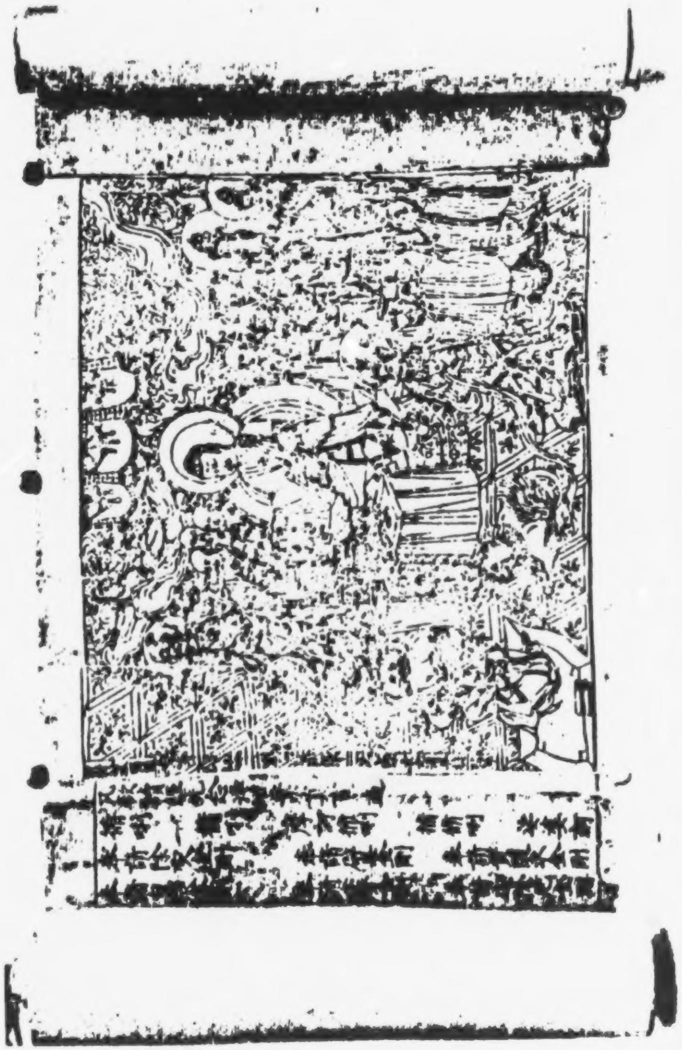
Most important of all the forerunners of printing was probably the Chinese use of stamp seals. Such seals first appear in human civilization in Mesopotamia, where seals with pictures on them played an important part in man's first development of a system of writing. In China seals began to be used about the third century B.C. At first they served the purpose, as in Mesopotamia, of personally identifying their owners. Even to this day, a Chinese, when endorsing a bank check in China, must not only sign his name, but also stamp the check with a personal seal bearing his name in printed characters. The seal of the author, which he used for this purpose when he lived in China, is shown under his name on the cover of this pamphlet.

In China, as in Mesopotamia, such seals were in the beginning used to stamp impressions on clay. From about the sixth century A.D. onward, however, the Chinese began to stamp their seals in ink, in order to print short inscriptions on paper, in a way similar to our modern rubber stamps. It is from such inked impressions that the true printing of later times gradually developed.

At about the same time, Buddhist and Taoist priests in China began to use such seals. Their seals were only a few inches square and were used to print magical charms and inscriptions by the hundreds. Here was first developed the idea of rapid duplication, an inherent principle of printing. All that yet remained to be done was to enlarge the size of such seals so that many rather than few words could be reproduced at one time. Then genuine printing would be at hand.

It is definitely known that actual books were printed in China during the ninth century, and probably such printing goes back considerably earlier. The world's oldest existing printed book is a Buddhist sacred text, dated in the year A.D. 868, and beautifully printed in Chinese characters. It was recovered some forty years ago from a cave in Northwest China, just at the point where the great Silk Road leaves China proper to plunge into the deserts of Central Asia. This book was not folded into pages like our modern books, but was a single roll of paper 16 feet long. Its dedication states that it was printed by a certain Wang Chieh "for free general distribution, in order in deep reverence to perpetuate the memory of his parents."

Less than a century later comes the first example of really large-scale book printing in China. This achievement was the printing of nine of the major Chinese classics in 130 volumes. It was carried out between the years A.D. 932 and 953 under the direction of a famous official named Feng Tao. From this time onward the flood of printing became ever greater. One modern writer has even estimated that up to the year 1800, more books were printed in China than in the entire rest of the world put together.



THE WORLD'S OLDEST PRINTED BOOK—THE BUDDHIST *Diamond Sutra* OF A.D. 868

(Reproduced from Thomas Francis Carter, *The Invention of Printing in China and Its Spread Westward*, by permission of Columbia University Press.)

All that has hitherto been described refers only to block printing, that is, to printing in which a single block of wood is engraved for each page of the book printed. The first invention of separate movable type, however, is also Chinese. It is the work of a simple artisan named Pi Sheng. Between the years 1041 and 1049 he made a font of movable type of baked clay. In later centuries types made from wood and from various metals replaced such clay types. The use of metal was particularly developed in Korea in the fifteenth century. In China, however, features inherent in the nature of the Chinese script, as well as certain social and artistic attitudes, long prevented movable type from gaining a popularity equal to that of block printing. Despite its early invention, therefore, such type has come into general use in China only during the last few decades.

At the same time that these developments in movable type were making their appearance in China and surrounding countries, the earlier Chinese invention of block printing was slowly pushing its way toward the Western world. From Turkestan it passed to Persia, where it was known in 1294, and then to Egypt. In Europe itself, we find that the earliest dated example of block printing is a small picture of St. Christopher, accompanied by two lines of text, which was made in the year 1423. Other similar undated pictures also exist, however, probably from a period a few decades earlier. Most of them came from southern Germany.

It is not likely that European block printing came as an independent development. Indeed, the beginnings of block printing in Europe can with good probability be traced to several Chinese influences. Among these may have been playing cards, which had long been printed in China, and which first appear in Europe in 1377. Another may have been the technique of decorating textiles by means of stamped designs, a technique which gained great popularity in Europe in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries.

Most important of all, however, was probably the first European acquaintance with printed paper money. Such money began to be printed for the first time in world history in China during the tenth century. It was continued during the next two hundred fifty years, and taken over by the Mongols during their rule over China (1280–1367). Owing to several disastrous experiences with currency inflation, caused by inadequate metal backing for the paper money, the Chinese gave up its use after their expulsion of the Mongols in 1367. During the Mongol rule, however, paper money was being printed in China at the rate of no less than 37 million separate notes a year. Its use spread as far west as Persia, and it is admiringly described by at least eight pre-Renaissance European writers, including Marco Polo. It is difficult to suppose, therefore, that among thoughtful Europeans of the time, there were not some who did not see the possibilities of this strikingly successful example of mass-scale printing, and did not try in their turn to experiment along similar lines.

In Europe, as in China, block printing was followed by printing with movable type. The first major example of such European printing by means of movable type was Gutenberg's *Bible*. This appeared about 1456, only twenty-odd years after the earliest dated block printing of 1423. No certain proof has yet been found linking this mighty achievement with the similar Chinese invention of movable type more than four hundred years earlier, though such a link is not impossible. But in any case it seems evident that printing with movable type in Europe had a connection with the earlier development of block printing, which itself stems back to China. The mere fact that there already existed a process for duplicating books rapidly and inexpensively must have operated, in Europe as in China, as a spur toward devising a still easier method. In Europe the invention of movable type quickly displaced block printing entirely. That this did not happen in China does not mean that the Chinese are more conservative or "backward" than Westerners. It is primarily due to differences between our alphabetic script and the written characters of the Chinese, and not to different ways of thinking between the two races.

### *GUNPOWDER*

Though little is known about the early history of gunpowder, there is enough to show that it, too, is almost certainly Chinese in origin. As early as in the T'ang dynasty (A.D. 618–906) there seem to have existed what were called "fire trees" and "silver flowers." These were apparently fireworks made with something like gunpowder. Later, in the years 1161 and 1162, when the Chinese were suffering invasion from the Chin Tatars to the north, the history of the time states that they successfully used explosives to defeat their attackers. This seems to be definite proof of a knowledge of gunpowder among the Chinese at this period.

There has been considerable argument, however, as to whether these and later references to explosives indicate that the Chinese knew the use of actual cannon as well as of gunpowder. We read in the Chinese records that when the Mongols laid siege to the North China city of Kaifeng in 1232, the people within the city terrified the Mongols by means of a "heaven quaking thunderer." This instrument is described as an iron tube or vessel that was filled with a powder or drug, that is, with gunpowder. Some people think the "thunderer" was a real cannon. In all probability, however, it was really nothing more than some kind of metal bomb which, filled with gunpowder, was hurled by the defenders at the attacking Mongols.

Only a few decades after this time the Mongols completed their conquest of the greatest land empire ever known to man. It included not only all of China, but also most of the rest of

Asia and Eastern Europe as far west as Poland and Hungary. Because this empire existed, it was possible for Europeans like Marco Polo to travel freely to the Far East, and for the new things observed there to be brought by them to Europe. It seems highly probable, although not absolutely proved, that gunpowder was among the products which were thus introduced to Europe.

If, however, what has been said above is correct, the use of gunpowder for cannon is an independent development made in Europe. There cannon are referred to in Italy, France, England, and other countries from about 1330 onward. The appearance of cannon later on in China itself may well be an instance of how an invention, originating in one country, is sometimes transferred to another, there improved upon, and then reintroduced into the land of its origin. In any case, the Chinese themselves, despite a familiarity with cannon extending over the past several centuries, have rarely made great use of them until recent times. Their knowledge of gunpowder, for the most part, has been applied to the peaceful art of making fireworks and firecrackers, an art in which they are still supreme.

### *THE MARINER'S COMPASS*

The exact history of the compass, like that of gunpowder, is uncertain. The fact that house foundations in the recently excavated capital of the earliest historical Chinese dynasty, the Shang (1766?–1123? B.C.), are laid out according to magnetic north suggests a possible knowledge of magnetism at this early time. The first definite reference to magnetism, however, is found in a Chinese book completed about 240 B.C., which describes the lodestone as a stone that "summons or attracts iron." This statement and certain others in the same book may indicate Greek influence upon Chinese thought, coming through the Asiatic conquests of Alexander the Great. Thus there

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are hints of a knowedge of the lodestone in the works of somewhat earlier Greek writers.

A clear description of the magnetic compass itself, as distinct from the lodestone, occurs only about 1300 years later. It is found in a Chinese book written by a certain Shen Kua (A.D. 1030–94). His book contains a passage describing geomancers, a kind of fortuneteller long employed in China to determine the luckiness or unluckiness of proposed sites for buildings, graves, and other monuments. Shen Kua writes that such geomancers pursued their art by rubbing a lodestone against a steel needle, thus causing the needle to point south. (South is the primary direction for the Chinese, just as north is for us.) Such a needle, he adds, can then be floated on water, or, best of all, can be suspended from a thread. Shen Kua notes further—and this is remarkable—that the needle never points exactly to true south, but always deviates slightly. The knowledge here shown of the principle of magnetic deviation proves almost certainly that the compass had been long known and studied by the Chinese before Shen Kua's time.

In Shen Kua's description the compass is used only for magical purposes. In a Chinese book probably written shortly before 1125, we find the earliest clear account of the compass as used for actual navigation. The book describes the sea trade between China, the South Seas, India, and Western Asia. Since the Arabs played an important part in this trade, some people have thought that the Arabs rather than the Chinese first applied the invention of the compass to navigation. However, the earlier development of the compass in China itself, and the fact that the earliest references to it in Arabic literature are later than 1125, make it seem unlikely that the Arabs were its first users. What seems most probable is that the Arabs, coming to China in their ships, learned there of the Chinese methods of sailing by compass, and in their turn introduced the compass into Europe.

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In Europe the compass is first mentioned in a French poem of 1190, but its application to navigation is mentioned only later. It was not until the fifteenth century that Europeans came to understand the principle of magnetic deviation about which Shen Kua had written some four hundred years earlier.

## *PLANTS*

Some of the commonest plants grown by us today are of Chinese origin. Among fruits there are the peach and the apricot, which very possibly entered Europe together with the silk trade during Roman times. Many of our citrus fruits, likewise, were originally native to Southeast Asia, including southern China. There they were long known and cultivated by the Chinese before being brought, usually by the Arabs, to the Western world.

The orange, for example, was not known to Europeans until introduced by the Arabs in the eleventh century. In Holland and Germany it is still called the "Chinese apple." The lemon, too, was brought by the Arabs from India to Europe a little before 1400. It had already been cultivated in South China, however, for some time before it spread to India. Another important citrus, our American grapefruit, is a considerably modified descendant of the Chinese pomelo. In this case, however, the fruit did not travel over the southern route by way of India. It was taken in the eighteenth century from China by way of the Pacific and Cape Horn to the West Indies. From there it spread to other parts of the Americas. That is why the grapefruit, even today, is almost unknown in Europe.

Our flower gardens, likewise, are indebted to the Chinese for the chrysanthemum and the tea rose, both of which began to be commonly cultivated in Europe during the eighteenth century. Other flowers which came to Europe at about the

same time include the camellia, the azalea, the China aster, and the tall woody-stemmed tree peony.

Among trees, one of the most interesting Chinese contributions is the ginkgo or maidenhair tree, with its curious fan-shaped leaves. This tree is geologically among the most ancient of all living things. It seems to be descended from the giant ferns which once flourished on the earth many millions of years ago, before ordinary trees yet existed. In China and Japan the ginkgo has for centuries been preserved from possible extinction by artificial planting around temples, graveyards, and similar spots. There it often grows to huge dimensions. In recent years it has been introduced into the United States, where it is coming into increasing favor as a shade tree for parks and city streets.

Among other plants and plant products, two have risen to positions of very considerable world importance within the last few decades. One is tung oil, extracted from the nuts of the tung tree, grown in Central China. Tung oil is used in almost all varnishes made today because it dries so rapidly. The other is that wonder plant of modern biochemistry, the soy bean. Grown in North China since time immemorial, it is now being used more and more in this country. It not only makes a flour incredibly rich in food elements of all kinds, but is converted into plastics and a thousand and one other products used in modern industry. Although Manchuria still remains the chief source of the world's supply, the soy bean is being grown in steadily increasing quantities in our Middle West, and may in time become one of America's leading crops.

Other plants in China, though as yet unknown in the West, may some day find an equal welcome. Among them are the deliciously sweet lichee nut, which is really a juicy fruit, though it is known in this country only in its dried form; the curious aquatic vegetable known as the water chestnut; the Chinese persimmon, which grows to almost twice the size of the persimmon native to this country; and the succulent shoots of the young bamboo, which are a favorite article in the Chinese diet.

## *MINERALS*

Coal has been known since the fourth century A.D. in China, where in later centuries it came into widespread use. Marco Polo, for example, who visited China during the years 1275 to 1292, writes admiringly how

> . . . all over the country of Cathay there is a kind of black stones existing in beds in the mountains, which they [the Chinese] dig out and burn like firewood. If you supply the fire with them at night, you will find them still alight in the morning; and they make such capital fuel that no other is used throughout the country.

In Europe there was no comparable use of coal until several centuries later, which might seem to point to another case of borrowing from the Far East. The ancient Romans, however, during their occupation of Britain, seem to have known at least something about the rich deposits of coal there. In any case, the modern European use of coal on a large scale, beginning much later than that in China, seems to owe nothing to Chinese example. It came about as an entirely independent development, which began in England and from there spread to the continent.

A different story lies behind the history of another important mineral, zinc. Chinese coins produced between the years A.D. 1094 and 1098 are described in the Chinese history of the time as containing four parts of copper, two parts of lead, and one part of zinc. Modern analysis of a few of these coins, which shows them to be 55 per cent copper, 26 per cent lead, and 13 per cent zinc, confirms the truth of this statement. Thus, in the eleventh century, the Chinese not only already knew of the existence of zinc, but—and this is more important—they possessed the complex technical knowledge necessary to isolate it

in a pure state from other substances and to mix it with other metals according to specified proportions. For several hundred years before the eleventh century, moreover, various terms occur in Chinese literature that probably refer to zinc, though it is not certain that the Chinese at that time could actually produce the pure metal.

Be that as it may, the knowledge and use of zinc in Europe is undoubtedly a great deal later. The first description of it as a separate metal does not occur until the sixteenth century; its production for industrial purposes dates only from the early part of the eighteenth century. At that time an Englishman named Isaac Lawton is said to have gone to China expressly in order to learn the Chinese method of zinc refining. Having acquired this secret, he returned to England not long before 1740. There he began the first industrial production of zinc in Europe. Even then, however, many years were yet to pass before a really large and permanent zinc industry came to be established—that at Silesia, in Germany, about the year 1799.

The third Chinese mineral discussed here is really not a single mineral at all, but an alloy of several metals. It is the alloy commonly, though somewhat incorrectly, known today as "German silver." It is a mixture of copper, nickel, and zinc, and is notable for its silver color, bell-like resonance, and hardness. These qualities make it ideal for use in candlesticks and other decorative articles. In China it has long been known as *pai t'ung*, which means "white copper." In Europe, consequently, it was at first called paktong, which is about the way *pai t'ung* is pronounced in the Cantonese dialect. The earliest European mention of paktong occurs in the year 1597. From then until the end of the eighteenth century there are references to it as having been exported from Canton to Europe. German imitations of paktong, however, began to appear from about 1750 onward. In 1830 the German process of manufacture was introduced into England, while exports of paktong from China gradually stopped. That is why today the alloy has lost its original name and is generally known to us as German silver.

### MEDICINES

During the last two thousand or more years the Chinese have written a great deal about medicines of all kinds, especially those made from herbs. Between 1552 and 1578 a huge book in fifty-two parts was compiled in China. It describes 1,871 plant, animal, and mineral substances, from which it suggests no less than 8,160 medical prescriptions. Among these, to give but two examples, are chaulmoogra oil (derived from a tree native to Southeast Asia), which is still the only known means for treating leprosy, and ephedrine, a plant drug introduced to the West during the last few decades, and now widely used for treating colds. For many years the Lester Institute in Shanghai has been studying Chinese medical practices. One of the leading drug-making firms in the United States employs a Chinese scientist for the express purpose of studying possible applications of Chinese drugs to modern pharmacy. We may in the future be even more indebted to the Chinese knowledge of medicine than we are today.

### LACQUER

Lacquer, like silk, is one of the products longest known in China. It comes from the sap of a tree which is native to China. It is used by the Chinese to paint decorative designs on wooden boxes and other objects, or is applied in layers so thick as to allow itself to be carved into designs. Baskets painted with lacquer have been recovered from Chinese tombs dating from the first century A.D., and it is probable that Chinese lacquer goes back long before this time.

Lacquer was among the flood of Chinese things that entered

Europe in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, where it enjoyed a popularity surpassed only by that of porcelain. Soon an imitative lacquer industry sprang up in France. There by 1730 lacquered cabinets, chests, and other pieces of furniture were being turned out which could bear comparison with the products of China itself. As in the case of early European porcelain, this lacquer work usually imitated Chinese designs very closely. The newborn industry, however, later declined, leaving China and Japan as the primary suppliers of the world's lacquer-ware today.

### AMUSEMENTS

On the lighter side China has given the West several games and amusements. Probably few bridge or poker enthusiasts, for example, realize, each time they shuffle a pack of cards, the debt they owe to the unknown Chinese who gradually evolved playing cards between thirteen hundred and a thousand years ago. In the case of cards, as in that of so many other Chinese products, the Arabs were probably the intermediaries who introduced them to the Western world. Cards are first mentioned in Spain and in Germany in 1377, and in Italy and France within the next two decades. As has been suggested above, the fact that Chinese playing cards were printed makes it not impossible that they were one of the means through which the knowledge of block printing was carried from China to Europe.

Dominoes is another game which seems to have developed in China about the same time as playing cards. Both dominoes and playing cards were evolved from dice. Dice were known in Western Asia and in India about 3000 B.C., and were introduced into China (where they are first mentioned in A.D. 501) from India.

Still another sport in which the Chinese have long excelled is kite flying. When kite flying was first described in Chinese literature, it was a military exercise rather than a light amusement. We read that in the year A.D. 549, when a certain Chinese city was being besieged, the defenders within the city attempted to send a message to friends on the outside by flying a kite across the encircling enemy lines. The enemy, however, succeeded in shooting it down with bow and arrow. Here is perhaps the world's earliest example of antiaircraft fire! Perhaps the kite fighting of the modern Chinese, in which one kite flier attempts to cut the string or otherwise disable the kite of his opponent, is a survival of this early military use.

In the seventh century kite flying spread to the Near East. It is afterward recorded in Italy in 1589, and reached England a few decades later. Nowhere in these or other countries, however, have the marvelous creations of the Chinese kite builder, made in the form of dragons, birds, insects, and many other creatures, been equaled.

The shadow play is yet another popular Chinese amusement. In this form of entertainment, the producers stand on one side of a white vertical screen of cloth or paper, while the audience sits on the other. Jointed puppet figures made from finely cut-out and beautifully colored sheets of parchment are then manipulated against the screen. A bright light from the rear throws their animated shadows through the screen for the enjoyment of the audience on the other side. Such shadow plays have spread from China to many countries, including Java and Turkey. In the eighteenth century they came to France. There they are still known as *ombres chinoises* or "Chinese shadows."

### *OTHER CONTRIBUTIONS*

Goldfish were among the many lighter articles of life that entered Europe from China during the eighteenth century. In China, centuries of intensive breeding have succeeded in producing literally hundreds of exotic varieties, such as are never

seen in the Western world. Wallpaper, too, is of Chinese origin. Its importation into Europe in large quantities in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries led to the establishment of the first important European wallpaper manufactory in France in 1688.

Another everyday object of great utility, for which we are quite possibly indebted to the Chinese, is the folding umbrella. Nonfolding parasols or sunshades have been known in many countries since early time, but the complex folding kind seems to have been first produced in China. There, folding metal joints, believed to have been used for large umbrellas mounted on chariots, have been excavated from tombs of the third century B.C. In later times such joints have been made of bamboo. In France and England the umbrella did not become at all well known until about the middle of the seventeenth century, nor do folding umbrellas seem to have been known in Europe before this time. This fact makes it seem plausible, though it is far from definitely proved, that the folding umbrella was one of the many things introduced from China in this and the following century.

The sedan chair or palanquin is still another device long associated with China, where it is mentioned for the first time in the fourth century A.D. Few people think of this as a Chinese "contribution" to the West, yet it is a fact that during much of the seventeenth century it enjoyed wide popularity in Europe. There its lack of wheels made it ideal for comfortable transport over the rough roads of the time. We know, for example, that a certain Duchess of Namur, in Belgium (who died in 1707), used to travel every year by sedan chair a distance of 130 miles to her country home. Forty French "coolies" carried her in relays. By 1737, however, the craze was dying out and the sedan chair came to be replaced by the chaise (a French word also meaning chair). This was a two-wheeled carriage which had been developed in Japan out of the sedan chair, by simply

# CHINA'S GIFTS TO THE WEST

| CHINA |  | THE WEST |
|---|---|---|
| Silk, about 1300 |  |  |
| Folding umbrella (?) | --- 300 B.C. --- |  |
| Lodestone, 240 |  |  |
|  | --- 200 B.C. --- |  |
| Shadow figures (?) | --- 100 B.C. --- |  |
|  | Birth of Christ |  |
| Lacquer |  | Peach and apricot |
|  | --- A.D. 100 --- |  |
| Paper, 105 |  |  |
|  | ---- 200 ---- |  |
| Tea, 264–73<br>Word for porcelain first used<br>Sedan chair | 300 ---- |  |
|  | ---- 400 ---- |  |
|  | ---- 500 ---- |  |
| Kite, 549 |  | Silk, 552–54 |
|  | ---- 600 ---- |  |
| Playing cards<br>Dominoes | ---- 700 ---- |  |
| Gunpowder (?) |  |  |
|  | ---- 800 ---- |  |
| Porcelain described, 851<br>First printed book, 868 |  |  |
|  | ---- 900 ---- |  |
|  | ---- 1000 --- |  |
| Movable type, 1041–49<br>Compass<br>Zinc in coins, 1094–98 |  | Orange |
|  | ---- 1100 ---- |  |
| Explosives, 1161 |  | Paper, 1150<br>Compass, 1190 |
|  | ---- 1200 ---- |  |
|  | ---- 1300 ---- |  |
|  |  | Gunpowder and cannon, 1330<br>Playing cards, 1377<br>Lemon |
|  | ---- 1400 ---- |  |
|  |  | Block printing, 1423 |
|  |  | Gutenberg's *Bible*, 1456 |
|  | ---- 1500 ---- |  |
| Chaulmoogra oil and ephedrine described, 1552–78 |  | Zinc described<br>Kite, 1589 |
|  | ---- 1600 ---- | Sedan chair, tea, folding umbrella |
|  |  | Wallpaper manufactured, 1688 |
|  | ---- 1700 ---- | Porcelain, 1709<br>Lacquer produced, 1730<br>Zinc in industrial production, 1740<br>"German silver" production, 1750 |
|  | ---- 1800 ---- | Chrysanthemum, tea rose, camellia, azalea, China aster, grapefruit<br>Shadow figures |
|  | ---- 1900 ---- | Gingko, tung oil, soy bean, ephedrine, chaulmoogra oil |

The use of the following also originated in China in early times, but cannot be accurately dated: peach, apricot, orange, lemon, pomelo, chrysanthemum, tea rose, camellia, azalea, China aster, gingko, "German silver," wallpaper, goldfish.

Dates in the "China" column indicate approximate date of origin; in "The West" column they indicate approximate date of receiving item described.

mounting such a chair on wheels and having it drawn by horses.

Incidentally, the jinrickshaw or rickshaw (a term which in Japanese means "manpower vehicle") is most decidedly not of Chinese or Japanese origin. On the contrary, it represents a Western "contribution" to the Far East. It was invented by an American missionary who lived in Japan during the second half of the nineteenth century. From there it spread to China, and then to other countries as far away as South Africa. In China it is still known as the "foreign vehicle."

## *CONCLUSION*

How much poorer our Western civilization would be without the things that have just been described! Some, like playing cards, have afforded us untold amusement. Others, like porcelain, give us both efficient service and artistic pleasure. Still others have utterly changed our way of life and are basic to our whole modern civilization. Without paper and printing, for example, we should still be living in the Middle Ages. Without gunpowder, the world might have been spared much suffering, but on the other hand the armored knights of medieval Europe might still reign supreme in their moated castles, and our society might still be held in feudal servitude. Nor would the building of the Panama Canal or of Boulder Dam have been possible! And finally, without the compass, the great age of discovery might never have come, with its quickening of European material and intellectual life, and its bringing to knowledge of worlds hitherto unknown, including our own country.

The story that has been told in this pamphlet deals specifically with China. Yet actually it is only part of a much larger story that goes far beyond the history of any single country. This story is the fascinating one of the growth of human civilization as a whole. Our present ideals and ways of living are not the product of any one race, any single civilization, or any particular portion of the earth's surface. They have developed out of the contributions made by many lands and peoples, including such major civilizations as those of ancient Egypt, Mesopotamia, India, China, and the Arabic countries, as well as our own Western world. Between these various centers of civilization, interchanges in things and ideas have occurred throughout the course of human history, and in many instances extend back even into prehistoric times.

In the past the exchange of goods and ideas between cultures has often been a slow, indirect, and uncertain process. In modern times, on the contrary, the development of rapid communications has enormously increased the possibilities of successful interchange taking place. Yet at the same time these rapid communications have also raised a serious new danger. This is the danger of large-scale conflicts breaking out between peoples and cultures of widely different origin, which were formerly safely separated from one another. In recent years certain countries have attempted to avoid the danger of international war by trying to make themselves wholly self-sufficient. Present-day events, however, have shown that attempts at national isolation not only fail to stop the inevitable interchange of goods and ideas, but actually lead to wars destructive of the nation's welfare.

Only, therefore, by honestly recognizing the growing interdependence of the world as an inescapable fact, can we prepare ourselves to live at peace in a better society of the future. This often requires that we change out attitudes toward other people and customs—attitudes that are inherited and often irrational. Herein lies the hope for a flowering of civilization such as has never yet been seen. It must not be a civilization in which people all over the world eat and dress and think alike, for that would be drab indeed. But it must be one in which each race and people will be given equal opportunity to select the best created by human effort anywhere, and at the same time left free to develop an individual way of life according to its own particular genius and environment.

## *BIBLIOGRAPHY*

The information contained in this pamphlet has been collected from a large number of books and periodical articles. The following, however, are a few selected books which treat the history of Chinese-Western contacts in a broad and readable way:

Carter, Thomas Francis. *The Invention of Printing in China and Its Spread Westward.* New York: Columbia University Press, 1925 (second edition, 1931).

A fascinating book which deals not only with printing and paper, but also touches on games, gunpowder, the compass, and many other subjects.

Hudson, G. F. *Europe and China, a survey of their relations from the earliest times to 1800.* London: Edward Arnold and Co., 1931.

This is the most comprehensive single account.

Reichwein, Adolf. *China and Europe, intellectual and artistic contacts in the eighteenth century* (translated from the German by J. C. Powell). New York: A. A. Knopf, 1925.

Though this restricts itself to a single brief period, it is a period that is of great interest in the history of Sino-European cultural relations.

## THE AMERICAN COUNCIL ON EDUCATION

George F. Zook, *President*

The American Council on Education is a *council* of national educational associations; organizations having related interests; approved universities and colleges, technological schools, and private secondary schools; state departments of education; and city school systems. It is a center of cooperation and coordination whose influence has been apparent in the shaping of American educational policies as well as in the formulation of American educational practices during the past twenty-five years. Many leaders in American education and public life serve on the commissions and committees through which the Council operates.

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# Chinese Ideas in the West

By Derk Bodde

卜德

中國思想西入考

ASIATIC STUDIES IN AMERICAN EDUCATION

*Number 3*

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# Chinese Ideas in the West

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Prepared for the Committee on Asiatic Studies
in American Education

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The Chinese characters on the cover read: *Chung-kuo Ssu-hsiang Hsi-ju K'ao.* Literally translated, this means: "Study of the Introduction of Chinese Thought to the West."

The seal printed on the cover under the author's name is that used by the author when he lived in China. It reads *Pu Te*, which is the way the author's name is pronounced in Chinese. The seal is printed in red as is customary in China.

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# Foreword

IT IS MORE important today than ever before that men of all cultures understand themselves, understand other cultures, and understand the interchange and expansion of ideas which have created a common denominator of all civilization. Unless that understanding can be gained and used as a basis for wise action, the nations of the modern world may destroy themselves and civilization as we know it.

Education has a major responsibility for widening horizons and advancing understanding among citizens. This excellent pamphlet, third in the series of the American Council on Education and second from the deep learning and gifted pen of Derk Bodde, is intended to aid in the promotion of Asiatic studies in American education. The pamphlet is addressed to teachers, secondary school pupils, and college students—to all who are interested in where our ideas came from and in the contributions of China to our civilization. The pamphlet will be useful for classes in literature, in science, in history, and in civics, and for the general reader. In it, in simple terms, are outlined accounts of "a Chinese Cinderella," of "alchemy—forerunner of modern chemistry," of China's contributions to Europe's Age of Enlightenment, to current political and economic theories, to civil service, to Western literature, and to agricultural economy. The selected bibliography on these topics will be of value to students and to curriculum-makers who are interested in further emphasis on Asiatic studies in American schools and colleges.

The Committee on Asiatic Studies is most grateful to Dr.

Bodde for his careful preparation of the manuscript and takes pride in presenting the pamphlet as an aid in the readjustments of education which are necessary for the development of international understanding.

Howard E. Wilson, *Chairman*

July 1948

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# Acknowledgment

This pamphlet is a sequel to the earlier *China's Gifts to the West*, which described the way in which many Chinese material discoveries and inventions, such as silk, tea, porcelain, paper and printing, came to our Western world. The present pamphlet, as shown by the title, deals wholly with Chinese intellectual contributions. It is gratifying that the success of the one has made possible the appearance of the other.

Deep thanks are due to Howard E. Wilson, associate director of the Division of Intercourse and Education, Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, and chairman of the Committee on Asiatic Studies in American Education, American Council on Education, for arranging for the publication of the present pamphlet. I am likewise grateful to Mrs. Fang Chao-ying, of the Chinese History Project, Columbia University, who has again, as in the case of the earlier pamphlet, written the Chinese title which adorns the cover. To Fang Chao-ying, of the same project, I am indebted for drawing my attention to the illustration of the examination enclosure at Peking, and to A. C. McClurg & Co., Chicago publishers of the book in which it appears, for permission for its use. For the illustration of the examination enclosure at Nanking I am similarly indebted to Miss Jean Lee, curator of Chinese art, the Philadelphia Museum of Art; likewise, for that of the examination paper, to A.W. Hummel, chief of the Division of Orientalia, Library of Congress, who also supplied some of the information for the accompanying caption. Homer H. Dubs, professor of Chinese, Oxford University, kindly allowed me to read his important study, "The Beginnings of Alchemy," while yet in manuscript, which greatly helped in the preparation of the sec-

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tion on alchemy. Lewis A. Maverick, professor of economics, Southern Illinois University, likewise kindly contributed from his extensive knowledge of the Physiocrats, in answer to certain queries. Above all, however, I am indebted to Mrs. Marguerite Ann Stewart, formerly education editor of the American Institute of Pacific Relations, whose skillful and painstaking editing has done much to increase the readability of the pamphlet.

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# Chinese Ideas in the West

TODAY civil service is an accepted institution in all modern democracies. In the year 1941, for example, nearly 2,500,000 men and women took examinations for positions in the United States government.

So fundamental is the principle of choosing public servants on the basis of fitness that one might almost suppose it had been a cornerstone of our national thinking ever since our country's beginnings. Yet, though few people stop to consider it, the fact is that this matter of efficiency in government is a relatively new idea in America. The first hundred years of our nation's history were racked with scandalous corruption as a result of the notorious spoils system. Not until 1883, two years after a president of the United States had been assassinated by a disgruntled office seeker, did the public wake up and demand a system of civil service examinations that would ensure the selection of most government employees on the basis of merit rather than party loyalty.

The civil service idea did not originate in our country, however, nor in Europe, though it is true that in passing this legislation, Congress followed the immediate lead of Great Britain and France, both of which had taken similar action a few decades earlier. The first country to install the merit system was China. In the year 165 B.C., China inaugurated what later became a widespread system of competitive government examinations. And during the greater part of the time from that early date until 1905, shortly before the Empire passed out of existence, the majority of Chinese applicants for public office had to prove their ability by passing one of these tests. On page 25

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of this pamphlet is a picture of the examination halls in Peking in which applicants were locked while taking these Chinese civil service examinations.

Civil service is but one of many ideas the West has received from China—ideas that have contributed significantly to our civilization in such fields as politics, economics, and literature. The extent of this contribution is not generally appreciated by Americans. Accustomed as we are to ascribe our cultural heritage to Egypt, Greece, Rome, and northern Europe, we tend to dismiss Asia as a distant continent of alien cultures possessing no possible common denominator with our own. It is not generally realized that prior to the sixteenth century, the West received more from Asia, including distant China, than it gave in return.

A previous pamphlet in this series, *China's Gifts to the West,* depicts the many material *things* which China has contributed to our Western world. This pamphlet tells a similar story of the nonmaterial *ideas* we have received from China.

Many people are more interested in things than in ideas. This is easy to understand. Things are simple and concrete, and their effects on our lives are easily noticed. Ideas, on the contrary, are complex and subtle. They have a way of escaping us just when we think we have grasped them. Yet today it is increasingly evident that our lives are often shaped more by certain ideas—whether for good or evil—than by the material things that surround us.

Just now, for example, we are beginning to harness the energy concealed in the tiny atom. Its strength is all but supernatural. Yet it is as nothing beside the strength of the *ideas* of the men who will control it. Whether the atom is to be used for man's good or for his utter destruction is dependent upon these ideas.

Western civilization gives abundant evidence of the mastery we have gained over physical matter. But the relations between

nations today reveal how meager is their understanding one of the other. The greatest crisis before our country lies in this gap between our control of things and our understanding of other peoples. Somehow we must bridge this gap, and quickly. Otherwise, our mastery of things will simply provide us with irresistible force with which to bring about our own destruction. The future of civilization may depend on whether enough nations and groups within nations can acquire an understanding and appreciation of one another to the point where world peace is possible.

One of the ways of doing this is by studying the contributions which various peoples have made to the rest of the world. The present pamphlet is a step in this direction. And China is one of the countries with the richest possibilities for such a study. Her contributions to Western life have been varied. Many of them are significant. Some are quite surprising, as we shall see.

## *A CHINESE CINDERELLA*

It is not generally realized, for example, that a tale written in China in the ninth century is the world's oldest known version of the story of Cinderella. The next earliest was not published until seven hundred years later—in Lyons, France, in 1544. And the one generally known to us, in which Cinderella's fairy godmother sends her to the ball in a pumpkin coach drawn by six mice which have been changed into horses, dates from 1697 and is also French.

Almost three hundred and fifty other stories have been collected that are related in some way to Cinderella. They come from practically every country of Europe, as well as the Near East, India, Indo-China, North and South Africa, Chile, and the West Indies. Many of them differ so greatly from one another that only a specialist in folklore can recognize them as belonging to the same general group. But in the case of the Chinese version, with its evil stepmother and the incident of the fitting of the shoe, there can be no doubt.

It was written by a Chinese scholar named Tuan Ch'eng-shih, whose hobby it was to gather all the stories he heard about strange and supernatural events. In the year 853 he published a collection of these under the title *Miscellaneous Offerings from Yu-yang*. (Yu-yang was the name of a place in central China.) Among them is one that he says he heard from a servant, whom he describes as a "cave-man" from South China. In other words, the servant was a non-Chinese tribesman coming from a part of the country that at that time was still a wild area only thinly populated by Chinese. "He remembered much," says our author, "about the strange stories of the south." Here, somewhat abbreviated, is the story as this tribesman told it:

> Long ago there was a chief of a mountain cave who had two wives. One of them died, leaving him a clever and intelligent daughter named Sheh Hsien. After he himself died, however, she was always treated badly by her stepmother. One day she caught a small fish which she kept in a bowl until it grew so large that she had to put it into a pond behind her house. There she fed it scraps of food, and it became so tame that whenever she approached, it would rise out of the water and rest its head on the bank. The stepmother learned of this and wanted to see the fish for herself, but when she came near, it refused to show itself. So one day, after sending Sheh Hsien away on an errand, she disguised herself in Sheh Hsien's clothes and went to the pond. When the fish, fooled by this trick, came out, she killed and ate it. Then she hid its bones under a dunghill.
>
> When Sheh Hsien returned and could no longer find the fish, she wept bitterly. But suddenly a man, with long flowing hair and wearing old clothes, came down from heaven and consoled her, saying: "Do not weep. Your stepmother has killed the fish and hidden its bones under the dunghill. Take them secretly to your room, and if you want anything, only pray to them. Your wish will be fulfilled." The girl did as she was told, and as a result got gold, pearls, dresses, and food whenever she wanted.
>
> One day the stepmother went away to a cave festival, leaving the girl to watch the house. After she had gone, the girl dressed herself in beautiful clothes, put on a pair of golden shoes, and also went to the festival. There, unfortunately, she was recognized by her stepmother's daughter. As a result, she had to run home so quickly that she left one of her shoes behind.
>
> The cave people then sold this shoe to the neighboring country of T'o-huan, where it fell into the hands of the king. He told the ladies of his court to try it on, but it was so small that it fitted nobody. The same thing happened when he ordered all the women of his kingdom to try it. Then he sent searchers everywhere to look for its owner. Finally they found Sheh Hsien, who put the shoe on her foot and it fitted perfectly. After that, they brought her before the king. She was married to him and went away with him to his kingdom, taking with her the fish's bones. But the evil stepmother and her daughter were stoned to death.
>
> The first year after he was married, the king prayed so greedily to the bones for precious stones of all sorts, that after a while his wishes were no longer granted. So he buried the bones on a beach, and enclosed them in a golden parapet. One night a high tide came up and washed them away.

The Cinderella stories fall into two main groups. In one, interest is centered on Cinderella's ball, while comparatively little attention is paid to the supernatural animal that helps her. This is the type most familiar to us and most commonly found in western Europe. In the other, much attention is paid to the helpful animal, but Cinderella's ball is omitted. This type is most common in Russia and other Slavic-speaking countries. The Chinese story contains both the helpful animal—the fish—and the ball—the cave festival—and thus seems to be related to both types.

Old though it is, the Chinese version shows definite signs of having been derived from still earlier—and now lost—versions. The incident of the cave festival, for example, is vaguely told and only mechanically linked with the remainder of the story. It seems very much as if the author had borrowed this incident from some still earlier version, but without clearly understanding its significance. It will also be remembered that the king who married Sheh Hsien came from a country called T'o-huan. Though this country is not identified in the story, we know from Chinese historical writings of that time that there was a country by that name located near a region called "T'o-ho-lo." And T'o-ho-lo can be identified with fair certainty as close to the modern city of Bangkok, the capital of Siam. This makes it probable that the Chinese story of Cinderella did not originate in China, but was taken there from southeast Asia, perhaps by the Arabs and others who went as traders to Canton in large numbers.

This story shows that the same code of human ethics, the same simple virtues which are regarded as basic in the Western world, have been emphasized for centuries in China and other parts of Asia. It is but one example of the way a story or an idea can travel all over the world.

## *ALCHEMY—FORERUNNER OF MODERN CHEMISTRY*

The Chinese were also pioneers in the ancient art of alchemy which antedated modern chemistry. This field of experimentation, which concerned itself with efforts to convert base metals into precious ores, attracted the attention of men until the eighteenth century, when its theories were exploded.

We are all familiar with the romance which surrounded the lives of Roger Bacon and the other notable European alchemists of the late Middle Ages and the Renaissance. Who has not seen pictures of them laboring over their smoky furnaces in secret laboratories, vainly trying to produce artificial gold or silver from such base metals as lead and mercury? Today they are regarded by many people as mere quacks. They themselves, indeed, helped to give this impression of magic by the vague

and mystical language with which they described their art—a language which they used purposely to prevent uninitiated outsiders from learning their precious secrets.

Yet, despite the mystical practices that undoubtedly entered their work, modern historians recognize that these men were often much more than ordinary quacks. Some, indeed, ranked among the most learned scholars of their time. The thirteenth century Roger Bacon, for example, is regarded as one of the fathers of modern science. His theories and those of other alchemists of the Middle Ages, though disproved today, were based upon principles which in their own age were almost universally accepted. And though they failed in their immediate purpose of making gold, their discoveries of various compounds and dyes definitely helped to increase the knowledge of mankind. Alchemy, indeed, as its very name shows, was in some ways the forerunner of our modern chemistry.

The syllable "al," in the name "alchemy," tells us something about the history of the word. It shows us that it is of Arabic origin, as are several other words that have "al" as their first syllable, such as "alcohol," "algebra," or "alkali." ("Al" means "the" in Arabic.) But though the Arabs undoubtedly brought alchemy to Europe, they were not its originators.

Traditionally, alchemy is believed to have started in Alexandria and other Egyptian cities among metalworkers who lived there during the early centuries after Christ. These men, in their turn, are commonly believed to have followed philosophical ideas going back to the ancient Greeks.

It is now established, however, that Chinese alchemy is more than two centuries older than that of the Alexandrians. Though it is not yet absolutely proved that Western alchemy had its origin in China, we do know that the world's earliest recorded attempt at alchemy appears in an official history of China in 133 B.C. In that year, a certain old man came before the emperor with the claim that at the age of seventy he had discovered a way to keep from growing older. When the emperor asked for the secret of this magic power, the old man told him that if he would worship the Goddess of the Kitchen Stove, he would find himself miraculously able to change a mercury-sulphur compound called "cinnabar" into gold. And by eating from plates made of this artificial gold, he could prolong his life indefinitely as he, the old man, had done. The emperor eagerly followed these instructions, but unfortunately for their success, the old man himself soon fell ill and died!

Several other equally unsuccessful attempts are recorded in the official Chinese histories and in other literature during the next two centuries. It is not surprising, therefore, that much prejudice developed against would-be alchemists. Even the death penalty, in fact, seems to have been decreed for anyone convicted of trying to produce artificial gold. This severe punishment, however, did not stop the alchemists from secretly continuing their work, and around A.D. 150 a very important treatise on alchemy appeared. It contains the world's earliest detailed recipe for manufacturing artificial gold in order to produce the magic elixir of immortality. Its language, however, is purposely made so abstruse that no modern chemist would dare to follow its directions! Nevertheless, some of its symbolism, as when it speaks of mercury as "the tiger" and sulphur as "the dragon," is remarkably similar to that found later in European literature on alchemy.

Chinese alchemy was based on the theory that the fundamental law of the universe is one of change—in other words, that everything in the universe is constantly evolving from one state to another and nothing remains permanently the same. The transformation of one metal into another by human means, therefore, was regarded simply as a particular instance of the operation of this universal natural law. Gold was the chief metal that Chinese alchemists concentrated on producing. This was not because they were particularly desirous of wealth, but rather because they hoped to discover a means of preparing an elixir of immortality. Gold was regarded as the most suitable substance for their experimentation, as it does not rust or corrode under chemical action. They reasoned that it must, therefore, be an "immortal" mineral, which, if taken as a medicine by mortals, would endow them with similar immortality.

These ideas appear in a famous Chinese treatise on alchemy written by a recluse scholar, Ko Hung, around the year 325. In this he says, for example:

> Flying, running, and crawling creatures all have definite forms. Yet all of a sudden they may discard their old bodies and change into new creatures. Among all creatures, man is the noblest. Yet there are not a few cases when men and women have been changed into a crane, a stone, a tiger, a monkey, sand, or a turtle. . . . Transformation is the natural law of the universe. Why, then, should we suspect that gold and silver cannot be made out of other things?

But success, he warns, is possible only when working in solitude and after long spiritual preparation:

> The preparation of the elixir should be done in some lonely spot on a famous mountain, with not more than three people present. One should first fast for one hundred days and wash oneself with the five fragrant things until one is perfectly purified. One should not approach any impure things or have contact with vulgar people. Furthermore, one should not allow doubters of the Art to know about the matter, for if any slander is made of the Divine Elixir, it will surely fail.

Having prepared oneself, one goes to work as follows:

> Use an iron vessel, nine inches long and five inches in diameter. Fill it with a paste made of ground arsenic sulphide, mixed with powder made from worms, crickets, beetles, etc. Two measures of "elixir powder water" may be added. Place it over a fire of horse dung until it is extremely dry. . . . "

Several more processes of this kind are carried out, until

> . . . the furnace is heated to redness over a charcoal fire. Mercury is added. When the mercury begins to stir, lead is poured in. Yellowness will then rise up from the sides and meet in the middle. Upon pouring this on the ground, gold will be obtained.

This gold is then mixed with two unidentifiable substances for a hundred days, until it becomes soft and can be kneaded into pills. The eating of these pills three times a day

> . . . will drive away all diseases. A blind man will regain his sight, a deaf man his hearing, and an aged man will become again as if he were but thirty years old. It will be possible to enter fire without being burned, and to be invulnerable to all evils, poisons, cold winds, heat, or dampness.

In these ideas Chinese alchemy shows important differences from the practices of the Alexandrian metallurgists, who never claimed to be able to make *genuine* gold and silver out of other metals. They merely said they could change the *color* of these other metals, and thus *make them look* like gold or silver. Furthermore, their aim in so doing was to gain wealth by palming off their *imitations* of precious metals on other people. They did not have the belief, as did the Chinese, that gold is an "immortal" metal, and that it could, therefore, be used to give immortality to human beings.

This fundamental Chinese idea crops up again in later Arabic and European alchemy, though often mixed with other ideas that go back to the Alexandrians. Thus, in European alchemy we often see references to the "philosopher's stone," the "elixir of life," and the "fountain of perpetual youth." (It will be remembered that when the Spanish explorer, Ponce de León, discovered Florida in 1521, he was searching for such a "fountain of youth.")

By the thirteenth century, when alchemy was attracting attention in Europe, it had become largely discredited in China. Before that time, however, Chinese alchemists had succeeded in persuading even emperors to try their elixirs. Among them were some who actually died from the effects! What is more important is the fact that the experiments of the Chinese alchemists probably resulted in certain inventions of great practical value for mankind. Among them, it has been suggested, were porcelain and gunpowder. The use of gold in modern medicine, especially in treatment for arthritis, has still to be traced historically, however.

In Europe, alchemy lingered many centuries longer than in China. Its deathblow was dealt only in 1783, when Lavoisier (1743–94), the famous French father of modern chemistry, published an epoch-making treatise. In this he demonstrated, by making careful weight measurements of things before and after they had been burned, that fire cannot possibly exist as a separate element. He thus disproved the old theory that all things are formed from the constantly changing combinations of only a few basic elements, of which fire is one. In its place he laid the foundations for our modern classification of chemical elements. And our grandfathers came to consider alchemists quacks or magicians.

We have no definite evidence of how the Chinese art of alchemy was brought to Western Asia, but very probably it was carried there over the Central Asiatic trade route by traders, religious pilgrims, or possibly even soldiers. In the case of paper, for example, we know that the Arabs learned the secret of its manufacture from Chinese soldiers whom they captured in battle in the year 751. As Arabic alchemy begins not long after this event—in the ninth century—it, too, might very possibly have been learned by the Arabs from the Chinese through chance contacts of this sort.

## CHINA AND THE AGE OF ENLIGHTENMENT

As time wore on, various Chinese inventions such as printing, gunpowder, and the mariner's compass gradually found their way to Europe, also via the Arabs, who for centuries were the leading travelers and traders between East and West. Prior to the seventeenth century, however, the purely intellectual influence of China remained slight, perhaps because it was only then that Europeans themselves began to travel to the Far East in significant numbers.

The new era of Chinese-European contacts started in the year 1601, when the famous Italian Jesuit, Matteo Ricci (1552–1610), arrived in the Chinese capital, Peking, and established there a Catholic mission. For the next two centuries the Jesuits, as well as members of other Catholic orders, remained in close touch with the Court of Peking. By 1700 they were said to have converted approximately two hundred fifty thousand Chinese to Christianity. Because these Europeans were highly educated men, they gained the respect of the Chinese, who have always placed a premium on scholarship. Many, indeed, were given important positions in the Chinese government. The Board of Astronomy, for example, was placed under their charge and remained a Christian stronghold until 1838.

Fascinated by the ancient and impressive civilization in which they found themselves, these Europeans wrote home detailed accounts of what they saw. Their letters provided material for a long series of books on China, written usually in French or Latin and published in Paris, the European center of Jesuit activities. Among them were such works as *Confucius, the Philosopher of the Chinese* (1687); the *Description of China* (1735), in four volumes; the long series of *Edifying and Curious Letters*, in 34 volumes (1702–76); the *General History of China*, in 13 volumes (1777–85); and the lengthy *Memoirs on the History, Sciences, Arts, etc., of the Chinese*, in 16 volumes (1776–1814).

These writings gave Europeans a far more detailed and accurate picture of China than they had ever had before. They generated a tremendous enthusiasm for China and things Chinese—an enthusiasm that reached its peak in the early years of the second half of the eighteenth century. Materially, this enthusiasm powerfully influenced such fields as painting, architecture, landscape gardening, furniture, and the newly developed manufactures of porcelain and lacquer ware—the well-known and charming *chinoiseries* of the eighteenth century. It also left a strong imprint on literature and on the thinking of some of the most famous intellectual figures of the period.

The timing of this impact from China was of particular importance. It reached Europe during a period of tremendous political and intellectual ferment. The Renaissance had brought to Europeans a renewed consciousness of their great classical heritage from the ancient civilizations of Greece and Rome. This consciousness widened men's horizons. It helped to free them from the mental limitations that had been imposed during the Middle Ages by the dogmas of the church. Some began to question a spiritual authority that still taught that the sun and the rest of the universe revolve around the earth, well after Copernicus and Galileo had proved the reverse to be true. They were beginning to raise objections to the theory of the "divine right of kings" that permitted monarchs to rule as they pleased, without regard for the welfare of their people; to express doubts regarding the justice of a social system that allowed feudal aristocrats to lead lives of luxury while their peasant serfs starved; and to urge that men of education be given an increasing voice in public affairs.

Such ideas, gaining strength in the seventeenth century, led in the eighteenth to what was known as the Age of Enlightenment. Leaders of this movement, such as the Frenchman, Voltaire (1694–1778), believed that any human problem could be solved if men would only consent to live with one another on a basis of reason and common sense. Ideas of this sort culminated politically in the French Revolution of 1789. Socially, they gave a new dignity and freedom to the individual. Intellectually, they created a new, scientific method of thinking, based upon objective experimentation and observation, in place of the old, blind acceptance of unverified tradition. Thus were made possible the tremendous material advances that were to come later with the Industrial Revolution.

To men infected with these new ideas, China provided a powerful stimulus. For in China they saw a great civilization that had evolved quite independently of, and earlier than, their own. Although not a Christian nation, it had nevertheless developed in Confucianism a high system of morals of its own. And, unlike Europe, it had done so without permitting a priesthood to become so powerful as to challenge the state's authority. The emperor of China, furthermore, though seemingly an absolute ruler, was in actual fact limited by the teachings of Confucianism, which declared that "the people are the most important element in the state; the sovereign is the least." Particularly was China admired as a land where government did not rest in the hands of a feudal aristocracy, as in Europe. Instead, it was managed by the mandarins—a group of highly educated scholars—who gained their official positions only after proving their worth by passing a series of state-administered examinations. We know today that this highly favorable picture of China was somewhat overpainted. Yet there is little doubt that the China of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries was, both politically and economically, in many ways ahead of Europe.

The story of how European thinkers of this period reacted to Chinese thought is a fascinating one that can only briefly be told here. The most striking example in the seventeenth century was the German philosopher, Leibniz (1646–1716), one of the most internationally minded men who ever lived. He read extensively on China, corresponded with Jesuits who had lived there, and wrote on Confucian philosophy. In a letter written in 1697, he announced: "I shall have to post a notice on my door: Bureau of Information for Chinese Knowledge."

Leibniz found in the mystic symbols contained in an ancient Chinese classic support for his own mathematical theories. There are striking parallels, too, between his philosophy and certain Confucian ideas. Above all, however, he had the dream of creating a new civilization that would be truly universal. This could be done, he believed, by consciously selecting and bringing together the best elements in Chinese and Western culture. This dream he expressed in a little book of 1697, *Novissima Sinica* or *Latest News from China*, in which he wrote: "I almost think it necessary that Chinese missionaries should be sent to us to teach the aims and practice of natural theology, as we send missionaries to them to instruct them in revealed religion." Leibniz's dream still remains, alas, only a dream!

By many of his contemporaries, however, such theories were regarded as dangerous and revolutionary. A disciple of Leibniz, Christian Wolff (1679–1754), suffered persecution because of his admiration for China. In a lecture delivered at the University of Halle in 1721, he praised the Chinese system for successfully harmonizing individual happiness with the welfare of the state. He maintained that Confucianism was fully adequate as a way of life; that there was no real conflict between it and Christianity. For these bold words he was immediately accused of atheism, and, after a bitter attack, was forced to give up his position in the university.

But the most famous leader of the Enlightenment to fall under the Chinese spell was Voltaire (1694–1778), to whom Confucius was the greatest of all sages. A portrait of Confucius adorned the wall of his library. He regarded China as the one country in the world where the ruler is at the same time a philosopher (Plato's "philosopher-king"). He praised it because it had no priesthood owning 20 percent of the land, and contrasted the religious tolerance of the Chinese, who had never tried to send missionaries to Europe, with the European habit of always forcing their own religious ideas upon other people. "One need not be obsessed with the merits of the Chinese," he wrote in 1764, "to recognize . . . that their empire is in truth the best that the world has ever seen."

In 1755 Voltaire produced a play, *The Chinese Orphan*, which he adapted from an old Chinese play that had been published in French translation in 1735. This play, significantly described by him as "the morals of Confucius in five acts," was written as an answer to the theories of Rousseau (1712–78). Rousseau, as we all know, wanted people to follow a back-to-nature movement, and argued that the arts, sciences, and human institutions generally, are harmful because they corrupt the simple goodness of human nature. Voltaire, to disprove these ideas, deliberately changed the original seventh century B.C. setting of his play, laying it instead in the thirteenth century A.D., when the Mongols, under Jenghis Khan, conquered China. His purpose in so doing was to prove the superiority of human art and culture by showing how Chinese civilization finally triumphed over the warlike barbarism of the Mongols.

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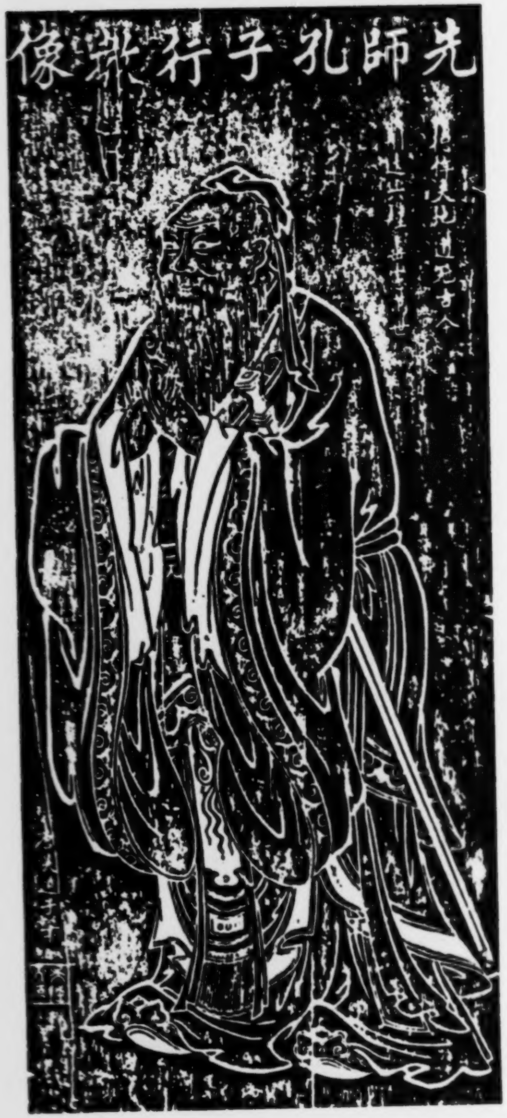

CONFUCIUS AS SEEN BY THE CHINESE

A black and white paper "rubbing" reproduced from a carving on a large stone tablet. The tablet is in turn a copy of a painting by one of China's greatest artists, Wu Tao-tzu (died A.D. 792). The large inscription at the top reads: "Portrait of Confucius, the First Teacher, Conducting His Teaching." The smaller inscription in the upper right-hand corner reads: "His virtue equals that of Heaven and Earth. His principles are unsurpassed in past or present. He edited and transmitted the Six Classics. He has left to us an example for 10,000 generations." The inscription in the lower left-hand corner reads: "Drawn by Wu Tao-tzu of the T'ang dynasty."

Voltaire died only eleven years before the French Revolution. This world-shaking event, followed by the wars of Napoleon and the Industrial Revolution of the nineteenth century, turned men's minds away from China to things nearer at home. In Europe the enthusiasm for China died. In America, however, there was at least one nineteenth century thinker who, quite independently of the European Enlightenment, fell under the influence of China. He was Ralph Waldo Emerson (1803–82), who eagerly read many translations of the Confucian classics. India, to be sure, inspired some of his more important ideas, such as the theory of the Over-Soul, and of the unreality of the world as we see it. But from China he accepted the Confucian concept of the true gentleman, the belief that good government must be based on a sound moral foundation, and the emphasis upon the responsibilities that each individual in society holds toward other individuals. These ideas still have value for us today. We call them American ideas. Few of us realize that they were expressed long ago in China.

### *POLITICAL AND ECONOMIC THEORIES*

It should not be supposed that all thinkers in the Age of Enlightenment were preachers of revolution. Many, indeed most, were willing to continue with the accepted institution of monarchy. In France, the center of the Enlightenment, the monarchy

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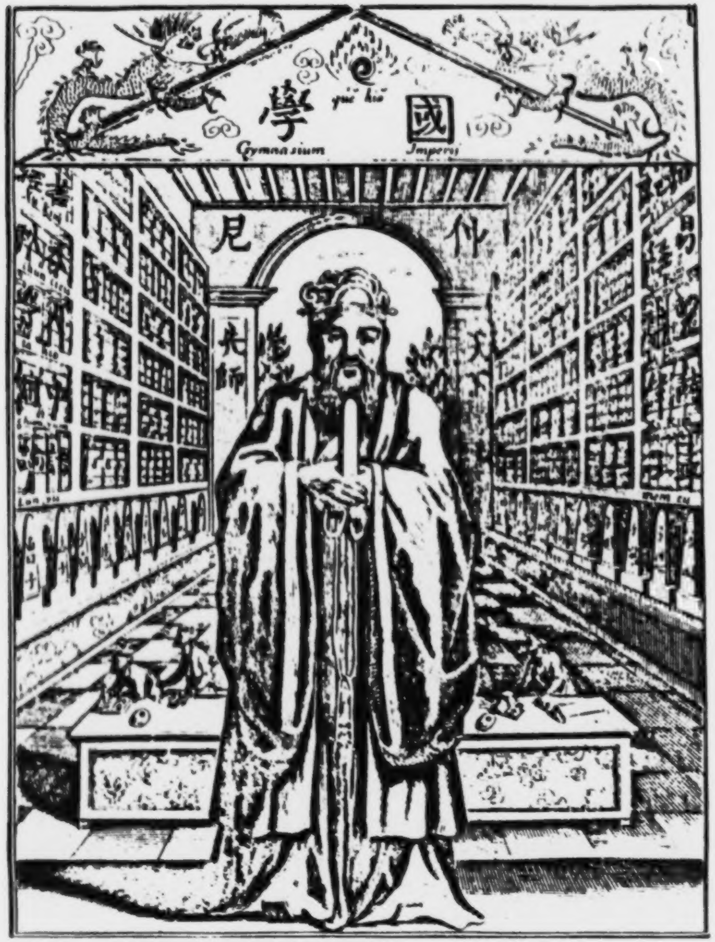


Confucius as Seen by the Europeans

This picture, showing Confucius standing in the Chinese National Academy of Learning, is taken from *Confucius Sinarum Philosophus* or *Confucius, the Philosopher of the Chinese* (Paris, 1687). Some of the earliest translations of the Confucian writings were published in this book. Notice the Roman-style arch in the background of the picture and the non-Chinese use of perspective. The two large characters at the top read: "National Academy of Learning." Those on either side of the arch read: "Confucius, the First Teacher under Heaven." The books in the cases along the sides of the room bear titles of the various Confucian classics. Underneath them are tablets inscribed with the names of Confucius' disciples.

had reached the extreme of absolutism under Louis XIV (1643–1715). The reign of his successor, Louis XV (1715–74), however, saw signs of growing weakness, coupled with corruption and gross social and economic abuses. Many thinkers, therefore, came to realize that the monarchy could be preserved only by carrying out various drastic reforms. As a result, it became their aim to create an ***enlightened despotism*** that would rule for the benefit of the people as a whole, rather than merely for a small, privileged group. In the example of China these men found powerful support for their theories. For in China, as we have seen, Confucianism, though it accepted the idea of an absolute ruling power, at the same time set certain moral restraints upon the abuses of that power.

Most prominent among the men who voiced such ideas was a group of French political economists known as the "Physiocrats." They came into existence shortly after 1756 under the leadership of Francis Quesnay (1694–1774), who was a doctor at the French Royal Court.

Quesnay and his fellow Physiocrats maintained that government, if enlightened, must operate in conformity with certain economic and social laws, which they called the "Natural Order." Basic in this Natural Order, they believed, was the principle that the entire wealth of any country comes, in the final analysis, from that country's land, as a result of such activities as agriculture, mining, and lumbering. Manufacture and trade are secondary activities, since they concern themselves merely with the raw materials derived from the land. Hence, the manufacturer and merchant, though performing useful functions, were, according to Quesnay and his group, "sterile" and nonproductive. The state should, therefore, give special encouragement to all activities, such as agriculture, that increase the land's productivity. It should not, on the other hand, aid the "sterile" processes of manufacturing and commerce by offering

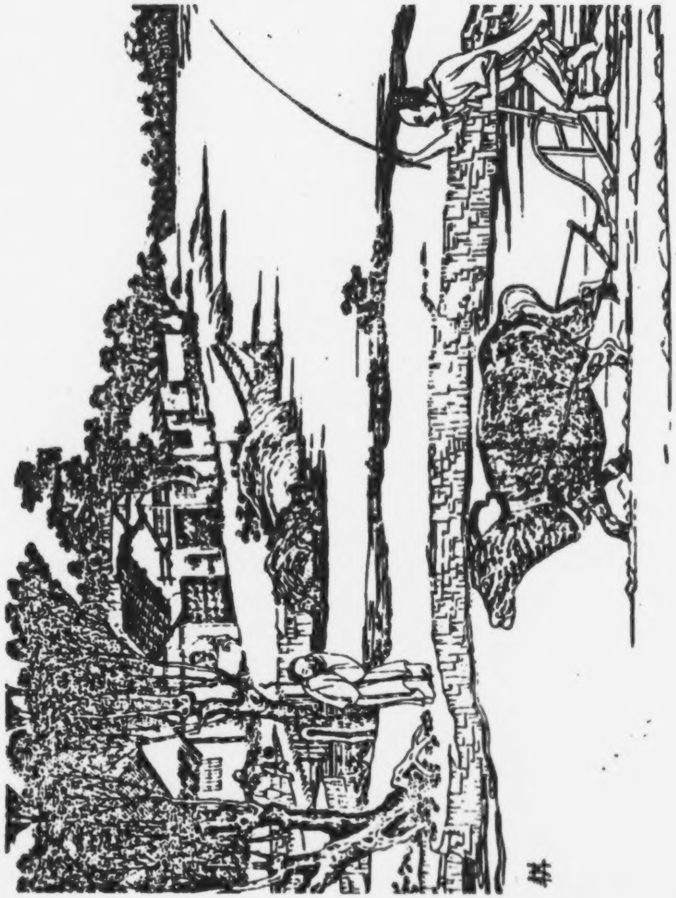
them tariff protection or permitting the creation of great private monopolies, for this, in their opinion, would interfere with the natural processes of distribution and violate the Natural Order.

Since the revenue of the state, like the wealth of its people, comes ultimately from the land, they believed that the only really fair form of taxation is a single land tax levied upon the land's productive capacity. This doctrine was an attack upon one of the greatest abuses in the France of Quesnay's time: the existence of great land estates, owned by feudal aristocrats, who paid in taxes only an insignificant part of what their land produced.

The Physiocrats also argued that education should be separated from the church and made universal, for only in that way could the best available talent of the country be brought forward and trained for public service.

Most of these ideas bore an amazing resemblance to those found in Confucian political and economic philosophy. For thousands of years the Chinese had believed that there can be good government only when a perfect harmony exists between the "Way of Man" (governmental institutions) and the "Way of Nature" (Quesnay's Natural Order). China had always been a predominantly agrarian country, in which industries and trade played only a minor part. It is not surprising, therefore, that the Chinese regarded agriculture as "primary" and worthy of intensive government support, while commerce was looked upon as nonproductive and, therefore, "secondary." For this reason they traditionally ranked the merchant near the bottom of the social ladder, well below the honored place they gave the farmer.

The Chinese government even went so far as to place restrictions upon the development of private trade. Herein lies the major point of difference between Chinese theory and that of the Physiocrats. Though Quesnay and his group thought



PLOWING

One of a series of illustrations from the *Keng-chih-t'u* or *Pictures of Agriculture and Silk Culture* (edition of 1739). The French Physiocrats were intensely interested in Chinese methods of agriculture.

that the government should do nothing that would encourage trade, they at the same time believed in the doctrine of laissez faire—that trade should be permitted to operate free from government restrictions.

In their educational theories the Physiocrats were also clearly influenced by the example of China, with its famous examination system that ensured the admission of men to government service on the basis of education rather than rank.

The tremendous debt of the Physiocrats to China is evident in Quesnay's book *The Despotism of China* (1767), in which he presents his ideas of what a truly enlightened despotism means. In its first seven chapters he paints a glowing picture of Chinese political and economic conditions, drawing his material directly from Jesuit writings on China. In the eighth, and final, chapter he develops his own theories along the lines described above, linking them directly with the example of China.

One of the customs that most aroused Quesnay's enthusiasm was the annual ceremony performed since early times by each Chinese emperor in the spring: that of the ritual plowing of a sacred plot of land, to mark the moment when Chinese farmers were to begin their spring cultivation. In 1768, when Quesnay's influence was at its height, this ancient ceremony was symbolically performed by the son of Louis XV at the French Court, using a small-scale model of a plow as evidence of the government's benevolent interest in agriculture! The following year the act was repeated by Emperor Joseph II of Austria, this time with a full-size plow. No wonder that Quesnay, the inspirer of these imitations of Chinese ceremonial, was called by his followers "the Confucius of Europe"!

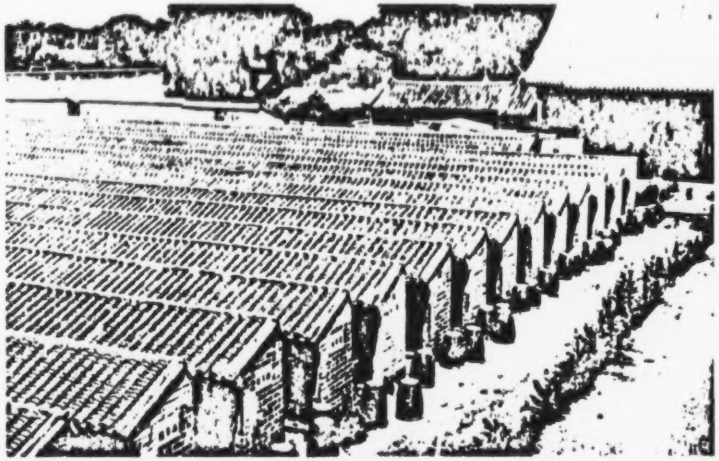
One of the most prominent admirers of the Physiocrats was the statesman Turgot (1727–81), who was French minister of finance from 1774 to 1776. In 1765 he showed his very practical interest in China when he heard of the impending return there of two young Chinese who had been sent to France for their education by the Jesuits in Peking. To these Chinese, Turgot handed a list of fifty-two questions about economic and social conditions of China. Through the answers, which he asked them to send him after arriving in China, he hoped to obtain information that could be usefully applied to the reform of the French government. The practical nature of these questions is shown by such examples as: "Are there in China many rich people?" "Are there many people there who live on the interest from loans?" "By what sorts of men are the great positions in China usually filled?" "How much rice does a man commonly consume in a year?" "In China what is the ordinary daily wage of a workingman?" Unfortunately, however, the answers to his questions were never received.

Turgot was an able and sincere man who tried earnestly during his period of office to put the Physiocrat doctrines into practice. These doctrines, however, while well suited to an agrarian economy such as that of China, proved to be ill-adapted for France, where a modern system of capitalism was already beginning to develop. The forces of corruption and reaction ranged against Turgot were too great, and he was forced to resign. His attempt to reform France from the top failed. The attempt that was to succeed came violently from below some years later. It was the French Revolution in 1789.

Though the Physiocrats failed in the practical application of their doctrines, their impact on later economic theory was strong. This influence is particularly evident in the ideas of Adam Smith (1723–90), author of the classical economic work of modern times, *The Wealth of Nations* (1776). Thus the Physiocrats may truly be said to rank among the founders of modern Western political economy. And, in their insistence upon the need for universal education, they led the way in a movement that in the nineteenth century was to become a standard practice in Western democracies.

## *CIVIL SERVICE*

Though the European enthusiasm regarding China died away after 1789, it left behind it one very important practical heritage. This is the modern civil service system now prevailing in many Western countries.

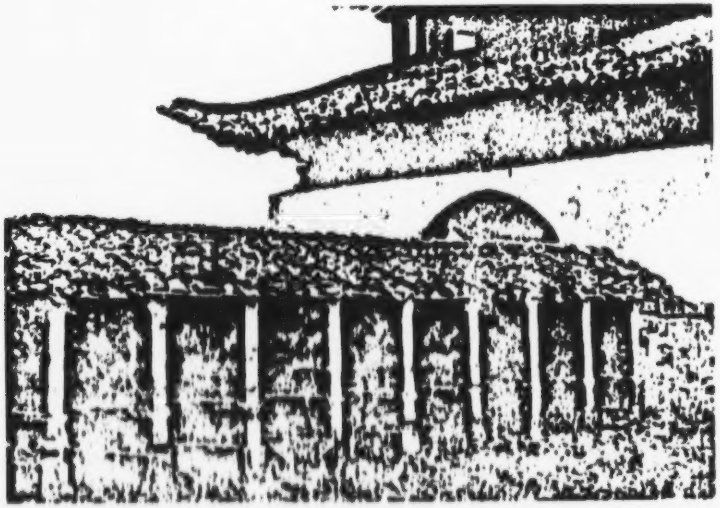


**The Examination Enclosure at Peking**

General view of the long rows of cells in which the Chinese governmental examinations were held until the abolition of the system in 1905. The overturned tubs were used as water containers when the examinations were in progress. From Sarah Pike Conger, *Letters from China* (Chicago: A. C. McClurg & Co., 1909.)

As mentioned earlier, the Chinese examination system, from which the various European civil service systems are ultimately derived, seems to have been started in 165 B.C., when certain candidates for public office were called to the Chinese capital for examination by the emperor on their moral excellence. In following centuries the system grew until finally almost anyone who wished to become an official had to prove his worth by passing written government examinations.

From A.D. 1370 onward, the system was adjusted to include three sets of examinations, one held in the local counties, another in the capitals of the provinces, and a third—the highest examination of all—in Peking, the national capital. Some were conducted annually, and others once every three years. The honors thus attained corresponded roughly to our B.A., M.A., and Ph.D. degrees. This system operated with great regularity until it was finally abolished in 1905. Even today the government of China is officially pledged to its re-establishment, though in greatly modified form.



THE EXAMINATION ENCLOSURE AT NANKING

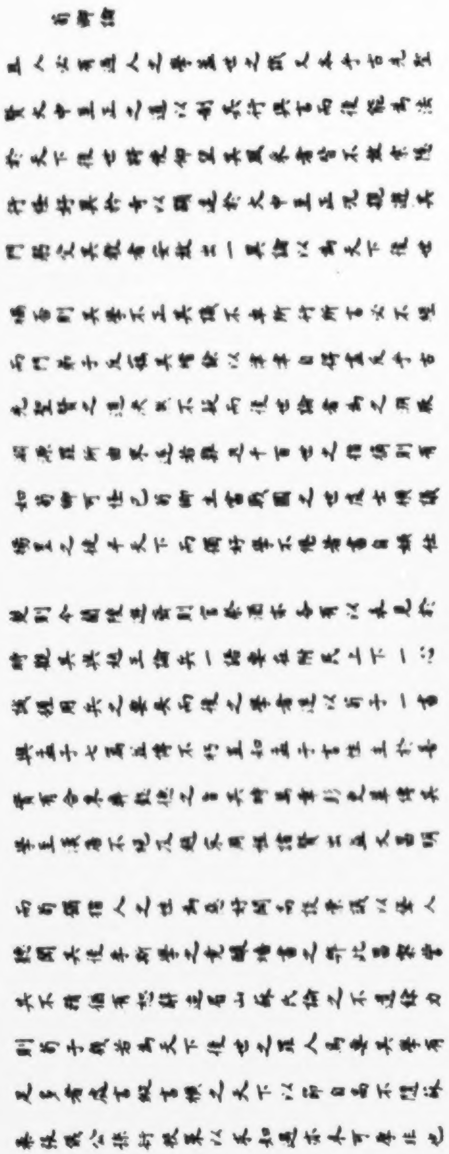
A close-up of a few of the thousands of cells in which candidates took the provincial examinations. This picture was made after 1905, when the buildings were falling into ruin. Today the Nanking and Peking examination enclosures no longer exist. Courtesy of Philadelphia Museum of Art.

The examinations took place within huge walled enclosures, inside of which were thousands of small brick cells, laid out in straight rows like the houses of a town. Each cell contained a bench and table, and housed a nervous candidate. Every precaution was taken to prevent cheating. Candidates were searched before entering the enclosure, carefully watched while the examination was in progress, and not permitted to leave until it was over. Each examination commonly lasted several days and was of unbelievable difficulty. In 1889, for example, out of more than 14,000 candidates taking the examination in Peking, only slightly over 300 passed. The reward for success, however, was entry into the honored ranks of the mandarins who governed the country.

The chief defect in this system was its emphasis upon literary style and a detailed knowledge of the Chinese classics, at the expense of more practical matters. Another was the failure of the Chinese government to provide anything approaching a national system of free education. Hence, most candidates had to prepare themselves for the examinations at their own expense and the inevitable result was that the majority of those able to take them came from the well-to-do. Nevertheless, the system had two important advantages. It was open, with trifling exceptions, to all members of society, thus making it the world's most democratic means, before modern times, for selecting government officials. And it ensured the presence in the government of men of high education.

Nothing like such a system seems to have been known among the other great civilizations of antiquity. In the universities of Europe, written examinations seem to have been unheard of before 1702. As for government-administered civil service examinations, these were of considerably later date. It is not surprising, therefore, that the Chinese examinations were described repeatedly in Western literature on China of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, and aroused intense admiration among such men as Voltaire and Quesnay.

In France the earliest civil service system seems to have been



A CHINESE EXAMINATION PAPER

Paper of Ch'en Shih-jui, who graduated as 261st among the 314 successful candidates receiving their *chin-shih*, or doctor's degree, in the Chinese national examination of May 25, 1894, held in Peking. For this examination he wrote two essays and one poem. Reproduced is the first one of the essays, dealing with the famous Confucian philosopher, Hsün Tzu, of the third century B.C. It reveals the beautiful handwriting required from any successful candidate. The question for the essay was received at 10:00 A.M. and had to be answered in about two thousand words by sunset, that is, around 7:30 P.M. In the nine and one-half hours thus permitted, the candidate first had to compose a rough draft of his essay and then copy it into the stylized characters here shown. The copying alone, even for rapid writers, required about seven hours. The original of Ch'en's paper is in the Library of Congress.

established in 1791 shortly after the outbreak of the Revolution. After ten years, however, it was allowed to lapse, but was re-established in the 1840's. Though little attention seems to have been given to its early history, several writers on French history maintain that it owes its origin to the Chinese example.

The origins of the British civil service are better known. During the eighteenth century a number of Englishmen wrote in praise of the Chinese examination system, some of them going so far as to urge the adoption for England of something similar. The first concrete step in this direction was taken by the British East India Company in 1806. In that year the Company established a small college near London whose purpose was to train Company employees for administrative service in India, the British-controlled portions of which were at that time still governed by the Company on behalf of the British Crown. The proposal for establishing this college came, significantly, from members of the East India Company's trading post in Canton, China. Thus the principle was established of using for public administration men who possessed certain preparatory qualifications.

During the next several decades many Englishmen referred to the example of China as an argument for establishing a universal civil service system in England itself. Most persistent among them was Thomas Taylor Meadows, a gifted man who served for many years in the British diplomatic service in China. In 1847 he published a book, *Desultory Notes on the Government and People of China*, whose main purpose, in his own words, was "to urge the institution of Public Service Competitive Examinations for all British subjects with a view to the Improvement of the British Executive and the Union of the British Empire." In it he described the Chinese system and argued that "the long duration of the Chinese empire is solely and altogether owing to the good government which consists in the advancement of men of talent and merit only."

Such public statements finally led the British government to create a committee to investigate the matter. In 1853 this committee presented to Parliament a report entitled "The Organization of the Permanent Civil Service." The report recommended that a central board of examiners be formed to prepare examinations on the general knowledge of the candidates; that these examinations should be held regularly and should be open to all; and that promotion in government service should be based on merit instead of favoritism. All these were principles that had governed the Chinese system for many centuries. Though bitterly attacked in Parliament, the report resulted in the creation of Britain's first civil service commission in 1855.

The British example was undoubtedly chiefly responsible for the establishment in America of a similar civil service system. Nevertheless, some Chinese influence is also apparent. When, for example, Thomas A. Jenckes of Rhode Island first recommended to Congress in 1868 that an American civil service system be created, his report on the subject contained a chapter on the civil service in China. The same year Emerson, who, as we have seen, was interested in China, made a speech in Boston at a reception in honor of a visiting embassy from China, in which he praised the Chinese examination system and urged that the Jenckes proposal be adopted.

As in England, however, many people who derived personal benefit from the old spoils system strongly opposed the new idea. Some protested that the use of examinations to determine the fitness of candidates for office was Chinese, foreign, and, therefore, "un-American!" Consequently, it was not until 1883 that the proposal of 1868 was finally passed by the Congress.

Today the principle of the civil service system has been accepted in virtually all democratic countries. More and more, persons are entering government service because of personal merit rather than political favoritism. As a result, much of the political corruption that was so common a century ago has disappeared. The civil service system is undoubtedly one of China's most precious intellectual gifts to the West.

### *INFLUENCE ON WESTERN LITERATURE*

References to China abound in French and English literature of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. In the latter century, particularly, a great many stories appeared which attempted to use Chinese themes or were written in a supposedly Chinese manner. Indeed, the vogue for China led to the development of an entirely new form of literature, known as "Chinese letters," in which the hero was usually an imaginary Chinese sage, supposedly traveling through Europe, who wrote accounts of what he saw on his journey to his friends at home. This literary form was cleverly used to express all sorts of shrewd and amusing criticisms of European civilization. It has interest for us today because of the frequent comparisons made between Europe and China, and the picture thus given us of the attitudes of eighteenth century European writers toward China.

The first such "Chinese letters" seem to have been written by a certain French author in 1739, and numerous imitations followed both in France and England in the next several decades. Oliver Goldsmith (1728–84), author of the *Vicar of Wakefield*, was the most famous writer to use the device. His *Chinese Letters*, written in 1759–60 and reissued two years later as *The Citizen of the World*, reveal a considerable knowledge of China.

We have already seen how a Chinese play was used by Voltaire as the basis for a play of his own, *The Chinese Orphan* (1755). The same Chinese play enjoyed success in other countries as well. It was translated into English in 1741, into Italian in 1748, and provided the inspiration for *Elpenor* (1783), an unfinished tragedy by Germany's greatest poet, Goethe (1749–1832). Perhaps the reason why Goethe never succeeded in finishing it is that he tried to put it into an ancient Greek setting.

Another play, *Turandot*, is an interesting example, in European dress, of the blending of cultural influences from both China and the Near East. Its story is that of a cruel Chinese princess who lives in Peking. She has sworn to marry no one who cannot guess three riddles she has prepared. All suitors who fail must suffer execution. So beautiful is she, however, that many have tried, though none successfully. Finally a Near Eastern prince, coming to Peking in disguise, guesses the riddles, wins her hand, and by his love turns her from her cruelty.

This story, though Chinese in setting, is quite un-Chinese in spirit and actually goes back to a Persian tale. A French translation made of it in 1710 was the basis for an Italian play written fifty-two years later by a Venetian dramatist, Count Carlo Gozzi (1720–1806). Gozzi's play became in turn the basis in 1802 for a German version by the great poet, Schiller (1759–1805).Weber (1786–1826), the German composer, contributed incidental music to Schiller's play, including a "Chinese Overture." This, interestingly enough, he derived from a Chinese melody contained in Rousseau's *Dictionary of Music* (1767).

Of the several later plays and operas inspired by the story of *Turandot*, the most notable is that by Puccini (1858–1924), composer of *Madame Butterfly* and other famous operas. Puccini's work was unfortunately not entirely finished before his death and was first performed only two years later. But it has since been acclaimed by some critics as his greatest opera. In it he uses several genuine Chinese melodies, including a main theme based on a popular Chinese song, "The Beautiful Plum Blossom." This song had already been made known in Europe as early as 1804 through a book, *Travels in China*, by John Barrow. The author had visited Peking in 1793 as a member of an official British embassy sent there in that year.

Turning now to Western literature in the nineteenth century, one of the warmest enthusiasts for China was Judith Gautier (1850–1917), daughter of the famous French poet, Théophile Gautier (1811–72). Though she never visited China herself, she studied Chinese as a girl under a Chinese tutor, and in 1867 published *The Book of Jade*, a collection of poems written in the Chinese manner. Her book has been read and praised by many men of letters. In the following year she published an original novel, *The Imperial Dragon*, which was probably the first French novel to have a Chinese setting, a plausible Chinese plot, and Chinese characters. Not long afterward, the American, Bret Harte (1856–1902) was writing sympathetically of the Chinese he knew in California, though admittedly with no knowledge whatever of Chinese civilization or literature.

Far greater than either of these was the Russian, Tolstoy (1828–1910), author of *War and Peace* and other immortal novels. Though his interest in China has been almost completely overlooked, this is perhaps in part because it appears only in his later philosophical writings rather than in his more widely read novels. During the last thirty years of his life, Tolstoy read more than thirty books on China and Chinese thought. The sayings of Confucius and Lao Tzu especially interested him. Indeed, the latter philosopher is said to have been "his favorite among the sages of antiquity." So deeply impressed was he by Chinese thought that he wrote, or had his followers write, no less than nine articles and pamphlets on China. Most of these were published by Tolstoy's own press in cheap editions, selling for only a few cents a copy, so that they might reach the widest number of Russian people. As late as the final year of his life, when he was in his eighties, Tolstoy is reported to have exclaimed: "Were I young, I would go to China!"

Tolstoy's famous doctrine of nonresistance to evil is admittedly greatly inspired by Christian teaching. Yet there is good reason to believe that it was considerably influenced by Lao

Tzu's philosophy as well. And it in turn, as is well known, influenced Gandhi in his equally famous theory of political passive-resistance.

Likewise, the Confucian attitude toward music seems to have been well known to Tolstoy when he developed his own remarkably similar theory that music is not merely something to be enjoyed, but also acts as a powerful moral force that can be used to influence men for either good or evil.

Moving into the twentieth century, we find that Chinese poetry inspired the Austrian musical composer Gustav Mahler (1860–1911), to create his greatest choral work, *The Song of the Earth* (1908). The words of this composition are taken from six poems in Hans Bethge's *Chinese Flute* (1907), a collection of verses in German based upon Chinese originals.

Most striking during these years, however, was the influence of Chinese poetry upon the literary movement known as Imagism. The Imagists were a group of young English and American poets who began in 1909 to hold meetings in London to discuss their new literary theories. They wanted to get away from what they considered the artificiality of nineteenth century English poetry. They avoided rhyme and wrote in free verse. They favored simple, everyday speech in place of high-sounding, vague language. They tried to make their poetry as clear and concrete as possible so as to give the most vivid picture in the fewest words—hence the name "Imagist." From 1914 to 1917 they published four collections of Imagist verse which raised a storm of argument in literary circles because of its unconventional nature.

French poetry gave the Imagists their chief inspiration, but Chinese poetry has been described by one of them as their "foster-father." Its influence was particularly evident in the case of three Americans: Ezra Pound (born 1885), John Gould Fletcher (born 1886), and Amy Lowell (1874–1925). The interest of these three in China is not surprising, for Chinese poetry possesses the same qualities of compactness, vivid pictorial portrayal, and use of concrete language, with which they themselves were experimenting.

In 1915 Pound published his *Cathay*, a book of verse based upon some rough translations of Chinese poems that had been given him by a Boston friend. The meter used by Pound in this book has been followed by practically all translators of Chinese poetry since. Fletcher eagerly read Judith Gautier's *Book of Jade*, Bethge's *Chinese Flute*, and other translations or adaptations of Chinese verse. His *Blue Symphony* (1914), which is regarded as one of the masterpieces of Imagist poetry, is Chinese in setting and spirit. And Amy Lowell, whose brother, Percival, had lived in Korea and Japan, looked to China and Japan for the inspiration of her *Lacquer Prints* (1919) and many other poems. In 1921 she collaborated with Florence Ayscough, an American who had long lived in China, in a translation of Chinese poetry called *Fir-Flower Tablets*.

Despite the interest of these poets in China, it must be confessed that they did not always succeed in catching the real essence of the Chinese spirit. This is probably because none of them (except Florence Ayscough, not herself an Imagist) ever went to China or knew the Chinese language themselves. In recent years, however, there have been more and more writers and translators who possess these qualifications, and whose work, therefore, has a more authentic "feel." In Germany there was Richard Wilhelm (1873–1930), who originally went to China as a missionary and returned a firm convert to Chinese culture. His books on China have enjoyed enormous popularity both in Germany and abroad. In England there is Arthur Waley, whose magnificent translations of Chinese poetry are unsurpassed. And in America there are not only such popular writers as Pearl Buck and Lin Yutang, but a host of others as well, many of whose books have become best-sellers. Of particular interest is the fact that the works of living Chinese writers are now becoming increasingly well known through English translation. Lau Shaw's (Lao She's) *Rickshaw Boy*, a powerful novel of social protest, is a notable example. Thus, as knowledge of China increases, it seems certain that Chinese literature will exert an ever-growing influence upon that of the West.

### *AGRICULTURE*

In the years when Henry A. Wallace was Secretary of Agriculture (1933–40), he introduced many legislative measures for the relief of agriculture. Among them are some that are commonly referred to today under the general title of "the ever-normal granary." At the time they were inaugurated, these were criticized by some people as being too "radical" and "revolutionary." Yet in actual fact, the ever-normal granary is anything but new, for it was started in China more than two thousand years ago and has continued there almost ever since under various names and forms.

In the first decade of this century there was a Chinese student of political economy working for his doctor's degree at Columbia University, whose name was Chen Huan-chang. In 1911, he published for his doctor's thesis a huge two-volume work called *The Economic Principles of Confucius and His School*, in which he described, among many other things, how China's first ever-normal granary was established by a certain statesman in 54 B.C.

The essential idea of this institution was for the government to buy up grain from the farmers in years of surplus and keep it in government granaries until a period of famine, when it was sold to the people at a fixed price. In this way the government maintained a constant supply of grain at all times and prevented fluctuations in its price. This was called the "ever-normal granary." In Chen's words, "All provinces . . . should establish granaries. When the price of grain was low, they should buy it at the normal price, higher than the market price, in order to profit the farmers. When the price was high, they should sell it at the normal price, lower than the market price, in order to profit the consumers." He adds that as the result was good for the people, the emperor gave the title of marquis to the man who originated the idea.

Many Ph.D. theses have a sad way of being forgotten soon after they are written. Chen's book, however, enjoyed a happier fate, for it chanced to fall into the hands of Mr. Wallace, then editor of a weekly paper in Des Moines, Iowa. It must have made a strong impression on him, for he took from it the idea of the ever-normal granary and made it a permanent part of his own thinking.

He wrote about the ever-normal granary in *Wallaces' Farmer*, first in 1918, and again in 1926 and 1927. In the issue of December 6, 1918, he wrote: "If any government shall ever do anything really worth while with our food problem it will be by perfecting the plan tried by the Chinese three thousand years ago; that is, by building warehouses and storing food in years of abundance, and holding it until years of scarcity." On October 6, 1926, he said of the ever-normal granary: "Its principle had in it more of statesmanship than can be found in the vast majority of plans suggested for the relief of American agriculture." And on January 21, 1927, he wrote again prophetically: "Some day the 'ever normal granary' idea will be made to fit modern conditions."

That day arrived when Mr. Wallace became Secretary of Agriculture in 1933. His first effort was to try to control the increasing surpluses of wheat and other commodities which

American agriculture, using improved production methods, had been piling up during the 1920's. The resulting lowered prices and loss of farm income had been one of many factors that helped bring on the depression in 1929. The first Agricultural Adjustment Act of 1933, therefore, provided that the government should pay subsidies to those farmers who agreed to reduce their acreage of surplus commodities according to fixed quotas. Thus this act was intended primarily to prevent surpluses from accumulating, rather than, as in the Chinese ever-normal granary plan, to make use of such surpluses as a reserve for time of need.

The disastrous droughts of 1934 and 1936 showed that such legislation, designed largely for handling surpluses rather than shortages, was not enough. Once more, therefore, Mr. Wallace turned to the ever-normal granary idea. In a radio speech of June 6, 1934, he pointed to its use in China and urged the adoption of something similar here. During the next few years he spoke and wrote repeatedly on the same subject. As a result, the ever-normal granary idea found an important place in the new Agricultural Adjustment Act of 1938. On February 16 of that year, the day that the act became law, Mr. Wallace said of it: "The Act aims at a more substantial abundance than we have ever had. Various provisions will help, directly or indirectly, in setting up the Ever-Normal Granary plan." Thus, twenty years after he had first written about it, the ever-normal granary became an integral part of American life.

As since practiced in American agriculture, the ever-normal granary consists of not one but several activities, all intended to maintain an even balance in the production and prices of agricultural commodities. Some of these, such as measures for soil conservation and for the voluntary reduction of surplus crops (a holdover from the Agricultural Adjustment Act of 1933),

did not exist in the ever-normal granary plan of ancient China. The basic Chinese idea of storing up surpluses from good years for use in bad, however, has been retained in the American system of commodity storage loans. Under this system, the government loans money to farmers who, in years of overproduction, agree to keep a part of their crops in storage until a stronger demand develops. The Chinese storage idea also appears in the American plan for government crop insurance. Under this plan, wheat, cotton, and flax growers pay insurance premiums to the government in kind or in money, while the government, in return, indemnifies these farmers in case of crop failure.

Because Chinese agriculture is carried on almost entirely by hand labor on comparatively small plots of land, its yield per cultivator (though not necessarily per acre) is low. Therefore, the primary aim of the ever-normal granary in China has been, through government storage, to guard against possible scarcity of food. American agriculture, on the contrary, is highly mechanized and conducted on large areas of land, so that its yield per cultivator is high. Therefore, the American ever-normal granary program, to be effective, must not only cope with the age-old problem of possible scarcity, but must at the same time be prepared to handle the new one of overproduction, arising from our industrialized type of society. This, probably, is the main reason why the American ever-normal granary is so much broader in scope than its Chinese original.

In an article that appeared in the *Atlantic Monthly* in January 1942, Mr. Wallace looked forward to a future application of the ever-normal granary idea on a world-wide basis. He wrote:

> As part of the effort to win the peace, I am hoping that what might be called the "ever normal granary principle" can be established for a number of commodities on a world-wide scale. It will be remembered that the fourth of the eight points agreed upon by Roosevelt and Churchill in the Atlantic Charter mentioned the enjoying by all states,

great or small, victor or vanquished, of access on equal terms to the raw materials of the world. To give this lofty ideal a more definite substance should be one of our chief objectives in the months that lie immediately ahead.

In the year following the end of World War II, there seemed a good chance that this prediction might come true. In August 1946, for example, the Food and Agriculture Organization of the United Nations announced its intention of creating a World Food Board as "an internationalization of the 'ever-normal granary' plan instituted in the United States by Henry A. Wallace, as Secretary of Agriculture, in the 1930's." This board, it was said, would act to stabilize prices of agricultural products on the world markets, establish a world food reserve as a protection against crop failures, and provide funds with which surplus products could be disposed of to countries in need. Thus, its general aim would be "to keep poorer nations from going hungry while others pile up tremendous unmarketable food surpluses."

Hardly was this plan announced, however, than it came under heavy attack from several nations—among which, it must be admitted, the United States was most prominent. The plan, as a result, was eventually tabled. And today, as these lines are written, the greater part of the world is torn by hunger and suffering, and faces imminent economic collapse.

Back in 1911, when Chen Huan-chang wrote the book from which Mr. Wallace learned about the ever-normal granary, he ended it by saying: "The Great Similarity of Confucius will come and the world state will appear. Then the brotherhood of nations will be established, and there will be no war, but perpetual peace." Must we today face yet another war before we realize the simple fact that complete world peace—whether we call it "One World," "The Great Similarity," or any other name—is the only alternative to complete world destruction?

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